

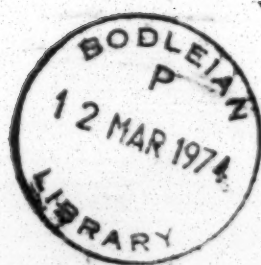
A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. XIII.

Ἰσορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ κατανόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνθήσεις ἀκόπως,
ὥς ἵτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως. Basil Imp. ad Leon. fil.



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A N

Universal History.

C H A P. XIII.

The history of Rome from the death of Pompey to the death of Cæsar.

WHEN the news of *Pompey's* death reached *Rome*, Honours the senate and people strove who should heap *heaped upon* most honours on the conqueror, now become ab- *Cæsar at* solute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. *Rome.*

He was, by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years, named dictator, contrary to the antient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year, declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; impowered to make peace and war with whom he pleased, to levy what forces he thought fit, &c. so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in *Cæsar* alone, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to a higher pitch of power and authority, than *Sylla* had acquired by the death and banishment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to *Rome*, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed *Marc Antony*, his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of *Italy* during his absence. As for the dictator himself, after he had put an end to the war of *Alexandria*, and settled his favourite *Cleopatra* on the throne of *Egypt*, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Asia* against *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, son of *Mith-*

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A

Cæsar
marches a-
gainst
Pharnaces.
ridates

ridates the Great, who finding the *Romans* engaged in a civil war, laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Asia*. In the very beginning of the troubles, he raised a powerful army, and, appointing *Asander* governor of *Bosporus* in his absence, he passed the *Euxine* sea, and made himself master of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinus* with part of his army against him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*; but *Pharnaces*, having overcome *Domitius* in a pitched battle, made himself master of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*. Puffed up with this success, he treated the *Roman* merchants and publicans, who resided at *Amisus* the capital of *Pontus* with great cruelty; and having seized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of *Asia* properly so called. This extraordinary progress at length roused *Cæsar*, who was spending his time in wanton dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, he hastened with the rest into *Syria*; and, having appointed *Sextius Cæsar*, his relation, governor of that province, he pursued his march northward against *Pharnaces*. As he passed through *Galatia*, *Dejotarus*, who had sided with *Pompey* and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator, in the habit of a suppliant and stripped of his royal robes, begging, he would extend to him the effects of that clemency, which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his submission or praises; but nevertheless, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, and restored to him the ensigns of royalty; but at the same time ordered him to send forthwith to his assistance the legion, which he had trained up in the *Roman* discipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed against *Pharnaces*. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Pharnaces* had reconquered, and, without giving any respite either to himself or his troops, or hearkening to the proposals of peace, which the king made, with no other view, but to gain time, he advanced against him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory, an account of which he wrote to his friend *Aminitius*, or *Anitius* in the following words *Veni, vidi, vici, I came, I saw, I conquered*; which, being all dissyllables, and having the same cadence, happily expresses the dispatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where *Triarius* had been formerly defeated by *Mithridates*, repaired the honour of the

Pardons
Dejotarus.

Defeats
Pharnaces.

the *Roman* arms. After this defeat, *Pharnaces* fled with a thousand horse, the only remains of his vanquished army, to *Sinope*, where he caused the horses to be killed, and putting the men on board his ships in that port, he sailed with them back to *Bosporus*; but he was no sooner landed, than *Asander*, whom he had left his lieutenant in that kingdom, and who, in his absence, had set up for himself, seized him, and, having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereupon *Cæsar* gave *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* that kingdom, as a reward for the eminent services he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of that kingdom. But *Cæsar*, in declaring him king of *Bosporus*, gave him only an empty title; for, *Asander* being in possession of it, he was to recover it by force of arms, in which attempt he lost his life, instead of gaining the crown, being overcome and slain in battle by *Asander*, who held the kingdom without any further opposition, the *Romans* not being at leisure, on account of the intestine broils that still continued among them, to give him any disturbance.

AND now *Cæsar* having settled affairs in *Asia* in the best manner he could, and left *Cælius Vinicianus* in *Pontus*, to keep that kingdom in awe, set out for *Rome*, attended only with one legion. He passed through *Asia*, and from thence crossed over into *Greece*, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quæstors at *Rome*. His sudden arrival in *Italy* filled some with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the senate and people in suspense. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconsiderate zeal of some rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of *Sylla* and his uncle *Marius*, than the dictates of his own good-nature. *Cicero* was one of the first who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for *Pompey*, and, after his defeat, returned to *Italy*, where he had lived at some distance from the capital, not caring to appear there, till he had obtained his pardon of *Cæsar*. He therefore no sooner heard, that the dictator was landed at *Tarentum* and was marching from thence to *Brundisium*, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and respect. *Cæsar*, who knew him while he was yet at some distance, in order to save him the confusion of making submissi-

Sets out for
Rome.

How he
received
Cicero.

¶ DIO. l. xlii. PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. in Mithridat. p. 254.
SÜET. in Jul. HIRT. de bell. Alexand.

His clemency.

Enters Rome.

Appeases the disturbances he found in the city.

ons, not suitable to the rank he had held in the republic, dismounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked a great while with him alone, without shewing the least dissatisfaction, or taking any notice of his past behaviour. *Cicero* was greatly taken with this kind reception; but nevertheless thought it adviseable to keep at a distance from the capital, whither he repaired very seldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the study of philosophy, and composed most of those books, which will be the admiration of all ages. *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother, who had formerly served under the dictator in *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow *Pompey*; but, notwithstanding his ingratitude, *Cæsar* pardoned him, at the earnest intreaties of *Aulus Hirtius*, *Caius Trebonius*, and the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, the orator's inseparable friend, even in his greatest misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms against him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindness, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, so different from that of *Sylla* and *Marius*, gained him the affections of the people, and drew over great numbers of senators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and usurper. He entered *Rome* without the least pomp or show, being attended only by a small number of legionaries; and finding great disturbances in the city, occasioned by a misunderstanding between *Marc Antony*, his general of the horse, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no less attached to *Cæsar*'s interest than *Antony* himself, he restored *Rome* to its former tranquillity, and easily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which *Dolabella* had proposed, containing an abolition of all debts. This law had occasioned the misunderstanding between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, the former opposing it to the utmost of his power, and the latter stirring up the poor and meaner sort of citizens to get it passed by force. Matters were carried so far, that *Antony* was ordered by the senate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in the very forum, between *Antony* and his legionaries on one side, and *Dolabella* at the head of the insolvent debtors on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldness, eight hundred of them being killed upon the spot; whereas the general of the horse lost only a very small number of his men in the fray. *Cæsar*'s presence put an end to all disturbances. As he seemed to disapprove

prove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave both the senate and people in the full possession of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppose or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was visible in *Rome*, and at the same time all orders of men were subordinate to the sovereign will of the dictator. During his short stay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent shows, and remitted them the rents of the houses which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiscated the estates of those who still continued in arms against him, and caused them to be sold publicly by auction. The lands, houses, and moveables of *Pompey*, whose children still disturbed the public tranquillity, were together with the effects of many others, exposed in the forum to public sale; but no body bidding for those of *Pompey*, out of respect to the memory of so great a man, *Marc Antony* purchased them at a very low price, and immediately took possession of his house, where he spent his time, as is plain from *Cicero's* second *Philippic*, in a continued scene of debauchery. When *Cæsar's* officers demanded the small sum he had agreed to pay for *Pompey's* house and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, saying, He did not expect *Cæsar* would exact so paltry a debt of one who had done him so great services. This provoked *Cæsar*, and occasioned some coldness between him and his general of the horse. As to *Cæsar's* other friends, none of them had occasion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus, he appointed some of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whose care the *Sibylline* books were committed, and for their sake increased the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partizans. As the number of senators was greatly diminished by the death of some and flight of others, he raised to the senatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and such of the knights as had followed his standards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the consular year, with which his dictatorship expired, he assembled the tribes in the *campus Martius*, and proposed to them two of his lieutenants; *Q. Fufius Calenus* and *P. Vatinius*, to be chosen consuls for the current year. This he did with no other view, but to honour with the consular dignity those two officers, who had served, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The shortness of their consulate made *Cicero* say by way of raillery, That the year,

in

Pompey's
house pur-
chas'd by
Marc An-
tony.

Cæsar's
second con-
sulship.

in which *Vatinius* and *Fufus* were consuls, had neither spring, summer, nor autumn. The next year *Cæsar* caused himself to be created consul; but did not part with the dictatorship. As consul, he took for his colleague *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was just then returned from *Hither Spain*, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great disappointment to *Marc Antony*, who aspired at the consular dignity; but his late behaviour and scandalous debaucheries had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, because he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he discharged the office of general of the horse^r.

Cato's be-
haviour
after the
battle of
Pharsalia.

AND now *Cæsar*, having settled affairs in *Italy*, and taken the most proper measures to prevent any new disturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into *Africa*, where *Pompey's* party was still very powerful, being headed by the famous *Cato* and many officers of great distinction. When *Pompey* followed *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*, he left in his camp at *Dyrrhachium*, as we have observed above, fifteen cohorts, under the command of *Cato*. When news of *Pompey's* overthrow was first brought to *Dyrrhachium*, *Cato* resolved with himself, if *Pompey* were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into *Italy*, there disband them, and retire from the tyranny of *Cæsar*, as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if *Pompey* were safe, to keep the troops together for him. With this design he left *Dyrrhachium*, which was too near *Thessaly*, where *Pompey* had been defeated, and crossed over to the island of *Corcyra*, where the fleet lay. There he found *Cicero*, to whom, as he was a scrupulous observer of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, since *Cicero* had a right to the first post, as having been consul; whereas he had only been prætor. But *Cicero*, who already repented his having declared for *Pompey*, and was then returning to *Italy*, under various pretences declined the offer; which so provoked *Cneius*, *Pompey's* son, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and drawing his sword, in the transport of his passion would have killed him on the spot, had not *Cato*, starting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him, till the frightened orator was out of reach. The same night *Cato* conveyed him privately out of the camp, and by that means saved his life. *Cicero* immediately went on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Brundisium*, whence he wrote

Cicero in
great dan-
ger.

^r PLUT. in Cæs. & Anton. CIC. Philip. ii. MACROB. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. LIV. CIC. ad Attic. & passim alibi.

to *Oppius* and *Balbus* (E), two of *Cæsar*'s most zealous partizans, conjuring them to use their good offices in his behalf, and excuse him with the conqueror, for having inconsiderately followed *Pompey*'s party. While *Cicero* was sailing towards *Italy*, many illustrious Romans, who had escaped from the battle of *Pharsalia*, arrived in the island of *Corcyra*, not knowing what rout *Pompey* had taken; so that *Cato* saw himself all on a sudden at the head of a considerable army, and surrounded by many officers of distinction. That zealous republican did not doubt, but *Pompey* was fled either towards *Egypt*, where young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of *Africa*, which *P. Accius Varus* had seized before the battle of *Pharsalia*, after having killed *Curio*, whom *Cæsar* had sent against him, and cut his army in pieces. He therefore resolved to hasten after him, and having taken all his

Cato retires to Africa.

(E) *Caius Oppius* was one of *Cæsar*'s chief favourites. *Charisius Aulus*, *Gellius*, and *Pliny* tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of several works much esteemed by the ancients, among the rest, of the lives of *Scipio Africanus* and of *Pompey the Great*. *Plutarch* reproaches him with lessening the exploits and glory of *Pompey*, and magnifying those of *Cæsar*. In *Suetonius*'s time he was deemed the true author of the history of the *Alexandrian*, *African*, and *Spanish* wars, which passed then, and have been transmitted to us, under the name of *Hirtius*. The same writer ascribes to *Oppius* several other works, none of which have reached our times. As for *Balbus*, he was a native of *Gades*, or according to others, of *Carteia*. He served first in the armies of *Quintus Metellus* and of *Pompey* against *Sertorius*. Several years after he became acquainted with *Cæsar*, while he governed *Spain* in quality of prætor, and, was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a Roman citizen. These were afterwards called in question; but *Balbus* found a zealous advocate in the person of *Cicero*, and was solemnly acknowledged by the senate and people for a citizen of *Rome*. It was customary for foreigners honoured with this distinction, to assume the name of the person they chose for their patron; and agreeable to this custom *Balbus* took the name of *Cornelius*, having chosen *Lentulus*, who was of the *Cornelian* family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, one *Theophanes*, a great favourite of the latter, adopted *Balbus*, and appointed him his heir. *Sidonius Apollinaris* commends some memoirs written by *Balbus* after the manner of a journal: *Quis Balbi spheridem*, says he, *fando adæquaverit* (34)?

(34) *Sidonius Apollin.* l. ix. *epist.* 24. *Plin.* l. vii. *Dio. Cass.* l. xlviii. *Cic. ad Attic.* iii. *epist.* 7.

Cato's
march
through
the deserts
of Africa.

men on board, set sail, steering his course towards *Africa*. Before he embarked, he gave those who were not willing to follow him, free liberty to depart and return to *Italy*. On his arrival in *Africa*, he found there *Sextus*, *Pompey's* younger son, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in *Egypt*. This news occasioned a general consternation among the troops; but nevertheless they all declared with one voice, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties, and that, after *Pompey*, they would follow no other leader but *Cato*. Out of compassion therefore to so many brave men, who had given such proofs of a sincere love for their country, and whom he was ashamed to abandon, in a strange country amidst so many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and, without delay, marched towards the city of *Cyrene*, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before shut their gates against *Labienus*. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey's* father-in-law, had landed before him in *Africa*, and taken refuge in the dominions of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, where he had found *Accius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Appius Varus*, at the head of a considerable army. Hereupon *Cato* resolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beasts of burden with water and other necessary provisions, he set out on his march, which was attended with inexpressible difficulties. His troops travelled for several days together through inhospitable deserts, covered with burning sands, and infested by lions, tigers, serpents of a monstrous size, &c. (F); so that they were obliged to be constantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched seven days together, *Cato* himself being always the foremost, to encourage

(F) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cato* took with him on his march some of those who were called *Pfilli*, and made it their business to cure the biting of serpents, by sucking out the poison. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in *Homer*, that, in antient times, wounds were cured by sucking. But these *Pfilli* pretended, as we read in *Plutarch*, to a power of enchanting the serpents, and disarming them of their fury, by stupifying them and laying them asleep. We find in holy scripture instances of persons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded, what we read in *Jeremiah*; For, behold, I will send serpents, cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed (35). But these wretched enchanters often paid dear for their presumption.

(35) *Jerem. c. viii. ver. 17.*

his

his men, who were quite exhausted, by his example. *Plutarch* tells, that since the battle of *Pharsalia*, he had never mounted on horseback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to shew his concern, he had, ever since that fatal day, used to sit at table, saying, that he never lay down but to sleep (G). The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, cheerfully surmounted all difficulties, and arrived at length, to the number of ten thousand men, at *Utica*. There a warm dispute arose among the chief officers about the command of the army. *Varus*, who immediately joined *Cato*, together with *Scipio* and other senators of distinction, claimed the command as governor of *Africa*; which province had been allotted him by *Pompey* himself. On the other hand, the whole army demanded *Cato* for their leader; and even *Varus* and *Scipio* were willing to comply with their desire: But *Cato* himself opposed his own promotion, saying, that he would not transgress those laws, which he had taken arms to defend; and that he, who was only *proprætor*, ought not to command in the presence of *Scipio*, who was *proconsul*. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to see a *Scipio* at the head of a *Roman* army in *Africa*, and that the very name would inspire the soldiers with courage. *Cato's* words decided the dispute; all readily yielded to *Scipio*, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in *Africa*, appointed *Labienus*, who had distinguished himself in several wars under *Cæsar*, his first lieutenant. *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*, no sooner heard of *Cato's* arrival, than he came to *Utica*, to confer with him and the other officers. That prince had always shewn a great attachment to *Pompey* and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he assumed an air of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to *Cato*. The first time he had an interview with *Cato* and *Scipio*, he ordered his own seat to be placed in the middle; which *Cato* observing, he took up his own chair, and placed himself on the other side of *Scipio*, to whom he thus gave the most honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtiness of those republicans; even at their time the republic was ready to sink,

Cato declines the command of the army, which is conferred on Scipio.

(G) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary, we should think a lying posture at our meals very inconvenient; but this single example of *Cato* incontestably proves, that it was preferred in those days, and that sitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious posture.

if not supported by foreign states and princes. Under *Scipio* were several officers of great distinction and experience in war, namely, *Labiennus*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, the two sons of *Pompey*, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, *Faustus Sylla*, who had married their sister, besides a great number of senators and knights, all resolved to prefer death to the loss of their liberty, and either save the republic, or fall with it. King *Juba* promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and join them with all his forces, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field ^c.

Cæsar resolves to carry the war into Africa.

The tenth legion mutinies.

Cæsar, now master of all *Asia*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Italy*, resolved to carry the war forthwith into *Africa*, and there crush the remains of *Pompey's* party; but while he was making the necessary preparations for that expedition, news was brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed *Galba* and *Cosconius*, two officers of the senatorial order, who had endeavoured to appease them. *Cæsar*, surprised at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately dispatched *Crispus Sallustius*, the famous historian, to quell the sedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. *Sallust* had great obligations to *Cæsar*, who had caused him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having restored him to his place in the senate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to *Capua*, where the mutineers were then encamped: but found it a more difficult task to appease a seditious soldiery, than to harangue a disarmed multitude. He was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and hasten back to *Rome*, to acquaint *Cæsar*, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldness, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, sent some trusty officers to ask them what they wanted. Their ringleaders answered, that they wanted to speak with *Cæsar* himself. *Let them come into the city then*, replied *Cæsar*, *and appear in the field of Mars, without any other arms but their swords*. Upon this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for *Cæsar*, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went im-

^c PLUT. in Cat. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. HIRT. de bell. Afric. DIO. l. xliii.

mediately

mediately to hear their complaints. The presence of a general, famous for so many victories, inspired them with such awe and respect, that even the boldest among them could not utter a single word. Then *Cæsar*, mounting his tribunal, encouraged them to speak and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to discharge them, alledging their age, their wounds, and their long service. As *Cæsar* was entering on a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and with large presents inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunder-struck, when he answered, without shewing the least surprise or concern, *Your demand is just ; I do discharge you, and you may be gone.* *Cæsar*, perceiving the consternation and surprise these words occasioned among them, after having kept silence for some time, added, *I do not, however, design to rob you of your rewards ; these I will give you, when I shall have triumphed over the rest of my enemies.* At these words they crowded round his tribunal, begging, that, since he intended to reward them, he would suffer them to deserve the promised rewards with further services. But *Cæsar*, without seeming to take notice of their demand, *Go, fellow-citizens,* said he, *return to your houses and families.* The word *fellow-citizens*, instead of *fellow-soldiers*, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were soldiers, that they had not accepted of their discharge, and that they would follow him into *Africa*. But *Cæsar*, pretending to despise both their offers and submissions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict such punishments upon them as their insolence deserved, than to disband them in so shameful a manner. He continued long inflexible ; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he ascended the tribunal once more, and, addressing himself to them, told them, That the revolt surprised him so much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always distinguished above the rest ; that nevertheless he could not prevail upon himself to punish those, whom he had once so tenderly loved ; that, on his return from *Africa*, he would give them the rewards he had promised, and lands too for their subsistence ; but that he would not by any means suffer them attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them that he could conquer without them. This speech made so deep an impression on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate them

them than debar them from sharing with him the glory of his victories. *We will follow you as volunteers*, they all cried out with one voice, *if you refuse to admit us in the number of your legions*. These words, which were manifestly spoken from a true sense of their crime, and a sincere repentance, touched *Cæsar*; he could no longer dissemble, but styling them again *fellow-soldiers*, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they should share with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories¹. Having thus by his intrepidity, resolution, and address, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he pursued with great ardour the necessary preparations for the new war in *Africa*, ordering his legions in the mean time to assemble at *Rhegium*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither he repaired soon after himself, and finding there but one legion of new levies and six hundred horse, with them he crossed over into *Sicily*, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all possible expedition. On his arrival in *Sicily*, he incamped on the shore, declaring, that he was determined to set sail, as soon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions and a body of two thousand horse, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly on the sixth of the calends of *January*, that is, on the twenty-seventh of *December* according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarked the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with *Alienus* prætor of *Sicily*, to convey over to him the other legions, as soon as they came up. In four days he arrived off *Adrumetum* on the coast of *Africa*; and having landed his troops at a small distance from that city, by the advice of *Plancus*, one of his lieutenants he sent to summon *Considius*, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but *Considius*, trusting in his numerous garison, which consisted of two legions and three thousand *Mauritanian* horse, killed with his own hand the messenger, and then marched out at the head of all his troops to attack *Cæsar* in the camp he had formed in great haste, and consequently but very indifferently fortified. *Cæsar* thought it adviseable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coast towards *Ruspina*, at a small distance from *Adrumetum*. *Considius* pursued him, and greatly harrassed his troops on their march. On this occasion it was, that thirty *Gaulish* horse,

Cæsar pardons the mutineers.

He passes over into Sicily.

And from thence into Africa.

¹ APPIAN. HIRT. LIV. DIO. *ibid.*

who marched in the rear, put to flight two thousand *Mauritanian* horse, and drove them back to the very gates of *Adrumetum*. *Cæsar* with much ado reached *Ruspina*, being continually harrassed by the enemy's parties; but not finding sufficient provisions in that neighbourhood to subsist his army, he turned towards *Leptis*, situate on the coast between the two *Syrtes*. As *Leptis* was a free city, the inhabitants *Is admitted into Leptis.* opened their gates to him, and supplied his army in the best manner they could. He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from *Sicily* arrived on board some galleys, and a small number of transports. These informed him, that the rest of the fleet were steering their course towards *Utica*; which gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He therefore immediately dispatched *Rabirius Posthumius*, with orders to sail along the coast, and direct to *Leptis* such of his vessels as he should meet on his course. In the mean time, as the enemy were masters of the country, and *Cæsar*, in a *Is greatly distressed for want of provisions.* manner, besieged in *Leptis*, his army was reduced to great straits for want of provisions; forage especially was become so scarce, that he was forced to feed his horses with a seaweed, which he mixed with grass, to take off its saltiness. He sent out indeed several parties to bring in provisions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loss. One day a party of horse, whom he sent out to forage, meeting an *African*, who played with great art on the flute, dismounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horses to their servants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, and pursued the rest to their camp; which they would have entered *Several of his parties defeated.* with the fugitives, had not *Cæsar* and *Asinius Pollio*, at the head of a few cohorts, put a stop to their flight, by placing themselves in the gate of the camp, and by that means obliging the horse to face the enemy. In another encounter, which happened a few days after, the best part of *Cæsar's* foot was put to flight by a strong detachment from *Scipio's* army. On this occasion *Cæsar*, seeing one of the standard-bearers flying with the rest, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, saying, *Look that way; the enemy is there.* However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to stand their ground; but was forced himself to give way, and retire with them in no small disorder to his camp. As he was daily more and more straitened for want of provisions, and durst not venture out of his camp with the few forces he had with him, he resolved to go himself in quest

quest of his fleet; and accordingly embarking in the dead of the night, he set sail, attended only with a small number of officers. The next day, when the soldiery missed him, they gave all up for lost, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp, and deserting to *Scipio*, who, with ten legions, and twenty elephants, was advancing against them. But their fears were soon calmed; for *Cæsar*, the next day meeting by good fortune the rest of his fleet, returned with them to *Leptis*, and decamped as soon as they were landed, with a design to advance farther into the country. He had scarce marched three miles, when his scouts brought him word, that the enemy appeared; and soon after he discovered a very numerous army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. *Cæsar* immediately ordered his men to halt, and, having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being surrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's first onset. This numerous body of *Roman* and *Mauritanian* forces was commanded by *Labienus*, who attacked *Cæsar* with such fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience, to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy master of the field. He was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a soldier of the tenth legion, by killing *Labienus's* horse, occasioned some confusion among the enemy's battalions. Those who were next to the general, seeing him fall, and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to retire. *Cæsar*, observing the consternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and, attacking with great intrepidity and resolution the enemy's first line, put them to flight, before *Labienus*, who was stunned with his fall, recovered himself; but as *Labienus's* second line still kept their ground, *Cæsar* thought it adviseable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the first line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As *Cæsar* was retreating, *M. Petreius* and *Cneius Piso*, two zealous partizans of *Pompey*, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred *Numidian* horse, and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that *Petreius*, on this occasion, remembering the favours he had formerly received at *Cæsar's* hands, spared his benefactor, under the pretence that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, *Cæsar* got safe to his camp at *Leptis*, and from thence marched

Meets *Labienus*.

His army in danger of being cut in pieces.

Retires in good order to his camp.

marched the same night to *Ruspina*. In the mean time *Scipio* joined his lieutenant *Labienus* with eight legions, and four thousand horse; and then *Cæsar*, intrenching himself under the walls of *Ruspina*, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Italy* and *Sicily*, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to send him speedy succours, without which he should be obliged to abandon *Africa*, and return with shame and disgrace to *Italy*. *Alienus*, prætor of *Sicily*, upon the first notice of his danger, sent him powerful succours; which were no sooner arrived, than he resolved to march out of his camp, and offer *Scipio* battle, who, with an army twice as numerous as his, was incamped at a small distance, to prevent his drawing any forage or provisions from the neighbouring country. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to *Scipio*, advising him, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a battle with a commander experienced in war, and encouraged with success; but to use delay, which, he said, would cool the heats and passions of men, which are the chief support and strength of usurpers; but *Scipio*, flushed with his late success, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, since he was not content himself to lie secure within walls and trenches, but must hinder others from making use of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then *Cato* openly declared, that he was sorry he had yielded the command to *Scipio*, who, said he, will not use his power wisely in war; and if he should, contrary to all appearance, succeed, will, without all doubt, use his success as unjustly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if *Scipio* should conquer, he did not doubt but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as *Cæsar* himself.

*Receives
reinforce-
ments from
Sicily.*

BUT to return to *Cæsar*: being informed that the enemy laid great stress on an oracle, importing that the family of the *Scipio's* should be always victorious in *Africa*, and, having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family, known by the name of *Scipio Salutio*, he gave him the title of general, either in raillery, as *Plutarch* observes, to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy's army, or seriously, to bring over the omen to his side. After this he quitted his camp at *Ruspina*, and marched straight to *Utica*, with a design to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay siege to that city, which was the great magazine of

*Cæsar
marches to
Utica.*

^u PLUT. in Cat. & Cæs. APPIAN. HIRT. ibid.

*Is in a
manner
blocked up
by the ene-
my.*

*Marches
to attack
the enemy,
and defeats
them.*

*The chief
men of
Pompey's
army either
killed or
taken.*

all their provisions and ammunition. He incamped before the place, without being in the least disturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, whom they daily expected with eighteen thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected succours, and, together with *Scipio* and *Labienus*, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of *Cæsar*, who was again greatly distressed for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he was thus besieged, news was brought him, that the ninth and tenth legions were at length arrived from *Sicily*, and in full march to join him. Hereupon *Cæsar*, leaving in his camp a sufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the rest to meet them; and brought them safe to his camp before *Utica*. As he now thought himself strong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for several days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he resolved to decamp, and leaving *Utica*, which was in a condition to sustain a long siege, to attack *Thapsus*, a place of great importance, but not so well provided and fortified. *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus* followed him, and incamped separately about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed that they were intrenching themselves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition, through thick woods and a country almost impassable, fell upon *Scipio's* men, before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking first *Labienus's* camp, and afterwards *Juba's*, made himself master of them, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loss only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, *Thapsus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately submitted; and the heads of the party, giving up all for lost, either laid violent hands on themselves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. *Scipio* endeavoured to save himself by sea; but his vessel being taken, he chose rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. *Juba* and *Petreius* sought death in a single combat, in which *Juba* being killed, *Petreius* ordered one of his slaves to dispatch him. *Afranius* and *Sylla*, with a small body of troops, took their rout along the coast of *Africa*, with a design to join the two sons of *Pompey*, whom *Cato* had sent into *Spain*; but were met, defeated, and taken by *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, who would have saved them; but his soldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of *Pompey's* party,

ty, *Labiens* alone found means to make his escape, and convey himself safe into *Spain*. And now the enemys forces being disperſed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all *Africa* ſubmitted, except the city of *Utica*, where *Cato* commanded, and had formed a kind of ſenate, compoſed of three hundred *Romans*, who had repaired to him from different parts. The news of the victory gained by *Cæſar* at *Thapſus* threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation. Some of the citizens betook themſelves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to ſave themſelves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. But *Cato* endeavoured to calm their fears, repreſenting to them, that perhaps things were not ſo bad in truth, but more than half increaſed by fame, as is uſual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for ſome time; and having called together his ſenate or council, conſiſting of three hundred *Roman* citizens he firſt commended their courage and fidelity, and then intreated them by no means to ſeparate, ſince, while they kept together, *Cæſar* would have leſs reaſon to deſpiſe them, if they fought againſt him, and be more ready to pardon them, if they ſubmitted to him. Conſult among yourſelves, ſaid he; if you think fit to ſubmit, I will impute your reſolution to neceſſity; but if you reſolve to ſtand up in defence of your rights and liberties, I will be your companion, and, if you think fit, your leader. We are to fight againſt one, whoſe affairs are not in ſo good a condition as is generally believed. *Spain* has already declared for the ſons of *Pompey*; *Rome*, unaccuſtomed to ſlavery and oppreſſion, will be ready to ſhake off the yoke upon every turn of affairs; *Italy* will never ſubmit to a ſovereign, who acknowledges no other law but his own caprice; *Utica* is well furniſhed with all ſorts of proviſions and military engines, and in a condition to ſtem the courſe of this mighty conqueror's victories. Let us therefore defend to the laſt what ought to be more dear to us than our lives and fortunes. Notwithſtanding the uncertainty of war, we ſhall lead a moſt happy life, if we ſucceed, or die a moſt glorious death, if we miſcarry. *Cato's* words inſpired even the moſt cowardly with courage. They forgot the preſent danger, and declared with one voice, that they would ſtand a ſiege, proteſting they would rather die with *Cato*, than ſave themſelves by abandoning a perſon of ſuch exalted virtue. When they came to deliberate about the proper meaſures for the defence of the place, ſome were for ſetting the ſlaves at liberty; but this *Cato* oppoſed, ſaying, That no ſlave ought to be ſet at liberty without the conſent of his maſter. We ought not, ſaid he, even in our preſent circumſtances, to make free with

All Africa, except Utica ſubmits.

Cato encourages the Romans in Utica to ſtand a ſiege.

*The senate
at Utica
resolves to
submit.*

the property of others; but let every one dispose as he pleases of what is his own. Some of the senators immediately set their slaves at liberty, and furnished them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former resolution, shewed great backwardness in parting with their slaves, from whose labour they drew great advantages. Why should we risque all, said they among themselves, to preserve *Utica*? Have we forgot what enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that *Cæsar*, to whom all the power of *Rome* has submitted? and which of us is a *Pompey*, a *Scipio*, or a *Cato*? Now that all men give way to *Cæsar*'s fortune, shall we alone engage for the liberty of *Rome*, and in *Utica* declare war against one, who has driven *Pompey the Great* and *Cato* himself out of *Italy*? No, let us know ourselves, submit to the conqueror, and send deputies to implore his mercy. *Cato*, tho' he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to *Juba*, who, with a small body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to *Scipio*, who lay at anchor under a promontory near *Utica*, advising them not to come near the place, since he suspected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the senators who formed his council. Not long after, a considerable body of horse, who had escaped from the battle, appearing at some distance from *Utica*, sent a messenger to acquaint *Cato* with the different sentiments that prevailed among them, and to ask his advice; for some were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themselves up in the city, were for going to *Juba*. *Cato* hastened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon so many worthy senators, but to seek the mutual safety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable and well furnished with corn and other provisions for many years. The senators likewise, who attended *Cato*, with tears in their eyes besought them to stay. Hereupon the officers went to consult the soldiers; but, in the mean time, news was brought to *Cato*, that the greater part of his senators were raising a tumult in the city, and stirring up the inhabitants to exclude *Cato* and send deputies to *Cæsar*. This news being immediately divulged among the horse, they desired their officers to return to *Cato* with this answer, That they should not be afraid of *Cæsar*, while they followed *Cato*, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces all the *Uticans*, who would not fail to betray them and plot their ruin, as soon as *Cæsar* appeared. This condition seemed too cruel to the virtuous *Cato*, who therefore chose rather to deprive himself of so powerful and necessary a supply,

Cato's humanity.

than

than consent to it. Upon his return to the city, the senators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to withstand *Cæsar*; nay, they even threatened to seize those senators, who were for standing a siege, and to deliver them up to *Cæsar*. Hereupon *Cato* with much ado prevailed upon the horse to stay, at least one night, in the city, in order to facilitate the escape of those worthy senators, who were thus threatened by the rest. While they were preparing to set out, news was brought, that *Cæsar* was drawing near with his whole army; and then *Cato*, ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board some vessels he had prepared for that purpose, he returned to the city, and dismissed the body of horse, advising several of his friends to join them, and abandon a city, which would soon fall into the enemy's hands. *Plutarch* observes, that tho' he was very pressing with his other friends to save themselves by flight, yet he gave no such advice to his son, not thinking fit to persuade him to abandon his father. As *Cæsar* drew near, the senators, who remained in *Utica*, appointed *Lucius Cæsar*, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed *Pompey's* party, to intercede for them and make their submissions to the dictator. *Cato* approved of their choice, and even composed the speech, with which he was to address *Cæsar*. *Lucius*, in taking his leave of *Cato*, told him, That he should not scruple to kiss the hands and fall at the knees of *Cæsar* in his behalf; but *Cato* would by no means give him leave so much as to mention his name. *I will not, said he, be indebted to a tyrant, for those very things which are marks of tyranny; to save men is an instance of his tyranny, as if he were lord of their lives.* However, as *Lucius* was departing, he recommended to him his son and the rest of his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, bid him farewell. While the rest were preparing to attend *Lucius* in the habit of suppliants, *Cato* was greatly surprised at the constancy of a young Roman, named *Statilius*, who, tho' in the flower of his age, and a noted enemy to *Cæsar*, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an usurper for his life. *Cato*, having attempted in vain to persuade him to yield to fortune and join the other suppliants, recommended him to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two celebrated philosophers, saying, *It belongs to you to bring down this young man's spirit, and to make him know what is*

Cato's constancy.

Statilius a follower of Cato.

good for him (H). Towards the evening he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the *Romans* and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themselves upon his mercy. As for himself, he went, according to his custom, to bathe before supper; and while he was in the bath, remembering *Statilius*, he cried out aloud to the philosopher *Apollonides*, who always attended him, *Well, Apollonides, have you brought down the high spirit of Statilius? Is he gone without bidding us farewell?* No, answered the philosopher, *I have discoursed much with him, but to little purpose; he is still unalterable, and determined to follow your example.* This, answered *Cato* with a smile, *will soon be tried.* He then called his son, and advised him, among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of state; telling him, *That to act therein as became him was now impossible, and to do otherwise dishonourable.*

Cato maintains the principles of the stoics.

AFTER he had bathed, he went to supper, at which he sat, as he had always used to do ever since the battle of *Pharsalia*, contrary to the *Roman* custom. Several of his particular friends, and some of the principal citizens of *Utica*, supped with him. Among the former were *Apollonides* the stoic philosopher, and *Demetrius* the peripatetic. After supper, many philosophical questions were discussed, and, among the rest, those fundamental principles, which were called the *paradoxes of the stoics*; and this in particular, *that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves.* The moment this was proposed, the peripatetic took up the argument against it (I); but *Cato*, raising his voice, maintained the incontestable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and in the heat of the dispute, let some words drop, which plainly shewed, that he designed to put an end to his life, and by that means set himself at liberty. Hereupon, when he had done speaking, the whole company kept silence and seemed much dejected; but *Cato*, to divert

(H) By these words *Cato* implied, that the disposition of mind, in which *Statilius* fancied himself to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true constancy; and that what became *Cato*, who had always made a profession of severe virtue, and was *Cæsar's* equal, did not become such a young man as *Statilius*. *Epictetus* observes, that it is only for an extraordinary person to imitate an extraordinary virtue. It is not fitting for a person of common size to attempt so high a flight.

(I) The peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or servitude, taking these words in a sense too constrained and literal.

them

them from any suspicion of his design, turned the discourse, and began again to talk of the present affairs, shewing great concern for his friends who were at sea, and for those who were travelling by land, since they were to pass through a dry desert, which afforded nothing for their support.

WHEN the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he used to do after supper, gave the necessary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having first embraced his son and every one of his friends, with more than usual tenderness. As this renewed their suspicion of his design, his son, entering his room unknown to him, stole away his sword, which he used to have always by him. *Cato Reads Platon* alone, lay down, and taking up *Plato's* dialogue on the to's phæ. immortality of the soul, began to read it with great attention. do.

After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raised in his breast, he looked up for his sword, and missing it, called one of his slaves; and, without shewing the least eagerness or concern, only asked him, Who had taken away his sword? As the slave made no answer, he continued reading; and a little while after, not seeming importunate or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book again, and having finished the whole dialogue without any tidings of his sword, he called all his servants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed and delivered into his enemy's hands, naked and disarmed. One of his slaves attempted to appease him; but he had scarce begun to speak, when *Cato* gave him such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noise his son and

the rest of his friends came running into his room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and intreaties, to *His son and friends endeavour to divert him from laying violent hands upon himself.* *Cato*, raising himself up, *Why does no body persuade me by reason, said he, or teach me what is better, if I have designed any thing that is ill? Must I be thus disarmed, and hindered from making use of my own reason?* Then turning to his son, *And you young man, said he, why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for against myself I stand in no want of a sword; to end my days I need but hold my breath a little while, or strike my head against the wall.* Having thus spoke, he dismissed his son and the rest of his friends, except the two philosophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, to whom he addressed himself more calmly thus: *Can you bring*

bring any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this subject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve on. As the philosophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, Cato told them, That he would not fail to ask their advice, when he should have occasion to make use of what their philosophy taught; but, in the mean time, said he, go tell my son, that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him. Upon this they both withdrew, and sent him his sword by a young slave. Cato took it with great pleasure, and, having drawn it and examined the point, said in putting it up, *Now I am master of myself.* He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (K), he lay down, and fell into a sound sleep.

About

(K) And yet this dialogue seems too long to be read twice over in so short a space; but that which seems most incomprehensible is, that Cato, before he laid violent hands on himself, should read over that dialogue, which proves in the strongest terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. A philosopher, says Plato in that dialogue, *will never lay violent hands on himself, that not being lawful even for those to whom death is more desirable than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themselves though it be ever so necessary; for God has placed us in this life as in a post, which we are never to quit without his permission. The gods take care of us, and we must consider ourselves as their peculiar property. If one of your slaves should dispatch himself without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would punish him, if it lay in your power. How could Cato persist in his resolution against such strong arguments? He might possibly justify himself from what is added by Socrates; We must wait with patience till it pleases God to send us an express order to remove out of this life.* He looked perhaps on the condition he was then in as such an order; and thus has Cicero commented upon it in the first book of his *Tusculan questions*: *Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus injussu hinc nos suo demigrare; cum vero causam justam deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis, næ ille, mediusfidius, vir sapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excefferit; nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; sed tanquam a magistratu, aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus atque emissus exierit.* But this trifling distinction destroys the very end and design of the dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the state he is in, and interpret it as an express order from God to quit his station, the prohibition of self-murder would

About midnight he called up two of his freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether his friends had set sail, and ordered the former to apply some remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his slave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to his life. *Butas* soon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were imbarqued, except *Craſſus*, who had ſtaid on account of ſome buſineſs, but was juſt ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the ſea very rough. At this he ſighed, ſhewing a great deal of compaſſion for thoſe who were at ſea, and ſent again *Butas* to ſee, whether any of them were driven back and wanted his aſſiſtance. In the mean time, he again fell aſleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when *Butas* returning, acquainted him, that the ſtorm was allayed, and that no noiſe was heard in the port. Then *Cato* laying himſelf down again, as if he intended to ſleep, deſired *Butas* to withdraw and ſhut the door after him. He was no ſooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he had waited till thoſe of his party were out of danger, taking his ſword, ran it into his body; but not being able to uſe his hand ſo well which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn ſome figures of geometry. The noiſe of this alarmed his ſon and his friends, who, breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels in great part out of his body. Such a dreadful ſight and his ghafly looks, his eyes being yet open, ſtruck them all with ſo great terror that they ſtood ſome time motionleſs,

His whole concern is about his friends.
Stabs himſelf with his ſword.

would be unneceſſary, ſince a reaſon would never be wanting upon occaſion to juſtify it; therefore this action in *Cato* is not by any means warrantable. However, it muſt be allowed, that it was leſs criminal in him, than it can be in thoſe, who deſtroy themſelves for ſome private reaſons, when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or ſome other paſſion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the puſillanimity of ſuch and the deſpair of a brave man, who kills himſelf, not for any private reaſon, but, if the expreſſion may be allowed, for ſome reaſon of ſtate; for though the action carries in it a brutal fury and the blind impuſe of an ungovernable paſſion; yet, as *Plutarch* has well obſerved on another ſubject, where he compares *Romulus* and *Theſeus*, he is more excuſeable, who is transported by a ſtronger cauſe, as by a more ſevere ſtroke. And what ſtroke can be more ſevere than the ruin of our country?

without

Puts an
end to his
life.

The con-
cern of the
inhabi-
tants of
Utica at
his death.

without being able, in that surprize and confusion, to lend him the least assistance. At length *Butas* accosting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and sewed up the wound; but *Cato*, after some time, coming to himself, thrust away the phylician, rent open his wound again, and tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the most virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced; had all the virtues, and none of the faults, of *Cato* the censor, one of his illustrious ancestors, and would, with his invincible constancy and resolution, have supported the sinking republic, had not the gods themselves, as *Plutarch* observes, decreed her destruction. His death was no sooner known, than the inhabitants of *Utica*, flocked to his house, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible, *Roman*. Though at that very instant word was brought them, that *Cæsar* was drawing near, yet neither fear of the present danger, nor the commotions and discord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerness each of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmost pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a person of his merit and rank. How strong must the impressions have been, which the virtue of *Cato* left in their minds, since they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whose mercy they were that moment to throw themselves! When *Cæsar*, who was now at the very gates of *Utica* with all his forces, heard of *Cato's* death, he is said to have uttered these words; *Cato I envy thee thy death, since thou hast envied me the glory of saving thy life* (L). Upon *Cato's* death, the city of *Utica* was

(T) *Plutarch* seems to question whether *Cæsar* would have pardoned *Cato* or no. The discourse, says that writer, which *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, is no great sign of his kindness, or that he was inclined to shew him any favour. Is it probable, adds he, that *Cæsar* would have been tender of his life, when he was so bitter against his memory? But, with *Plutarch's* leave, we are of opinion, that *Cæsar* would have spared him, as he did *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Marcellus*, his most inveterate enemy, and many others, not indeed out of any friendship he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Cæsar* wrote it not out of hatred to *Cato*, but in his own vindication. *Cicero* had written an encomium on *Cato*, and called it by his name. A discourse composed by so great a master, upon

was by *Lucius Cæsar* delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned some, but caused others to be privately put to death. Among the latter was *Lucius Cæsar* himself, who had treated with great cruelty such of *Cæsar's* adherents, as he had got into his power during the war; among the former were *Cato's* son, his daughter, *Statilius*, and most of his friends. His son was afterwards slain in the battle of *Philippi*, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he stayed in *Cappadocia*, in the house of *Marphadates*, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal conversation with his wife, by name *Psyche*, which in *Greek* signifies soul. This gave the *Romans* occasion to say by way of raillery, That *Cato* and *Marphadates* were good friends; for they had but one soul; that *Cato* was noble and generous, and had a royal soul, &c. *Cato's* daughter was married to *Brutus*, one of the conspirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we shall relate in a more proper place. As for *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, he was prevented by the philosophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed *Brutus*, to whom he proved very faithful and serviceable, and at length died, with many other illustrious *Romans*, in the battle of *Philippi* ^w.

Cæsar, now master of *Utica*, and of the whole *Roman* province in *Africa*, marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both those kingdoms to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern them in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to shake off the yoke. The fruitful plains of *Numidia* he divided among the soldiers of *P. Silius*, who had reduced great part of that country. *Silius*, being driven out of *Rome* we know not on what account, had taken refuge in *Mauritania*, and there assembled a considerable number of *Roman* exiles, with whom he entered into the service of *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, then at war with *Juba*. *Bogud* ap-

Cæsar reduces Mauritania and Numidia.

^w PLUT. in Cat. & Cæs. DIO CASS. ibid.

upon such an excellent subject, was immediately in every body's hands. This touched *Cæsar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as no better than a satire against himself. He therefore published an answer to it, containing a collection of charges and accusations against that great man, which he styled *Anticato*.

P. Silius
render s
Cæsar im-
portant ser-
vices.

pointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, invading *Juba's* dominions, and making himself master even of *Cirtba* his capital. This diversion was of great use to *Cæsar*; for it obliged *Juba* to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of *Sabura*, one of his best generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his absence, *Silius*, having defeated and killed *Sabura*, made himself master of the whole country, and then marched with his victorious army to join *Cæsar*, whom he scarce knew. On his march he met a body of *Romans*, who had saved themselves from the battle of *Thapsus*, under the command of *Afranius* and *Faustus Sylla*, defeated them, and took their leaders prisoners, together with *Sylla's* wife the daughter of *Pompey*, whom he delivered up to *Cæsar*, who not only pardoned her, but sent her into *Spain* to her brothers. Soon after *Silius's* fleet surprised in the port of *Hippo* the squadron which was conveying into *Italy* *Scipio* and other *Romans*, who had left *Utica*, and took most of them prisoners. *Scipio* laid violent hands on himself; but the rest were brought to *Silius*, who consigned them to *Cæsar*. These services the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on *Numidia*, which he bestowed on *Silius*, appointing him sovereign of that district, after having driven out a *Numidian* prince named *Manasses*, who had declared for *Juba*, and served in his army against *Cæsar* *.

How re-
warded.

Carthage
and Co-
rinth re-
built.

AND now *Cæsar*, having brought all *Africa* under subjection and settled the affairs of that province, repaired to *Utica*, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did soon after his return to *Italy* for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; so that these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about an hundred years. Two years after they were both re-peopled with *Roman* colonies; and from these new inhabitants of *Corinth* were descended those *Corinthians*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his two epistles. As the dictator had now no enemy to contend with in *Africa*, he left that country, loaded with glory and spoils, and set sail for *Italy* on the ides of *June*, that is, on the fourteenth of the *Julian April*; and arriving three days after at *Caralos*, now *Cagliari*, sailed from thence, on the third of the calends of *July*, for *Ostia*, which he did not reach, the weather proving very stormy, till the twenty-sixth of the *Julian May*, that is, twenty-eight days after. As

JULIUS C



AUGUSTUS CÆSAR



US CAL

US CÆSAR



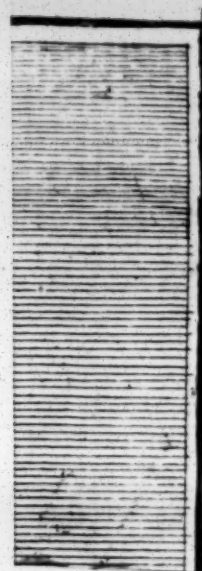
TIBERIUS CÆSAR



CALIGULA







he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, *Cæsar* re- and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the success of his arms. The senate and people *turns to* strove who should be most forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and sacrifices ordered *Honours* to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together, in *bestowed* thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in *A-* on him by *frica*. His usual guard was by a decree of the senate tre- the senate bled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dic- and people. tator, doubled. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of censor, which had been hitherto divided between two magistrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of *prefect*, or *reformer*, of *manners*, that of *censor* seeming too vulgar. His person was declared sacred and inviolable; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next to the consuls; that he should give his opinion the first in all public deliberations; that he should sit at all public shows in a curule chair, and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed as usual at the shows, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went so far as to place his statue in the capitol next to that of *Jupiter*, with this inscription on the pedestal, *To Cæsar a demi-god*. *Cæsar* had too much penetration not to know, that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any sincere kindness or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting such marks of distinction, he declared, That he would make no other use of the authority, with which they were pleased to trust him, than to prevent any further disturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. I shall not said he, *Cæsar's* renew the massacres of *Sylla* and *Marius*, which I cannot *speech to* reflect on without horror. I wish I had been able to save the *the senate* republic without shedding a drop of blood, and without depriving *Rome* of one single citizen; but, since that was not in my power, now that my enemies are subdued, I will make no further use of the sword, but endeavour to gain by good offices those who still continue obstinate. You shall all find in me not a *Marius* or a *Sylla*, but an indulgent father and zealous protector. As for my troops, I shall keep them together, not so much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They shall not, however, be any charge to you; the spoils I have brought with me from *Africa*, will be sufficient to maintain them, and likewise to defray for some time the expences of the government. This speech and the pardon he granted a few days after to *M. Claudius Marcellus*,

one of his most inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the senate and people. *Marcellus* had been consul five years before, and, during his consulate, employed all his interest and authority against *Cæsar*. He had fought under *Pompey's* banners at *Pharsalia*; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had chosen the city of *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos* for the place of his residence, and there led a quiet life, being intirely taken up with the study of philosophy. *Cicero*, who had always professed a strict friendship for *Marcellus*, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly the first time *Cæsar* appeared in the senate, *Lucius Piso* having addressed him with an affecting speech in favour of the illustrious exile, all the conscript fathers seconded him, and, quitting their places, surrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the most worthy members of their body.

Cæsar heard them with great attention, and, as soon as they had done speaking, *I willingly pardon Marcellus*, said he, *out of regard to your intercession, conscript fathers, and to his own merit. Let him return and take his place in the senate. I shall not for the future look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body.* The conscript fathers returned him thanks, and *Cicero* in particular, in that famous speech, which is still admired by all the learned. But *Cæsar's* clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the first notice of what had passed at *Rome*, he left *Mitylene*, and came to *Athens*, with a design to pass from thence over into *Italy*; but when he was ready to imbarque, he was stabbed by one *Magius Chilon*, a no less zealous follower of *Pompey* than himself. What prompted him to this murder is not well known; some suspected *Cæsar* of being privy to it; but that suspicion seemed quite groundless to *Cicero*, since *Magius* with the same dagger put an end to his own life, and died on the spot with *Marcellus* (M).

(M) *Cicero* writes on this subject to *Atticus* thus: *We can by no means suspect Cæsar of having any hand in the death of Marcellus, since Magius stabbed himself with the same dagger, which he had plunged into Marcellus's breast. I am at a loss to know what could prompt him to so black an attempt. Marcellus had been bail for him a little time before at Sunium. Perhaps, as Magius was not in a condition to satisfy his creditors, he had recourse to Marcellus, who refused to supply him with the necessary sums in a rough and uncivil manner, which was natural to him; and hence their quarrel* (35).

(35) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xiii. epist. 10.*

THE

THE dictator having, by his clemency and extraordinary civility he shewed to all without distinction, delivered the senators from their fears, in the next place summoned the people, and, appearing in the assembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a most obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his person. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his last victory, subdued a country so rich, and of such extent, that it would yearly supply the city with two hundred thousand bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the senate and people. Accordingly he triumphed four times the same month, viz. over the Gauls, over Egypt, over Pharnaces, and over Juba. In the first triumph were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the prisoners appeared *Vercingetorix*, who had stirred up all Gaul against *Cæsar*, and attempted to relieve *Alesia* at the head of three hundred thousand men. His soldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midst of the public rejoicings, the axle-tree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of *Fortune*, the victor narrowly escaped being crushed by the wheels. The superstitious Romans drew from thence presages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience, that unforeseen accident occasioned then, was, the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then *Cæsar*, to prevent all disturbances in the dark, embellished his triumphal procession with a new ornament, causing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each side of his chariot; with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, disposed in the shape of so many pyramids, which in a manner turned night into day, and conducted, without the least confusion, the numerous croud to the capitol. There *Cæsar*, to set the people an example of religion, mounted the steps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the usual sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he viewed the statue, which the senate and people had erected to himself near that of the god; and being offended at the inscription, *To Cæsar a demi-god*, ordered the fullsome title of *demi-god* to be immediately cancelled. The second triumph was over Egypt, when the pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus*, and *Achillas* were carried before the triumphal chariot, with representations of the cities of *Pelusum* and *Alexandria*,

Juba, the
son of king
Juba, led in
triumph.

andria, of the palace of the *Egyptian* kings, of the tower of *Pharos*, &c. Before the chariot walked many prisoners of distinction ; among the rest *Arfinoe*, the sister of *Cleopatra*, loaded with chains ; but, after the show, she was set at liberty, and only banished from *Egypt*, that she might not create new disturbances in that kingdom to the prejudice of *Cleopatra* (N). The third triumph shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*. In the midst of the spoils, which the conqueror had brought from *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, the famous words *Veni, vidi, vici*, were carried on a table in large characters, to shew rather the dispatch, than the difficulty, or importance, of that victory. The subject of the fourth triumph was the conquest of *Africa* and *Numidia*, with the defeat of *Juba* and his allies. In this triumph *Juba*, the son of king *Juba*, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot ; but when the show was over, *Cæsar* set him at liberty, and gave him an education suitable to his rank, appointing masters to teach him the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and such sciences as the young noblemen of *Rome* studied in those days. By this means he became one of the most learned men of the age he lived in ; insomuch, that the emperor *Augustus*, in consideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards bestowed on him the kingdom of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony* (O). The *Romans* were not so well pleased with this triumph as with the other three, *Cæsar* having caused the statues of *Scipio*, *Petrelus*, and *Cato* to be carried before him among those of the foreign kings and princes whom he had subdued. They could not behold *Cato* tearing his bowels, as the statue represented him, without expressing their concern with loud sighs and tears for the death of so great a man. The vessels of gold and silver, which in these triumphs were car-

(N) This young princess took up her residence in *Asia Proper* ; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the request of *Cleopatra*, caused her to be put to death (36).

(O) He was the author of several works, and, among the rest of the history of *Rome*, which he wrote in *Greek*, and which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients, but is now intirely lost, as are also all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of *Affyria*, and chiefly collected from the writings of *Berosus*.

(36) *Hirt. de bell. Alexand. Joseph. antiq. l. xv. c. 4.*

ried

ried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of sixty-five thousand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, besides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thousand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made him, according to the custom of those times, by princes and cities after his victories. Out of these sums he paid his soldiers their arrears, and besides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the *Roman* people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each particular person ten bushels of corn, ten measures of oil, and added a hundred denarii by way of interest, to the three hundred he had promised them before he set out for *Africa*. After this he entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables with six thousand *murænas*, and an incredible profusion of other dainties and rich wines, which most of them had never tasted before; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, with representations of sea and land fights, in which were sometimes three, sometimes four thousand combatants on a side, and with all sorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (P). These entertainments lasted

His liberality towards the soldiers and the Roman people.

(P) The two famous *mimics*, or, as they were then called, *pantomimes*, *Laberius* and *Publius*, acted on this occasion. *Laberius* was by birth a *Roman* knight, but nevertheless acted on the stage mimic pieces of his own composing. *Cæsar* rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he presented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred sesterces, and a golden ring, which was restoring him to the equestrian dignity he had forfeited by performing on the stage. *Macrobius* has given us part of a prologue of this author (37), which may serve for a taste of his wit and style. *Horace* indeed taxes his composures with want of elegance (38). But *Scaliger* thinks the censure very unjust, and the verses cited by *Macrobius* more elegant than those in which *Horace* finds fault with them (39). When *Laberius*, was going, after he had received the golden ring of *Cæsar*, to resume his place among the knights, *Cicero* told him, as he passed by the *orchestra*, where the senators sat, that he would with all his heart make room for him there, but that he was already squeezed up himself; this he said in allusion to the many senators *Cæsar* had lately created. No wonder, replied

(37) *Macrobius. Satur. l. ii. c. 7.*
i. *satyr. 10. v. 5, 6.*
c. 10.

(38) *Horat. satyr. l. i.*

(39) *Scaliger de re Poet. l. i.*

Laberius,

lasted several days, and drew such multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the croud, among the rest two senators ¹.

Reforms
the go-
vernment.

Cæsar, having by his largesses, entertainments, and shows, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good order in the city. In order to this he published many wholesome laws. In the first place, as many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country; he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families, recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to *Rome* from all parts of the world such persons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them for their encouragement all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. At the same time he published a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age and under forty, to absent themselves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatsoever (Q). By other laws he restrained the profuse

¹ DIO. l. xlii. PLIN. l. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. Suet. in Cæs. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 56.

Laberius, that you, who commonly make use of two seats at once, fancy yourself squeezed up, when you sit like other people. This was a severe wipe on the inconstancy and double dealing of the orator (40).

Publius was a *Syrian* by birth, but received his education at *Rome* in the condition of a slave. Having by several specimens of wit obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of *Italy*. At last being brought to *Rome* to bear a part in *Cæsar*'s plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from *Laberius* himself (41). A collection of sentences taken out of his works is still extant, which *Joseph Scaliger* highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to translate them into *Greek*.

(Q) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people, who from three hundred and twenty thousand were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand; so great a waste, says he, had the civil war made in *Rome* alone; not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the provinces had suffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious mistakes in this passage, as the learned

(40) *Macrob. Saturn. l. ii. c. 7.*

(41) *Idem ibid.*

Rualdus

profuse way of living, which at that time prevailed in *Sumptuary Rome* and all over *Italy*; he confined the use of litters, of *laws*, embroidered robes and jewels to persons only of the first rank, or of overgrown estates; he limited the expence of feasts by many sumptuary laws, which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour, his officers often breaking into the houses of the rich citizens, and snatching from off their tables such meats as had been served up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets swarmed with informers, so that nothing could be brought thither, or sold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to punish with heavy fines such as he found guilty of the least breach of the laws he had enacted for the restraining of luxury. As for the ma-

Rualdus observes. The first is, where it is said, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people; *Suetonius* does not mention it, and *Augustus* himself in his *Marmora Ancyriana* says, that in his sixth consulate he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty two years before. The second is, that before the civil wars broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the number of the people in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that in less than three years those three hundred and twenty thousand citizens were reduced by that war to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after *Cæsar* made a draught of eighty thousand to be sent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left no more than seventy thousand souls in *Rome*? But what is still stronger, eighteen years after, *Augustus* took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty three thousand *censere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & sexaginta tria millia*, says *Suetonius*. Such an increase in so short a time must be prodigious, if not impossible. *Rualdus* has not only discovered these mistakes, but the source of them; he makes it appear, that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough understanding of the *Latin* tongue, has been misled by the following passage in *Suetonius*, who says of *Cæsar*: *recensum populi ne more, nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (42). *Suetonius* speaks there of the review taken by *Cæsar* of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand. *Plutarch* mistook *recensum* for *censum* the muster taken by the censors, and this error led him into the other mistakes.

*Disposes of
all em-
ployments.*

*Cæcilius
Bassus rais-
es
disturban-
ces in Sy-
ria.*

nagement of the public money, he reserved that intirely to himself, but committed the administration of justice to the senators and knights, chusing from among them such persons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As his long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of usurping an absolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footsteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor should be continued in his government above a year, and no consular above two. All the magistrates in *Rome*, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he suffered to assemble in the comitium, to maintain at least some appearance of a republican state, not daring to chuse any but such as he proposed, or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæstors, and even the consuls, were all persons who had served under him, and were inviolably attached to his interest. The government of the countries subject to the republic was committed to such only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus *Sicily* was allotted to *A. Allienus*, *Cisalpine Gaul* to *M. Junius Brutus*, *Transalpine Gaul* to another *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, *Achaia* to *Servius Sulpitius*, *Numidia*, to *Crispus Sallustius*, *Illyricum* to *P. Vatinius*, *Syria* to *Q. Cornificius*, and *Spain* to *Q. Cassius Longinus*; so that the absolute authority of *Cæsar* seemed to be equally established in the capital and in the most distant provinces. In *Syria* indeed his power was disputed by one *Cæcilius Bassus*, who created great disorders in that province. He was a *Roman* knight, and had fought on *Pompey's* side in the battle of *Pharsalia*. After that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there, pretending to be a merchant, underhand engaged in his party many who had been favourers of *Pompey*, and even some of the *Roman* soldiers who were sent thither to garison the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæsar*, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he hastened northward against *Pharnaces*, he was summoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. *Bassus*, without betraying the least fear, told the governor, that he was raising volunteers, and making other preparations with no other design but to assist *Mithridates of Pergamus* in the reduction of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been given him by *Cæsar*. *Sextus* believing him, he was dismissed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a considerable number of conspirators, he seized on the city of *Tyre*, giving out, that *Cæsar* was killed in *Africa*, and that thereupon he was appointed

appointed by the senate president of *Syria*. By this imposture he increased his forces so as to be able to take the field, and engage *Cæsar*; but he was intirely defeated, and forced to take shelter in *Tyre*. There he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then by his emissaries stirred up the troops under the command of *Cæsar*, who was given to all manner of lewdness, to rebel against their leader and murder him. Upon his death, the troops which he commanded joined *Bassus*, excepting a small body that retired into *Cilicia*. *Bassus* seeing himself again at the head of a considerable army, marched straight to *Apamea*, and seizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his residence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But *Antistius Verus* putting himself at the head of those who had retreated into *Cilicia*, and drawing to him several others of the *Cæsarean* party in that country, marched back with them into *Syria*. There he was joined by the sons of *Antipater* with auxiliaries from *Judæa*, and by several of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to shew their attachment to the dictator and by that means gain his favour. Thus *Antistius* was enabled to make head against *Bassus*, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to *Apamea*, where he was closely besieged by *Antistius*; but, as he was a brave soldier and experienced commander, his adversary, having spent the whole summer before the place without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced towards the end of the campaign to raise the siege and forbear all hostilities, till he received new supplies both of men and provisions ².

Sextus
Cæsar
governor of
Syria mur-
dered by
his own
men.

The vari-
ous success
of Bassus.

Cæsar, being informed of what passed in *Syria*, immediately dispatched *Statius Murcus*, whom *Josephus* through mistake names *Marcus*, to succeed *Sextus* in the government of *Syria*, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. These, with the troops which *Antistius* commanded, formed a very considerable army; so that *Bassus* was again obliged to shut himself up in *Apamea*, the siege of which place was renewed by the united forces of *Murcus* and *Antistius*. During the siege, both sides solicited the assistance of the neighbouring princes and states. *Alcaudonius*, an *Arabian* king, being on this occasion sent to both by *Bassus* and *Murcus*, came with all his forces, and placing himself be-

² DIO. l. xlvii. LIBO apud APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. iii. Epit. LIV. l. cxiv. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 8.

tween *Apamea* and the camp of the *Cæsareans*, that covered the siege, offered his assistance, by way of auction, to that side which should give most for it; and *Bassus* having bid highest, he immediately joined him. At the same time *Pacorus* came to his assistance at the head of a numerous body of *Parthians*; which two reinforcements added such strength to the besieged, that the *Cæsareans* were again forced to raise the siege, and leave *Bassus* master of the field^a. Hereupon the dictator sent orders to *Q. Martius Crispus* governor of *Bithynia*, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the assistance of *Murcus*, and at his approach *Bassus* retired to *Apamea*, where he was closely besieged the third time, but held out till the death of *Cæsar*, when he was relieved by *Cassius*, who seized on the province of *Syria*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

Cæsar reforms the kalendar.

WHILE the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the east, the dictator himself, to shew that nothing escaped his care, undertook at *Rome* the reformation of the *Roman kalendar*, which it belonged to him to rectify as pontifex maximus, an office he had bore long before he was either consul or dictator. This reformation was at this time much wanted; for by reason of the faults of the former kalendar the festivals of the *Romans* and their solemn days were removed by degrees, and put out of their due time, till at last they came to fall in with seasons quite opposite to those of their primitive institution. The year which the *Romans* made use of till this time consisted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus with the college of the pontifices to add such intercalations as should make all even. This they usually did by casting in an intercalary month every two years, which alternatively consisted of twenty two and twenty three days. This short month is called by *Plutarch* in one place *Mercidinus*^b, and in another *Mercidonus*^c. The place it was allotted in the *Roman kalendar* was between the 23d and 24th of *February*. But the care of this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in or left out the intercalary month according as they had a mind to prolong or shorten the time of the annual magistrates then in office; by which means great disorders crept into the political as well as the astronomical year; to prevent which *Cæsar* undertook that

^a DIO l. xlvii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN. ibid. l. iii. & iv. CIC. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 9. ^b PLUT. in Numa. ^c Idem in Cæs.

reformation,

reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever since, and happily completed it (R).

YET

(R) This he did by the following methods: 1st, He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunar months, or three hundred and fifty five days, by which the *Romans* had hitherto computed their time; and introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes through the *Zodiac*, and comes about again to the same point, whence his course began. 2^{dly}, Having, according to the best observations of those times, concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and sixty five days and six hours, of these he made his solar year to consist. 3^{dly}, These three hundred and sixty five days he distributed into twelve artificial, instead of lunar, months before in use, some of them consisting of thirty one days, some of thirty, and one, that is, *February*, of twenty eight. 4^{thly}, The six hours over and above, in four years, making a day, he made every fifth year to consist of three hundred and sixty six days, and this is what we call the *Leap Year*. 5^{thly}, This day he added between the 23^d and 24th day of *February*, in the same place in the *Roman* kalendar, where formerly the intercalary month *Mercidinus* had been inserted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of those days, which was called *Sextus Kalendas*, twice in the kalendar, the year was thence called by the *Latins* *Annus Bissextilis*, the *Bissextile* year. But we, instead of putting the 24th day of *February* twice in the bissextile or leap year, number on the days, so as to make the month consist of twenty nine. 6^{thly}, *Cæsar* began this year on the kalends, or first day of *January*, because on that day the annual magistrates of *Rome* entered on their offices. 7^{thly}, The first of *January* he then fixed to the winter solstice; but it has now over-run that time several days, by reason that the *Julian* solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year. 8^{thly}, To bring this reformation into practice, besides the month *Mercidinus*, which was inserted in *February*, as usual, *Cæsar* added to this present year two months more, which he put in between the months of *November* and *December*; so that this year thereby consisted of four hundred and forty five days, *viz* three hundred and fifty five days for the common *Roman* year, twenty three for the month *Mercidinus*, and sixty seven for the other months added between *November* and *December*; so that this year, which was the longest the *Romans* had ever had, putting their affairs out of their usual order, was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this point *Cæsar* made use of the assistance of *Sosigenes*, an astronomer of *Alexandria*, for the astronomical calculations, and of *Flavius* a scribe, for the forming and digesting of them into a kalendar, according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their *kalends*, *nones* and *ides* and fixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days on which they were to be observed. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the

Yet so commendable and useful a work gave offence to some, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occasion from thence to say, that, after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewise in heaven. It is no strange thing to hear ignorant people talk at that rate ; but that *Cicero*, who had long before translated *Aratus*, and consequently ought to have been better acquainted than any with the disorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of such a weakness, is surprising. Yet the orator made the reformation of the kalendar the subject of several severe jests. As one chanced to say in his company, that the next morning the *Lyra* would rise, *Yes*, replied *Cicero*, by *Cæsar*'s order, insinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to subject even the celestial bodies to his power. But *Cæsar*, who knew better than *Cicero*, what advantages would accrue to posterity from so useful an undertaking, and what glory to himself, thought it beneath him to take any notice of such low jests.

The two
sons of
Pompey,
in Spain.

WHILE *Cæsar* was thus employed at *Rome* in works of peace, the two sons of *Pompey*, having assembled beyond the *Pyrenees* such of their father's party as had escaped from the battles of *Pharsalia* and *Thapsus*, made themselves masters of great part of *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, who had formerly served under their father, flocked to them from all parts ; insomuch, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very numerous army, composed partly of *Romans*, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewise experienced officers, and among the rest *Labienus*, who had learnt the art of war under *Cæsar* himself, and had on many occasions given signal proofs both of his courage and the wisdom of his conduct.

• PLUT. in Cic. & Cæfare.

the old confusion, not well understanding the new computation, instead of interposing the leap day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which disorder was continued for thirty six years following ; by which means twelve years having been made leap years instead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon *Augustus*, who succeeded *Julius Cæsar*, to bring matters into the right course again, ordered, that for the twelve years next ensuing no leap year should be made ; whereby the three supernumerary days, which had been erroneously cast in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been observed ever since without any alteration, except that made by *Gregory XIII.* which we have mentioned above.

Cæsar

Cæsar had indeed, after the conquest of *Africa*, dispatched first *Caius Didius* into *Spain*, to oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country, and after him *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, two of his lieutenants, with such a body of troops, as he thought sufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in awe. But the republican party, being favoured by the natives, had gained the ascendant over them, made themselves masters of several cities, and, obliged the *Cæsareans* to shut themselves up in their strong holds. The dictator's presence was therefore necessary; and accordingly he resolved to go in person, and put a stop to their further progress. But, *Cæsar* before he left *Rome*, he assembled the comitia, and, having chosen caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator ^{ful the} he appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whom the tribes had given ^{fourth} him for his colleague, his general of the horse. All the infe-^{year.}rior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppose the election of such as he thought fit to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of chusing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms: *Cæsar recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs they would oblige him so far as to chuse him.* This recommendation from *Cæsar* was in reality an order, which no one had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that, all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were intirely addicted to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence. Having thus settled matters, *Cæsar* took his leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he had invited to *Rome*, and kept in his own ^{He sets out} house during her abode in that city, and setting out for *Spain* about the beginning of this year, which was the first *Julian* year, he arrived in twenty four days in the province of *Bætica*. There he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and, putting himself at their head, marched without loss of time towards *Corduba*, hoping to surprize *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of *Cæsar's* arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and intreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. *Cneius* had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprize and fly

*Invests the
city of A-
tegua.*

*And makes
himself
master of
it and o-
ther places*

*Pompey
incamps in
the plain
of Munda*

fly to *Corduba*. *Cæsar*, having upon his arrival attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither *Cneius* followed him, and incamped on some hills at a small distance from *Cæsar*'s intrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him to raise the siege. But the dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties he had to struggle with, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, the garison, which consisted mostly of *Romans*, resolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt by a general sally to force the enemy's lines, and retire to *Cneius*'s camp, which was in sight of the city. The cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garison, after having attempted in vain to make their way through *Cæsar*'s camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter. At length *L. Minutius Flaccus*, who commanded in the city and had distinguished himself, during the siege, in a most eminent manner; surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put *Cæsar* in possession of the few magazines which the flames had spared. From *Ategua* *Cæsar* marched to *Bursavolis*, which he surpris'd, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, for having cruelly massacred such of their countrymen as had advis'd them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, *Cæsar* marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Ucubis*, now *Lucubi*, according to *Mariana*, in the kingdom of *Grenade*. *Cæsar* posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp; which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which *Cæsar*'s cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great slaughter. *Pompey* was so elated with this advantage, that he resolv'd to put the whole to the issue of a general action. He even wrote to his friends, that *Cæsar* had with him only raw and unexperienced soldiers, that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement so long as he could avoid it; but that he would find means to force him to it. In order to this, he march'd towards the city of *Hispalis*, now *Seville*, and from thence advanced into the plains of *Munda*

da (S), and incamped there. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days easy march appeared with his army in the same plain where *Pompey* was incamped. As the enemy were very impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising ground, whereof one side was defended by the city of *Munda*, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front. *Cæsar* likewise drew up his troops with great art, and, having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post and come to meet him. But, as they did not stir, *Cæsar* made as if he intended to fortify himself in that post, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works. *Pompey's* army was by far the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six hundred horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour and bravery. *Cæsar* had eighty cohorts, three legions, viz. the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse. As the enemy drew near, *Cæsar* betrayed a great deal of uneasiness and concern, as if he were doubtful of the success, knowing he was to engage men no ways inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occasions given signal proofs of their bravery and conduct. *Cneius*, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and *Labienus* esteemed scarce inferior to *Cæsar* himself. However, the dictator, desirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death or that of his rivals, gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution. At the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides betook themselves to flight, leaving the *Romans* to decide their quarrel by them-

Cæsar follows him thither.

(S) The city of *Munda* is placed by the antient geographers in the province of *Bætica*, about twenty miles from *Malaga* in an agreeable and fruitful plain watered by a small river, or rather a rivulet. It was in former times a place of great note, but is at present, as *Mariana* informs us, a sorry village known by its antient name.

The battle
of Munda.
Year of
the flood,
2959.
Before
Christ, 40.
Of Rome,
708.

Cæsar in
great dis-
tress.

selves. Then the legionaries engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed ; *Cæsar's* men being encouraged by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and those of *Pompey* exerting themselves out of necessity and despair, since most of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned when defeated under *Afranius* and *Petreibus*. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. *Cæsar's* men, who had been always used to conquer, found themselves so vigorously charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground ; and tho' they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifest that shame alone kept them in their posts. All authors agree, that *Cæsar* had never been in so great danger ; and he himself, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himself abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had some thoughts of stabbing himself with his own sword, and by a voluntary death preventing the disgrace of a defeat. But returning soon to himself, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than, in a fit of despair, by his own, he dismounted from his horse, and snatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, he threw himself, like a man in despair, into the midst of the enemy ; crying out to his men, *Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys ?* At these words the soldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in spite of their utmost efforts, *Pompey's* men still kept their ground, and, tho' greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the *Cæsareans* began to despair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his disheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, without any considerable advantage on either side. At length a mere accident decided the dispute in favour of the dictator. *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, of whom we have spoke above, had joined *Cæsar* soon after his arrival in *Spain* with some squadrons of *Numidian* horse ; but in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the shouting of the soldiers intermingled with groans and the clashing of their arms, he had abandoned his post, and retired with the auxiliaries under his command to a rising ground at a small distance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle spectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But to-
wards

wards the evening, partly out of shame, and partly out of compassion on his friend *Cæsar*, he resolved to fall upon *Pompey's* camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. *Labienus*, apprised of his design hastened after him, to the defence of the camp; which *Cæsar* observing, cried to his legionaries, *Courage, fellow-soldiers, the victory at length is ours*; *Labienus flies*. This artifice had the desired *Cæsar* effect: *Cæsar's* men, believing that *Labienus* was truly fled, gains the made a last effort, and charged the wing he commanded so day by a briskly, that after a most obstinate dispute they put them to stratagem, flight. Though the enemy's left wing was thus intirely de- and forces the enemy's camp. feated, the right, where the elder *Pompey* commanded, still kept their ground for some time. *Pompey*, dismounting from his horse, fought on foot like a private man in the first line, till, most of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to save himself by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took shelter in the city of *Munda*. The camp was immediately attacked and taken sword in hand; and as for the city, *Cæsar* without loss of time drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic, and raised *Cæsar* to the highest pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time to dispute his authority. This victory was gained on the sixteenth of the kalends of *April*, that is, according to our way of counting, on the seventeenth day of *March*, when the *Dionysian* festival, or the *Liberalia*, were celebrated at *Rome* (T), the very day, as *Plutarch* observes, in

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that this battle was won on the *Dionysian* festival, τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, says that writer; which passages, as madam *Dacier* rightly observes, most interpreters have grossly mistaken. The old *Latin* version, says she, has it thus: *hanc victoriam obtinuit saturnalibus*, this victory was gained on the festival of *Saturn*. The *Dionysia* and *Saturnalia* were two very different festivals. Others, who have translated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by *the feast of the Bacchanals*. How could *Cæsar* gain a victory on the day of a festival, which had been abolished a hundred and forty one years before, and suppressed throughout all *Italy* by an order of the senate, on account of its abominations as we are informed by *Livy* (43)? *Plutarch* by the *Dionysia* means that feast which is called by the *Romans* *Liberalia*, and stands in their kalendar against the 17th of *March*. *Liberalia*, says *Festus*, *Liberi Festa, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionysia*. As

(43) *Liv. l. xxxix.*

in which *Pompey the Great* four years before had set out for the war. In this action *Pompey* lost thirty thousand men, among whom were the famous *Labienus*, *Attius Varus*, and three thousand *Roman* knights. Seventeen officers of distinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and ensigns together with *Pompey's* fasces which he had assumed as governor of *Spain*. On *Cæsar's* side only a thousand men were killed and five hundred wounded ^d.

Besieges
Munda.

The elder
Pompey
flies to his
fleet.

THE battle being over, *Cmsar*, in the first place, completed his lines about *Munda*, using, instead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raising them up in heaps, so as to equal the height of the walls. This sight filled *Cmsar* with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the siege to *Fabius Maximus*, one of his lieutenants, and, having caused the bodies of *Attius Varus*, and *Labienus* to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of *Munda*, and marched towards *Corduba*, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had disappeared after the battle. But he was disappointed; for the elder *Pompey* fled with a hundred and fifty horse from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at *Carteia*, a city about a hundred and seventy miles distant from *Corduba*. The inhabitants opened their gates to him; but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle at *Munda*, than they sent deputies to *Cmsar*, acquainting him, that they had secured *Pompey*. But, as a good number of the inhabitants still remained in *Pompey's* interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuary actions *Pompey* himself received several wounds; but having nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and, hoisting sail, put to sea with thirty galleys. But *Didius*, who commanded *Cmsar's* fleet at *Gades*, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to sea after him, having first taken on board a considerable body of horse, as well as foot, in case there

^d PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. Auth. comment. de bell. Hispan.

Liber and *Dionysius* are two names of *Bacchus*, this is what has misled those interpreters, and made them believe, though very absurdly, that the feast, called *Liberalia*, was the same with the *Bacchanalia*. Thus far the learned madam *Dacier*.

should

should be occasion to pursue the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their galleys; and, surprising them, while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at *Carteia*, he burnt several of them, took the rest, and, by that means, cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. *Pompey*, seeing himself thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to save himself by flight cross the mountains. But as he had been dangerously wounded at *Carteia* in his shoulder and left leg, and besides had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to put his ankle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter; the enemy's horse, who had been put on board for that particular service, soon came up with him. Upon their approach the unfortunate *Roman*, discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small distance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The *Cæsareans*, under the command of *Cesennius Lento*, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault, but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued in their retreat with great slaughter. Hereupon *Didius* began to besiege the castle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it; which so terrified *Pompey's* men, that they resolved to quit the place, and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally, but were, for the most part, cut off in their retreat. *Pompey* retired with the rest, but not being able to keep pace with them, by reason of his wounds; he concealed himself in a cave, where he was betrayed by some of his own soldiers, and delivered up to the *Cæsareans*, who immediately put him to death. Thus perished the elder *Pompey*, after having exerted his utmost efforts to revenge the death of his father, and save his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but nevertheless in this first essay, as we may call it, performed such wonders as forced *Cæsar* to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, some writers tell us, that he was not present at the battle of *Munda*, but remained in *Corduba*, to defend that important place in case of any misfortune; others say, that he retired to *Corduba* after the action. However that be, he was no sooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out, that he was going to meet *Cæsar*, and treat with him about an accommodation,

*Which is
destroyed
by Didius,
Cæsar's
admiral.*

*flies to a
castle.*

*Where he
is besieged
and killed.*

*The fate of
the younger
Pompey.*

commodation, he left the city, fled in disguise to *Celtiberia*, and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himself so well, that *Cæsar* could never discover him ^e.

Cæsar
marches to
Corduba.

BUT to return to *Cæsar*: the battle being over, and the lines about *Munda* completed, he marched to *Corduba*, which was defended by a body of troops that had escaped the slaughter, under the command of one *Scapula*, a zealous republican. Upon *Cæsar*'s approach, *Scapula* armed all the slaves and vagabonds, which were very numerous in that great city, and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undisciplined multitude, and possessed himself of a bridge. As *Cæsar*'s army drew near, the rabble insulted them, asking them, whether they designed to fly, as if they had been the army defeated. But *Cæsar*, not thinking it adviseable to force the post, despised their bravadoes, and, taking a long compass, passed the river without opposition, and appeared before *Corduba*. Hereupon *Scapula*, giving all up for lost, retired into the city, and, calling together his friends, gave them a sumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his best apparel, distributed what money he had among his attendants, and then, ascending a funeral pile which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to dispatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which soon reduced the body to ashes. Upon *Scapula*'s death, the city was divided into two factions; some were for surrendering, others for standing a siege; but the former prevailing, deputies were sent to *Cæsar*, who got possession of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always greatly attached to *Pompey*, began to set fire to the houses, chusing rather to perish with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occasioned a bloody battle between them and the *Cæsareans*, in which most of the legionaries, with about twelve thousand of the inhabitants, were killed upon the spot. *Cæsar*, having thus made himself master of *Corduba*, at that time the capital of *Bætica*, marched from thence to *Hispalis*, now *Seville*. On his march he was met by *Cesennius*, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder *Pompey*, and at the same time presented to him the young *Roman*'s head, which, some writers say ^f, he exposed to public view, while o-

Makes
great
slaughter
of the ene-
my, and
possesses
himself of
the place.

^e Auth. bell. Hispan. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. SÜET. in Julio. DIO. l. xlv. ^f Auth. bell. Hispan. c. 6.

thers tell us, that he caused it to be honourably interred^s. As he drew near *Hispalis*, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the divisions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to send with them a detachment and an experienced commander, to keep the adverse party in awe. *Cæsar* readily complied with their request, and granted them *Caninius Rebilus* with some manipuli, who entered the town without opposition. But, in the mean time, *Pompey's* friends privately dispatched one *Philo*, a zealous assertor of their party, into *Lusitania*, where he was well known, to beg assistance of *Cæcilius Niger*, who still supported *Pompey's* interest there at the head of a considerable number of the natives. *Philo* soon returned with a numerous body of *Lusitanians*, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the *Cæsareans*, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon *Cæsar* immediately invested the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left several open places for the *Lusitanians* to make their escape, lest despair should prompt them to set fire to the houses, and demolish the walls. At the same time he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themselves till the *Lusitanians* appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obstinacy and resolution; but at length made a sally, and got safe beyond *Cæsar's* lines through the passages that had been left open for that purpose. But while they thought themselves out of danger, they were all on a sudden attacked by the *Cæsarean* cavalry, and put to the sword, not one of them escaping the general slaughter. *Cæsar*, having thus recovered *Hispalis*, marched towards *Asta* (U), the inhabitants of which city sent embassadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. There he received the melancholy news of the death of *Didius* his admiral, who had distinguished himself on all occasions in a very eminent manner. After he had destroyed *Pompey's* fleet,

Hispalis
receives a
Cæsarean
garison.

Cæsar
recovers
Hispalis.

^s APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii.

(U) *Asta*, which *Pliny* honours with the title of *Regia*, was about sixteen miles distance from *Gades*, according to *Antoninus's* itinerary, and situated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by *Pomponius Mela*, and also by *Ptolemy*. *Martin de Roa* is of opinion, that it stood where the present city of *Xeres della Fronteira* stands; but others pretend to discover its ruins between *Xeres* and *Tribuxena*.

The fleet
of Didius
burnt, and
he killed.

as we have related above, he caused his vessels to be hauled on shore to be refitted, and, in the mean time, retired to a neighbouring castle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of *Lusitanians*, who had escaped from the battle of *Munda*. The *Roman* admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the *Lusitanians* having set fire to his ships, he made a sally, and marched in good order to the sea-side, hoping to repulse the enemy, and preserve his navy. While his men were busy in extinguishing the flames, a body of *Lusitanians*, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, starting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the castle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. *Didius*, thus invested on all sides, behaved with signal bravery; but was, in spite of his utmost efforts, overpowered, and, with most of his men, cut in pieces. *Cæsar's* concern for the loss of so brave an officer was, in great measure, allayed by the agreeable news he received at the same time of the surrender of *Munda*, after a long and close siege. When the besieged saw themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, they deserted in great numbers to *Cæsar*, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But, before they came over, it was agreed between them and their friends in the city, that, upon a certain signal, the latter should make a vigorous sally, while the deserters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very seasonably discovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were, by *Fabius's* orders, decimated, and all the officers executed without distinction. Soon after the besieged made a sally, with a design to force their way through the enemy's works; but most of them having lost their lives in the attempt, *Fabius* at length carried the place by assault. From *Munda* he marched straight to *Urson*, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid siege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for some time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now *Cæsar*, having reduced all the places which had declared for *Pompey*, and exacted immense contributions from the *Spaniards* under pretence of punishing their rebellion, retired to *Hispalis*; whence, to give new marks of his esteem for *Cicero*, he wrote a consolatory letter to him on occasion of the death of his beloved daughter *Tullia*, who died at *Rome* in childhood, while her husband *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was attending *Cæsar* in *Spain*. This letter, as appears from *Cicero's* works, was wrote the day before the kalends of *May*; and a few days after *Cæsar* left *Hispalis*, and
marched

Munda
taken.

And Ur-
son.

marched with the best part of his army to *New Carthage*; where he was met by deputies from most cities of *Spain*, with whom he settled the affairs of the two *Spanish* provinces, and then imbarqued for *Rome*, having finished in seven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years ^h.

Cæsar reached *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, and entered the city in triumph, which displeased the *Romans* beyond any thing he had yet done. They could not brook his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his rejoicing for an advantage, which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which no better apology could be made, than that he was absolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look still more distasteful was, that he had never before acquainted the senate by any letter or express of the victories he had obtained in the course of the civil wars; but seemed rather to be ashamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might arise to him from it. *Cæsar*, not contented with having triumphed himself, bestowed the same honour on two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, but with this difference, that the representations of the cities, rivers, &c. carried before *Cæsar*, were of ivory; whereas those that were made use of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of the common wood; which made a humorous Greek, by name *Chrysippus*, say, by way of raillery, that the statues carried before *Fabius* and *Pedius* were only the cases of those which *Cæsar* had displayed in his triumphⁱ. However, the *Romans*, taking the same side with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and those greater than any they had yet bestowed. *Cicero* indeed proposed in the senate the conferring of such honours on him, as were in some measure within the bounds of modesty; but others, striving who should deserve most, carried them so high, that they made *Cæsar* odious even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of men. They made him dictator for life, subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power, decreed, that he alone should levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by oath to observe whatever decrees he should think fit to enact. Among other titles, that of *imperator* was given him, not in that sense in which it had been formerly bestowed on generals

His triumph offends the Romans.

Created dictator for life.

And imperator.

^h Auth. bell. Hispan. DIO. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xiii. epist. 20. ⁱ DIO. l. xliii. APPIAN. ibid. QUINTILIAN. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in Cæs.

His clemency and obliging behaviour.

als after some signal victory, but as it imported the greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *imperator* or *emperor*, and likewise that of *Cæsar* to his successors; and this was the beginning of the imperial state of *Rome*, though it was not settled till some years after. His enemies are thought to have had some share in the extraordinary honours conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, since they took from thence an opportunity of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of such as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, *Cæsar* made it his whole study to gain the affections even of his most inveterate enemies. He not only pardoned all those who had borne arms against him, but on several of them bestowed honours and offices; insomuch, that both the senate and people, to testify their gratitude to him for the mild use he made of his power, decreed a temple to *clemency*. As the people still retained an affection for *Pompey*, he ordered all the statues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be set up again; upon which *Cicero* said, that by raising *Pompey's* statues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the senate and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he dismissed his guards, saying, it was better to suffer death once, than to live always in fear of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his best and surest guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige them, entertaining them frequently with public feasts and shows, and distributing corn among the poorer sort of people. To gratify his army, he sent out colonies to several places, of which the most remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* (W). As for the nobility, he attached most of them to his interest by raising them to the chief offices in the state, and trusting them with the government of the many provinces that were then subject to *Rome*. In short, he ingratiated himself with all orders of men, by his gentle deportment and winning behaviour, so as to work in them a cheerful and willing submission. Though he had been invested with the consular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent post in the republic, appointing *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *G. Trebonius* consuls for the remaining part of that year. Nay, he carried his pretended observance of the ancient customs and laws so far, that the consul *Fabius Maximus* happening to die suddenly on the very day before

(W) It may be said, there was something singular in the fate of these two cities; for as they had been both destroyed at the same time, so were they now at the same time rebuilt and repeople.

the

the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilus* to be consul for the remaining hours only, that is, till six in the evening, when the kalends of *January* began. As the Romans were all hastening to pay their compliments, as was usual, to the new consul, *Let us make haste*, said, *Cicero*, by way of railery, *lest he be gone out of his office before we get to his house* (X).

As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increased the prætors to sixteen, and the quæstors to forty; he created six new ædiles, and increased the number of the other curule magistrates in proportion. But as there still remained many unrewarded, who had served him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the senate, by which means the number of the senators rose from three hundred to nine hundred. This gave great offence to the conscript fathers; the more, because among those, whom the dictator raised to that high station, were many common soldiers, sons of freed-men, foreigners lately admitted to the *Roman* citizenship, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, &c. *Cæsar* having thus debased the senate, began to look upon them with contempt, and consider them no otherwise than his vassals and creatures. Of this he gave not long after a signal instance. The senate, having passed a decree, conferring on him some extravagant honours, went in a body to present him with it, as he was sitting on the rostra administering justice. Though the consuls, prætors, and all the curule magistrates then in *Rome* attended the senate, yet the dictator received them with all the pride and haughtiness of a sovereign, without so much as condescending to rise to them. We are told by *Plutarch*, that he offered to stand up to the senate; but that *Cornelius Balbus*, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: *Remember*, said he, *you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay you that respect which is due to your dignity*. However that be, his carriage offended, not only the conscript fathers, but the people too, the latter thinking the affront on the senate equally reflected on the whole republic. *Cæsar*, sensible of the false step he had taken, immediately retired home, and caused a report to be spread abroad by his emissaries, that his sitting had been caused by the distemper to which he was subject, viz. the falling-sickness, which, he said, discomposed the senses of those who were affected with it, if

Increases the number of the magistrates and senators.

He offends the senate.

(X) There was no end of *Cicero's* witticisms on that occasion; *We have had a very vigilant consul*, said he; *for he has not shut his eyes during the whole time of his consulate*. *Caninius* was a consul of such strictness and severity, that not one among us dined, supped, or slept during his consulate. *Caninius* has indeed been consul, but we may well ask under what consul he has been consul, &c.

they talked much standing. Not long after he gave a fresh occasion of resentment by affronting the tribunes. While *Cæsar* was one day sitting in a golden chair upon the rostra, to view the ceremony of the *lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was then *Cæsar*'s colleague in the consulship, after having run up and down the city naked, as was usual during that solemnity (Y), came into the forum, and falling down before *Cæsar*, presented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a small shout was raised by some who had been placed near the dictator for that purpose; but when *Cæsar* refused it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. *Antony* offered the crown again, and, upon the dictator's second refusal, all, who were present, testified their satisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then *Cæsar*, finding it would not take, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, saying, that *Jupiter* alone was king of the *Romans*. The next morning *Cæsar*'s statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but *Flavius* and *Marullus*, two tribunes of the people went presently, and not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended and committed to prison, who the day before had applauded *Antony*, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on *Cæsar*'s head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous *Brutus* the founder of the republic. This *Cæsar* highly resented, displaced the two tribunes, and while he inveighed against them in a public speech, he abused and ridiculed on that occasion the people, calling them *bruti* and *Cumæi*, that is, *beasts* and *fools* (Z.) A few days after

And the
people.

(Y) The *lupercalia* were, as we have observed elsewhere, at their first institution, peculiar to the shepherds, and of the same nature with the *Arcadian Lycea*. The young patricians, and some of the magistrates, used to run that day up and down the city naked, striking all they met with leathern thongs by way of sport. Women of the first rank placed themselves in the way, and held out their hands to the lash, out of an opinion, that it procured an easy labour to those who were with child, and made those conceive who were barren.

(Z) The *Cumæi*, as madam *Dacier* observes, were noted for their stupidity; οὐώληται δ' εἰς ἀνοησίαν ἡ Κουμή, *Cumæ* is stupid to a proverb, says *Strabo* (44); and he gives us these reasons for it. The first, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours and be-

(44) *Strabo*, l. xiii.

after, as he was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, some of his friends saluted him, as he entered the city, by the title of king; but he, finding the people disrelished it, seemed to resent it himself, and answered aloud, *My title is Cæsar, not king*. This affectation of being king gave the common people the first occasion to quarrel with him, and proved a specious pretence, for those who had been his secret enemies all along, to conspire against him. The zealous republicans, detesting his ambition, began to form private cabals, and consult among themselves about the proper measures for delivering Rome from the yoke she groaned under. The chief of the conspirators was *C. Cassius*, a sincere friend to his country, and at the same time an enemy to *Cæsar* on a private account, the dictator having a few months before bestowed the first and most honourable prætorship on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Cassius* had the best claim to it. *Cassius* therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a spirit of revenge, formed first with himself the plan of the conspiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be secret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny. As *Brutus* was highly esteemed both by the people and senate, *Cassius* looked upon him as the most proper person for carrying on the conspiracy. He was thought to be descended by his father's side from the famous *Junius Brutus*, who drove out the *Tarquins* (A), and by his mother's side from the *Servilii*,

*A conspiracy
was formed
against him.*

fore they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The second, that having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain sum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them. But when the rains began to fall, those creditors, being touched with compassion, caused it to be published, that the *Cumæans* might, if they pleased, take shelter under their own porticoes; which gave occasion to this raillery, *The Cumæans had not the sense to know that they had a right to stand under their own porticoes, when it rained till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier*.

(A) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* and *Dion Cassius* assure us, that *Marcus Brutus* was not descended from the famous *Junius Brutus*. The *Junian* family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in *Brutus* himself, after he had sacrificed his two sons to the safety of his country. The other flourished many ages after, and furnished *Rome* with many heroes, among the rest with *Marcus Brutus*, of whom we are speaking in this place. As he bore the same name with the first consul, and was of the same family, the common people believed him to be descended from the first *Brutus*.

Plutarch

Cassius en-
deavours
to draw
Brutus into
the conspi-
racy.

vili, one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*; but what, in *Plutarch's* opinion, was more than all the rest, he was both nephew and son-in-law to *Cato* of *Utica*. He was a most zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the common-wealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at *Cæsar's* hands restrained him from using violent measures. He had not only been pardoned himself, and obtained the same grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharsalia*; but was one in whom *Cæsar* had a particular confidence. He had at that time the most honourable prætorship, was named for the consulship four years after, and designed in all appearance by *Cæsar* for his successor. For being once accused as engaged in a conspiracy against him, *Cæsar* would not hearken to the accusation, saying, that *Brutus* was not so ambitious, but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death. *Cassius* therefore, who had already formed the design of assassinating *Cæsar*, being on one hand desirous of drawing into the plot a man of so great credit as *Brutus*; but on the other not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid in the night time papers about his chair, where he used to sit as prætor and determine causes, with sentences to this import; *You are asleep, Brutus; you are no longer Brutus; and under the statue of the famous Junius Brutus he wrote the following words; Would to heaven thou wert alive, or some of thy descendants resembled thee.* *Cassius*, perceiving that these sentences made a deep impression on his mind, first employed his wife *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus*, to revive in the breast of her brother those generous sentiments, which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards resolved at all adventures to discover to him his design, not doubting but he should be able to draw one into the plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny. Accordingly, as the senate was to meet a few days after in order to deliberate, as was said, about giving *Cæsar* the title of king, *Cassius*, took this occasion to pay a

tarch himself, upon the authority of *Posidonius* the philosopher, was of the same opinion, and will have *Brutus* to be sprung from a third son of *Junius Brutus*, who was but a child, when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debase *Brutus* who acted a chief part in the conspiracy, pretend, that he was come of a mean family, which had been raised to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

visit

visit to *Brutus*, and ask him whether he designed to be present in the senate on the kalends of *March*, when *Cæsar's* friends were to propose the giving him the title of king: *Brutus* answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. But suppose you are called thither, replied *Cassius*. Then, said *Brutus*, I should think it my duty to speak and use my utmost endeavours against such unwarrantable proceedings, nay, and to dye rather than outlive the liberty of my country. Ah! replied *Cassius's* *Cassius*, what generous Roman would suffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourself, *Brutus*, if you imagine, that those papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the most illustrious and bravest men of Rome. From other prætors they demand games, shows, gladiators, &c. but from you, whose very name is dreadful to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfal of arbitrary power, being ready to expose themselves to the utmost dangers in expectation of your auspicious aid. These words made such a deep impression on *Brutus*, that, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all *Cassius's* measures, and from that time took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of *Brutus* soon engaged a great many illustrious citizens in the conspiracy, among whom were *C. Trebonius*, *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, the two *Servilius Casca's*, *Publius Caius*, *Decimus Brutus Albinus*, *Tullius Cimber*, and *Lucius Minucius* chief management of the conspiracy. These had all served under *Cæsar* from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his most trusty friends. It was more easy to draw into the conspiracy those who had always shewn an utter aversion to *Cæsar's* usurpation. Among these were *M. Junius Brutus*, *L. Cassius*, brother to *C. Cassius*, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *P. Turullius*, *C. Attilius*, *L. Petronius*, *C. Cornelius Cinna*, *Cassius Parmensis*, *L.* and *C. Cæcilius*, *Rubrius Ruga*, *M. Spurius*, *P. Sextius Nasa*, *Pontius Aquila*, *Antistius Labeo*, and many others, to the number of sixty, whose names have not been transmitted to us. As for *Cicero*, though he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet as he was naturally timorous, and greatly addicted to *Cæsar*, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, *Brutus*, did not think it adviseable to trust him with the secret. The conspirators would fain have engaged the famous *Statilius*, who affected to imitate *Cato*, and would have laid violent hands on himself after the defeat of *Pompey's* party in *Africa*, had he not been prevented by *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, as we have related above. *Brutus* in order to discover his

Brutus en-
deavours
in vain to
engage Sta-
tilius and
Favonius.

his true sentiments, asked him in a private conversation, which of the two evils was the greatest? *To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the risque of a civil war by shaking it off?* To this question *Statilius* answered without hesitation, that he had rather patiently suffer the oppressions of an arbitrary master, than the cruelties and disorders which generally attend civil dissensions. *Brutus* likewise endeavoured to engage in the conspiracy *Favonius*, a philosopher of great reputation, and, in order to sound him, proposed the same question to him, when *Favonius* declared, that, in his opinion, a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Upon this, *Brutus* gave over all thoughts of gaining *Statilius* and *Favonius*. In the mean time, *Cæsar's* enemies made it their whole business to stir up the common people against him, by spreading among the multitude a thousand false reports, viz. that he designed to fix the seat of his empire into *Egypt* or *Phrygia*, and to transport thither all the riches of *Italy*, abandoning *Rome* to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. *Cæsar*, in hearing these groundless reports, began to suspect, that some plot was privately carrying on against him; his friends believing that *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* were concerned in it, advised him not to trust them, but to be upon his guard and watch them narrowly. *Cæsar* answered, that he was not afraid of those plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, such as *Cassius* and *Brutus*. However, as he too easily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were some of the conspirators, telling him, that, after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himself in his preservation, he neglected the necessary precautions for his safety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vast designs he had formed, than in guarding himself against the attempts of his domestic enemies. For he had resolved to make war upon the *Parthians*, and, after having revenged the death of *Crassus* and the *Romans* slain with him at the battle of *Carrhæ*, to pass through *Hyrcania*, thence to march by the *Caspian* sea to mount *Caucasus*, till he came into *Scythia*; then to overrun all the countries between *Scythia* and *Germany*, and *Germany* itself; whence he designed to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the sea. He had already ordered sixteen legions and ten thousand horse to march towards *Brundisium*, and was himself to follow them in a few days. But his friends, who were desirous to see him honoured with the title of king before he left *Rome*, gave out, that the

Cæsar's
vast de-
signs.

books of the *Sibyls* declared, that the *Parthians* could never be overcome by the *Romans*, unless they fought under the conduct of a king. *Aurelius Cotta*, one of *Cæsar's* creatures, who had the sacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report out of them to the senate, and to propose that *Cæsar* should only be styled dictator in *Italy*; but that he should be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with respect to all foreign nations subject to the *Roman* republic. The senate was appointed to meet for this purpose on the *ides of March*, and that day the conspirators fixed upon as the most proper for putting their design in execution, since *Cæsar* would not fail coming to the senate on such an occasion, and it was safer to fall upon him there, most of the senators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the antient historians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifest presages of *Cæsar's* tragical death. They tell us, that men were seen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious flame seemed to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, insomuch, that those who saw it thought he must be burnt, but nevertheless he received no hurt; that as *Cæsar* was sacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the *ides of March*, for that he was then threatened with some great danger. They add, that when the day was come, *Cæsar*, as he went to the senate, meeting the augur, said to him by way of raillery, *The ides of March are come. They are come*, answered calmly the augur, *but they are not past*. The night before the plot was put in execution, he supped with *M. Lepidus*; and the discourse turning upon the kind of death which seemed best, *Cæsar*, busy as he was in signing some letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, *Of all deaths a sudden one is the best*. After supper he retired to his own house, where both he and his wife *Calpurnia* passed the night in great care and uneasiness. He was scarce fallen asleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being startled at the noise and the light, which broke all on a sudden into his room, he sat up in his bed, when by the moonshine he perceived *Calpurnia* fast asleep, but heard her utter in her dream some inarticulate words mixed with groans. She dreamt at that time, that the pinnacle (B), which the se-

The conspirators fix on the ides of March for putting their design in execution

Several prodigies preceding Cæsar's death.

(B) The pinnacle, as madam *Dacier* observes, was a sort of ornament usually placed on the top of temples. The *Greeks* call it

*Cæsar is
alarmed.*

*The con-
stancy and
intrepidity
of Brutus.*

nate had allowed to be raised on *Cæsar's* house, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and also fancied, that she was weeping over *Cæsar*, and holding him all covered over with wounds and blood in her arms. When it was day, she begged of *Cæsar* that he would not stir out, but adjourn the senate to another time; and that, if he slighted her dreams, he would be pleased to consult the gods by sacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her request; sacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the priests, all the victims proved inauspicious. *Cæsar* was not a man to be easily intimidated; he had braved death on a thousand occasions, and gained many victories, among the rest that of *Munda*, when the auspices threatened him with utter destruction. But, however, as he had never before discovered in *Calpurnia* any kind of superstition he now began to look upon her fears and apprehensions as inspirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected. As *Marc Antony* was then with him, being come, according to his custom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had some thoughts of sending him with orders to the senate not to assemble that day. But as most of his troops were already embarked, and he himself was to leave *Rome* in four days, he could not come to any fixed resolution, but remained in suspense, till the senate began to assemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by *Pompey* near his theatre *.

WHILE *Cæsar* was thus deliberating with himself, whether he should suffer the senate to assemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, *Brutus* was busy in administering justice in the forum, he being *prætor urbanus* for the present year. We are told, that he heard those who pleaded before him, pronounced sentence, and dispatched the causes, that were brought to his tribunal, with as much

* PLUT. in *Cæf. & Bruto*. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. DIO, xliv. SUET. in *Julio*, &c.

αἰὲτος αἴσιμα, and the *Latins fastigium*. Private persons were not allowed to raise such ornaments on the tops of their houses without the consent of the senate, who had the superintendency of every thing relating to the public. Thus, as a token of honour, the senate accorded to *Poplicola* to have the doors of his house open towards the street instead of opening inwards. The pinnacles were commonly adorned with statues of the gods, figures of victory, and such other decorations as were suitable to the rank and quality of those to whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

care,

care, equity, and application, as if he had no other business in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his house, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his robe, with a firm resolution of plunging it into *Cæsar's* breast before he returned home; yet he did not betray on his tribunal the least concern, but acquitted himself of his office with his usual calmness and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned in a certain sum, refused to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to *Cæsar*; when *Brutus* casting his eyes on the conspirators, *Cæsar*, said he, *how powerful soever, shall not prevent me from seeing such sentences put in execution, as are agreeable to the laws of Rome.* However, several accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify *Brutus* and the other conspirators, and had almost defeated their best concerted measures. While *Brutus* was hearing causes in the forum with his usual attention and patience, news was brought him, that his wife *Porcia* lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of *Cato*, and the only person, not concerned in the conspiracy, to whom *Brutus* had revealed it. He strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness of mind to himself; but at home, and especially in the night-time, he was not the same man, but sometimes all on a sudden started out of his bed, and at other times was so taken up with unquiet thoughts, and so perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia* concluded, he had some dangerous and difficult enterprise in agitation. As she was addicted to the study of philosophy, fond of her husband to a great degree, and full of courage and prudence, she resolved not to enquire into *Brutus's* secrets, till she had tried whether she had courage and resolution enough to conceal them even in the midst of torments. With this view she dismissed all her attendants, and taking a knife, gave herself a deep gash in the thigh, which threw her into a violent fever. *Brutus*, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment, when she in the height of her pain addressed him thus: “ I am, O *Brutus*, the daughter of *Cato*, and was given to you in marriage, not to partake only in the common civilities of bed and board, but to bear a share in your good, as well as your evil, fortunes. When I look upon you, I find no reason to repent the match; but from me, what evidence of my love, what satisfaction can you receive, if I am not allowed to share with you in bearing your hidden griefs, nor admitted to any of your counsels, that require secrecy and trust? I am well apprised, that women are commonly thought to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with secrets; but cer-

The courage of Porcia, wife to Brutus.

“ tainly, *Brutus*, a virtuous birth and education, and frequent conversing with men of honour, are of some force to the forming of our manners, and the strengthening of our natural weakness. I am the daughter of *Cato* and the wife of *Brutus*, in which two great titles I did not place much confidence, till I tried myself, and found, that even against grief itself and pain I am invincible.” Having thus spoke, she shewed him her wound, and related to him the trial she had made of her own constancy. *Brutus*, touched with this affecting speech, could not help discovering the whole plot to her without reserve; which when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprise, that he might live to be a husband worthy of such a wife as *Porcia* (C). But with all her resolution, when the day came, on which the design was to be put in execution, she was extremely disturbed with the expectation of the event, and, not being able to bear the greatness of her cares, she could scarce keep within doors. At every little noise she heard, she started up, and, running into the street, asked those who came from the forum, what *Brutus* was doing? At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome by her fears and doubts, she fell into a swoon. Whereupon her women making a great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to *Brutus*’s house to know what was the matter, and the report was soon spread abroad, that *Porcia* was dying, though she recovered in a little time, and came to herself again. This news pierced *Brutus*’s heart; yet he was not so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal, but, instead of going home, went to *Pompey*’s porch, adjoining to the hall, where the senators were to assemble, and there waited with the other conspirators the coming of *Cæsar* to the senate. But, as he did not appear, though the day was far spent, being detained at home by his wife and the augurs, they were all under the greatest uneasi-

Brutus discovers to her the conspiracy.

Constancy and resolution of Brutus.

(C) *Valerius Maximus* is the only author, who supposes, that *Porcia* was acquainted with her husband’s design before she wounded herself. According to him, *Brutus* discovered to her the whole plot the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon *Porcia* the next morning gave herself a dangerous wound with a razor; at which *Brutus* being greatly alarmed, *Porcia* told him, while he was expressing his concern in the most tender terms, that she had wounded herself to make a trial of her constancy and courage, being determined to lay violent hands on herself, in case the success of his enterprise did not answer his expectation.

ness,

ness, and ascribed his delay to the discovery of the plot. They *Several* were confirmed in their suspicion by several accidents, which accidents were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were *disturb the* thus waiting for *Cæsar*, a citizen coming up to *Casca*, one of *conspirators* the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, *You concealed,* said he, *the secret from me, but Brutus has told me the whole.* At which words *Casca* being greatly alarmed, the other said, smiling, *How came you, Casca, to be so rich on a sudden as to stand for the ædileship?* These words rettored, we may say, *Casca* to life again; for he looked upon himself as lost, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of discovering the secret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The senator *Popilius Lænas* gave room for new suspicions; for, after having saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* very obligingly, he accosted them, and whispered them softly in the ear; *My wishes are with you; may you accomplish what you design; but I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no secret.* Having thus spoke, he left them in the utmost consternation. *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, one in whom *Cæsar* had such confidence, that he had made him his second heir, being no less alarmed at these words than the rest of the conspirators, resolved to go in person to *Cæsar's* house, to inform himself there of what kept him so long from coming to the senate. Accordingly, with the approbation of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he flew thither, and being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, he asked him with his usual familiarity, what kept him so long from appearing in the senate. *Cæsar*, who looked upon him as one of his best friends, imparted to him in confidence what his wife had dreamed the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon *Decimus*, fearing lest he should put off the senate to another day, and the business might in the mean time get wind, turned into ridicule both *Calpurnia's* dreams and the divinations of the soothsayers, telling *Cæsar*, that he would be much to blame, if he gave the senate such just grounds to complain; *For they are,* said he, *met upon the senate.* *your own summons, and are ready to vote unanimously, that you should be declared king of all the provinces out of Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place. Now, if any one should be sent to tell them, that they must break up for the present, and meet again when Calpurnia shall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies say? or who will with any patience bear your friends pretending to justify you, and maintaining, that this is not an instance of downright servitude on one side, and barefaced tyranny on the other?* But

*Decimus
Brutus
prevails
upon Cæ-*

far to go to

if

Artemi-
dorus de-
livers a
paper to
Cæsar,
containing
the disco-
very of the
plot.

The con-
spirators
alarmed.

if you are so far prepossessed with groundless fears as really to think this an unlucky day it will be more decent for you to go to the senate yourself, and adjourn it in person. Having thus spoke, he took Cæsar by the hand, and dragged him, in a manner, out of his house. He was not gone far from his door, when an unknown slave made towards him; but not being able to get near him by reason of the croud, he went into his house, and put himself into the hands of Calpurnia, begging her to secure him till Cæsar returned, because he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate to him. Soon after one Artemidorus, a native of the island of Cnidus, by profession a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with most of the conspirators, put into Cæsar's hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to discover to him. Artemidorus had observed, that Cæsar, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to some of his officers, who attended him; and therefore coming as near to him as he could, he cried out, *Read this, Cæsar, quickly; for it contains affairs of the greatest importance, and such as concern you nearly.* Some writers tell us, that Artemidorus, not being able to come near Cæsar by reason of the throng, gave this note to another, who presented it to him. However that be, Cæsar attempted several times to read it; but being diverted by the croud of those who came to speak to him, he kept it in his hand by itself, till he came into the senate. When he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conscript fathers were assembled, Popilius Lænas, who, but a little before, had wished Brutus and Cassius good success in their undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him in private, Cæsar standing still all the time, and seeming to be very attentive. The conspirators not being able to hear what he said, but guessing from what they were conscious of, that this conference was a discovery of their treason, were strangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them with a design to stab themselves, if the plot was discovered; but judging from Lænas's looks and gestures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmness and unconcern that appeared in Cæsar's countenance, that the conspiracy was not the subject of their conference, they took courage, and were soon after delivered from all their fears. For Lænas in retiring was observed to kiss Cæsar's hand, which was a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accusing. Cæsar having dismissed Lænas, entered the hall, where the senators were assembled,

assembled. This was one of the many edifices which *Pompey* had raised for the use of the public ; whence *Plutarch* concludes, that some deity guided the action, and brought *Cæsar* thither to revenge upon him the death of *Pompey*. Upon *Cæsar*'s entering the hall, the senate stood up in respect to him. Of the conspirators, some stood behind the chair, *The con-* which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall ; *spirators* others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers *croud* with those of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother who *round Cæ-* was banished. In the mean time, *Trebonius* (D) drew *Marc* *far in the* *Antony*, who was faithful to *Cæsar* and a man of great strength *senate-* and resolution, towards the door, and entertained him in the *house.* porch with a long discourse contrived for that purpose. When the dictator was seated, the conspirators, crowding round him, renewed their supplications in favour of *Cimber*'s brother, and taking him by the hand, kissed it, in appearance, with great respect. But the dictator rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther and growing very importunate, he first reprimanded them severely, and afterwards, starting up, pushed them from him. Hereupon *Cimber*, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his shoulders, which was the signal agreed on to fall upon him. In that instant *Servilius Casca* who stood behind him, drawing *And fall* his dagger, gave him the first wound in the neck, which was *upon him.* not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who at the beginning of such a bold action was probably very much disturbed ; so that his strength as well as his courage might fail him. *Cæsar* immediately, turning about, seized *Casca* by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the same time, *Cæsar* in *Latin*, wicked *Casca*, what dost thou mean ? and *Casca* calling to his brother in *Greek* to come and

(D) *Plutarch* in the life of *Cæsar* tells us, that *Antony* was detained without by *Brutus Albinus*, and in the life of *Brutus*, that he was kept in talk by *C. Trebonius*. How could he be guilty of so manifest a contradiction in the relation of an action so considerable and notorious ? He was certainly mistaken in the life of *Cæsar*, and in that of *Brutus* hits upon the truth ; since all the historians, who mention this action, agree, that *Trebonius* entertained *Antony* at the door. *Cicero*, who is more to be relied on than all the historians put together, says in express terms in his second *Philippic*, addressing his speech to *Antony* himself ; *Cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus servocari* ; and in the third *Sceleratum Trebonium. Quo scelere ? nisi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit* ; intimating, that *Antony* deserved the same doom with *Cæsar*.

help

The cir-
cumstances
of his
death.

He is kil-
led.

Year after
the Flood,
2960.
Before
Christ,
39.
Of Rome,
709.

help him. Those who were not privy to the design were struck with such horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor assist *Cæsar*, nay, not utter a single word. But the conspirators, who came prepared, inclosed him on all sides with their naked daggers in their hands, so that which way soever he turned, he met with blows, and saw their daggers levelled at his face and eyes. *Cassius*, having first turned his face to a statue, which the republic had erected to *Pompey* in the hall, and silently implored the assistance of that hero, flew at *Cæsar* with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound on the head, encouraging the others to follow his example, and rid *Rome* of her tyrant. Hereupon they all pressed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of dispatching him, they wounded one another. *Brutus* in particular received a wound on the hand from *Cassius*, and most of them were stained either with *Cæsar*'s blood or their own. The hero, though thus baited on all sides, to use *Plutarch*'s expression, like a wild beast taken in a toil, fought and defended himself in the best manner he could, till, looking round about him to see if he could make his escape, he perceived *Brutus* with his dagger in his hand. This sight stung him to the heart, so that he struggled no more; but crying out, *What! my son, Brutus, and you too?* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly surrendered himself. Then the conspirators, pushing him either by chance, or, as some say, by design, to the pedestal, on which *Pompey*'s statue stood, which by that means was sprinkled with his blood, dispatched him there with twenty five wounds, the senate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the least assistance. We are told, that as he found himself fainting away and ready to drop down, he wrapt the skirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency¹.

THUS died in the fifty-sixth year of his age the greatest warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world, ever saw, after he had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault above a thousand towns, and slain, if *Pliny* is to be credited², eleven hundred ninety two thousand men. He was, without doubt, a person of extraordinary parts and wonderful

¹ PLUT. in *Cæs. & Bruto*. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. SUET. in *Julio*. c. 81 88. 91. APPIAN. l. ii. p. 522. CIC. l. ii. de divin.
² PLIN. l. vii. c. 25.

abilities, in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to intrude his country, and usurp a despotic and arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and usurpers deserve. If the state had been deemed irretrievable and an usurper a necessary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæsar*. But as *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the best and ablest *Romans* judged otherwise, the dictator's power and dominion was downright usurpation, and consequently every *Roman* was warranted by all the laws of *Rome* to put him to death.

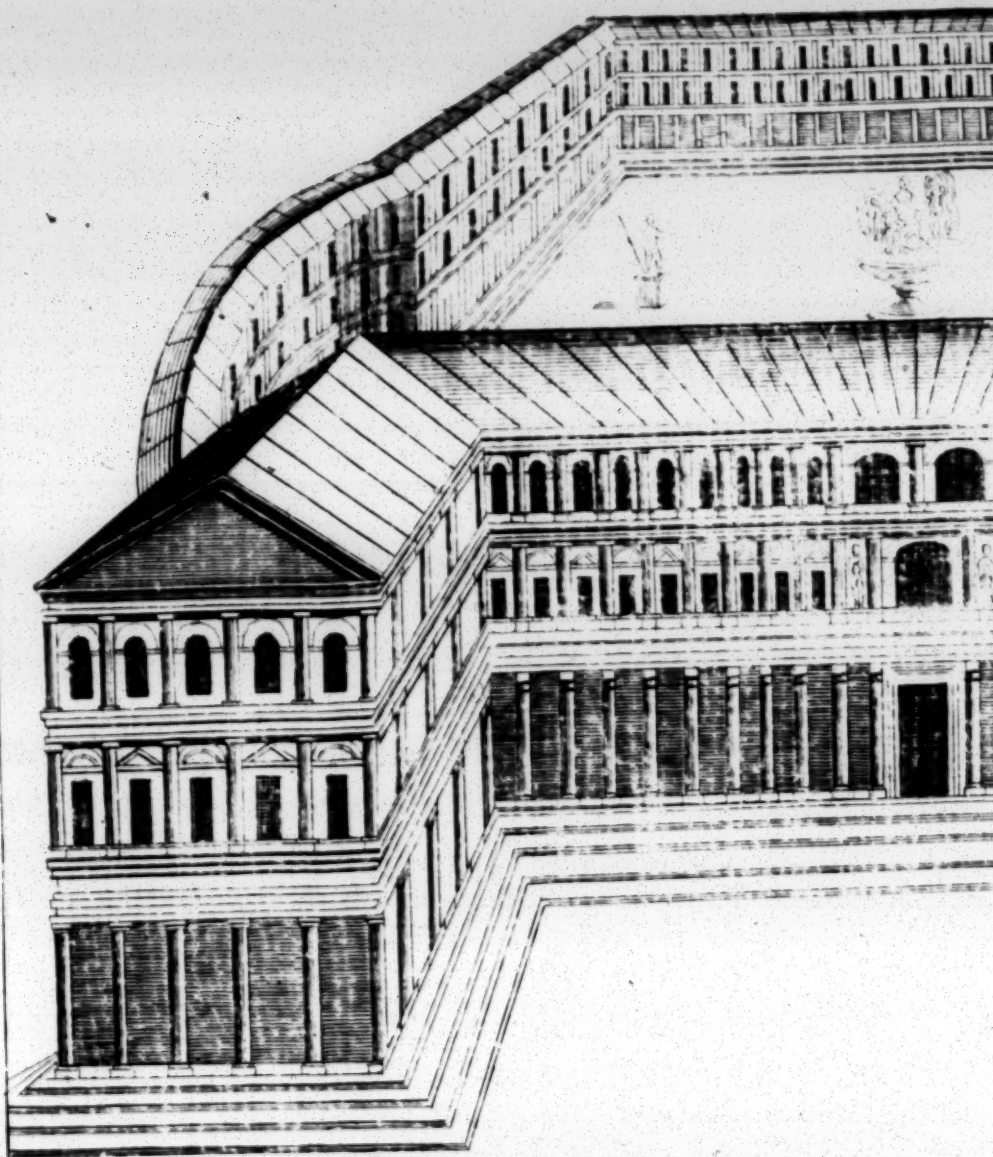
C H A P. XIV.

*The history of Rome, from the death of
Cæsar to the first consulate of Octavianus.*

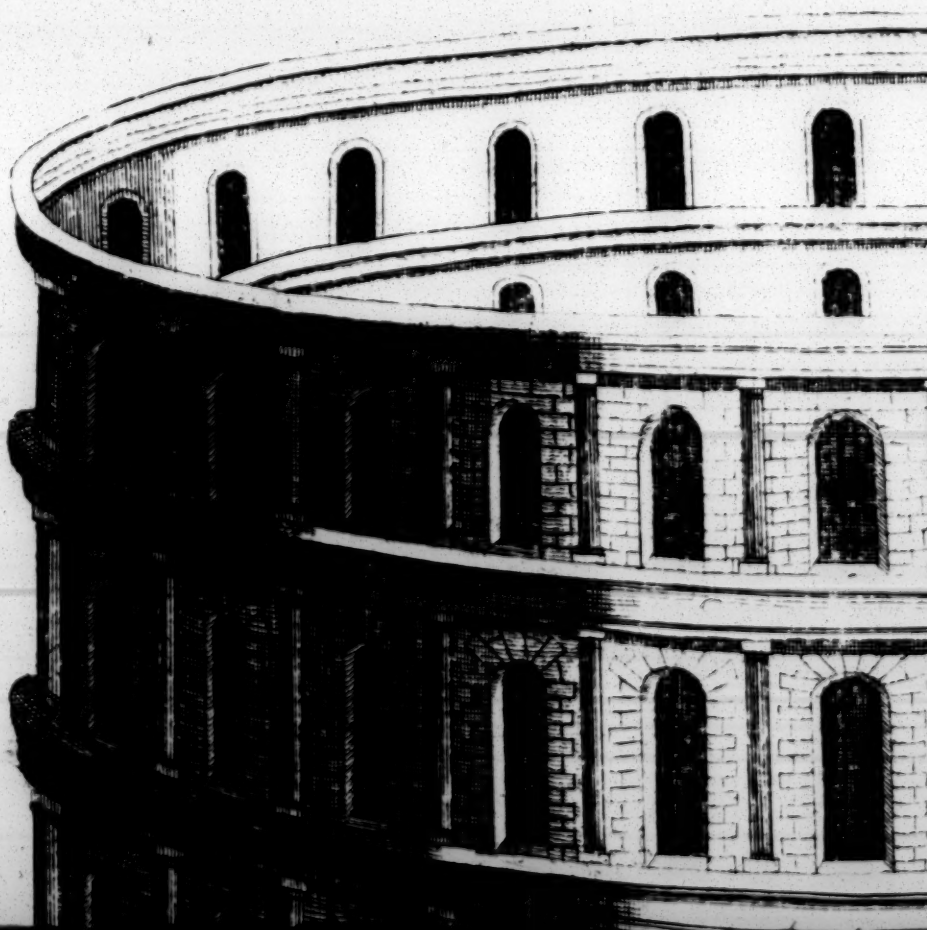
Rome in
great con-
sternation
upon Cæ-
sar's death.

WHEN *Cæsar* was dispatched, *Brutus*, stepping forth into the middle of the senate-house, offered to give an account to the conscript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had restored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmost consternation, and carried terror and confusion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall and in the porch, that some of the senators were stifled in the croud, and others dangerously wounded, by running blindly in that general distraction against the naked daggers of the conspirators. The news of *Cæsar's* death being in a trice spread all over the city, the friends of the deceased retired in all haste to their houses, and there shut themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from so tragical an event. The artificers, shutting their shops, ran in that sudden surprize, some to see the body of the deceased, others up and down the streets to inform themselves of the circumstances of so bold an attempt. In the mean time, *Brutus* and the other conspirators marched in a body from the senate-house all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like persons who thought of escaping, but with an air of confidence and assurance. Some persons of distinction, who had not been privy to the conspiracy, joined them with their drawn swords, being desirous to share in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part in it. Of this number were *G. Octavius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Patiscus*, *L. Staius*,

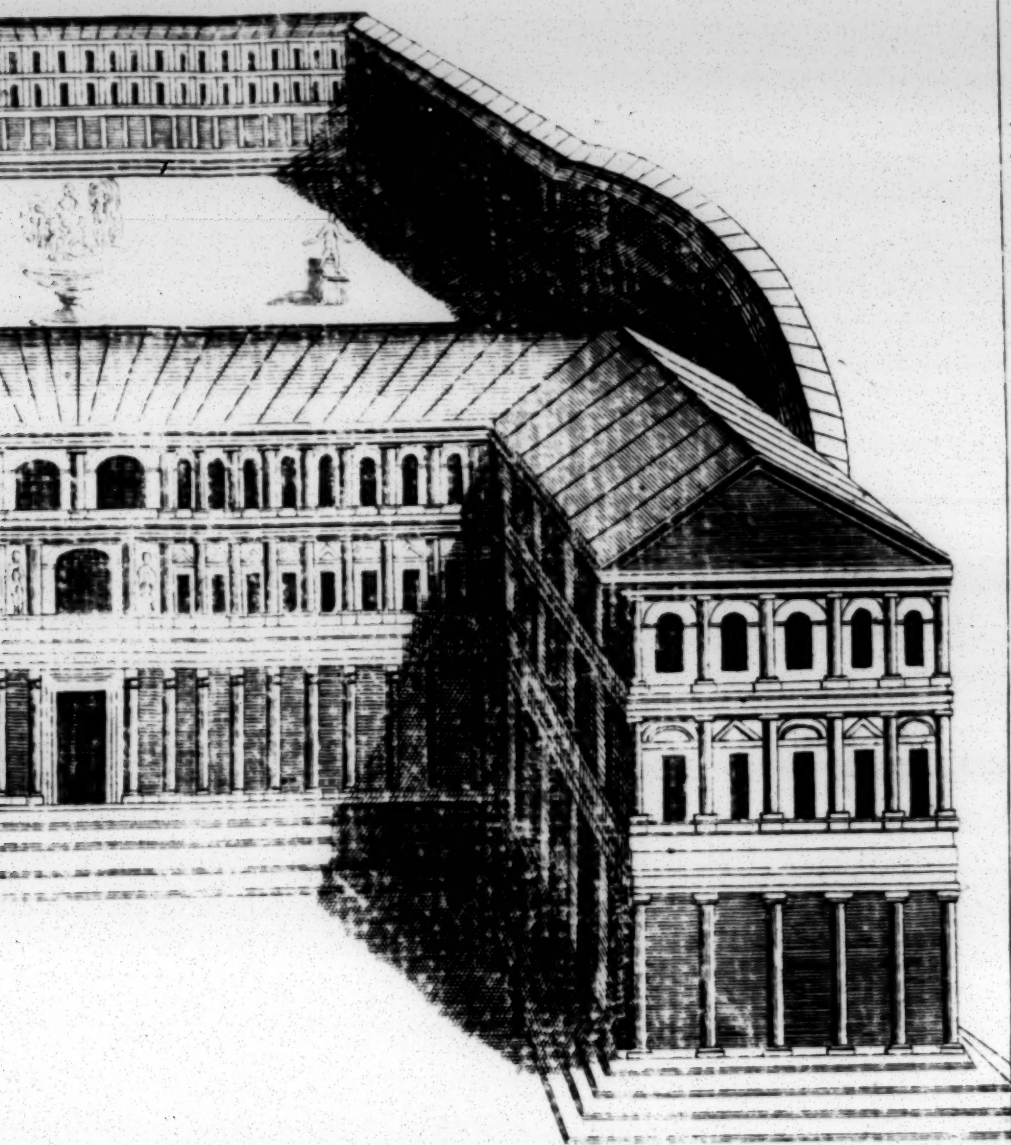
THE PALACE OF JULIUS



The AMPHITHEATRE of CLAUDIUS

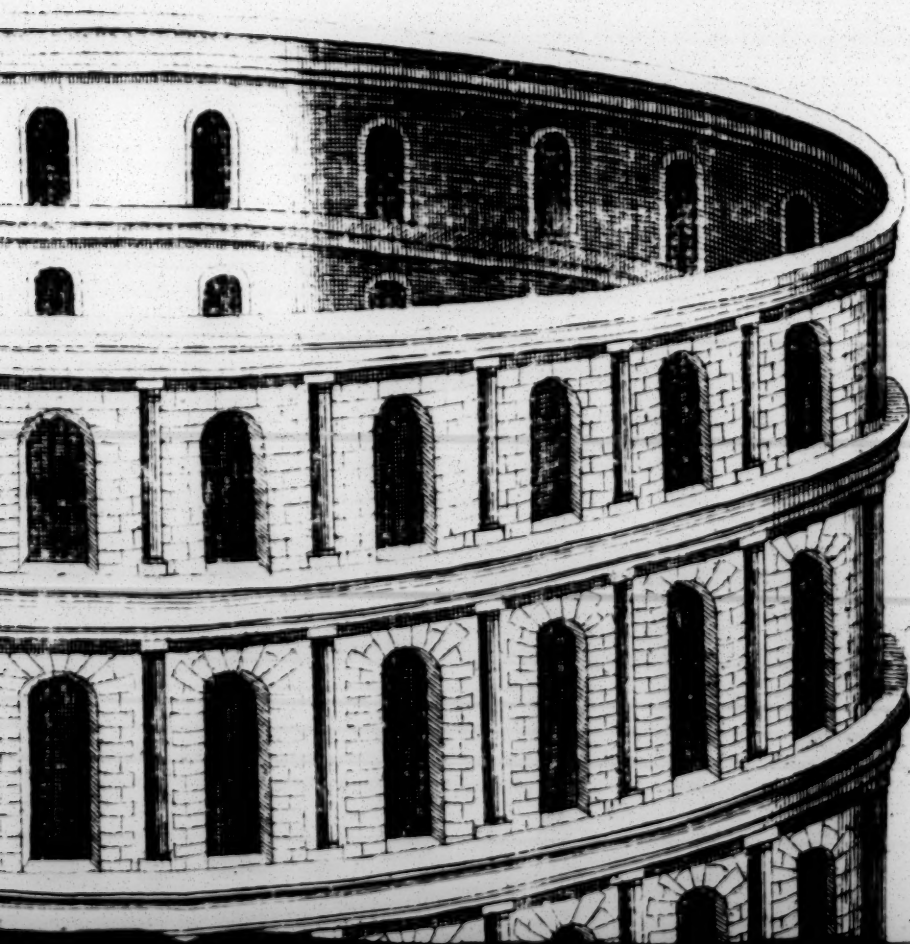


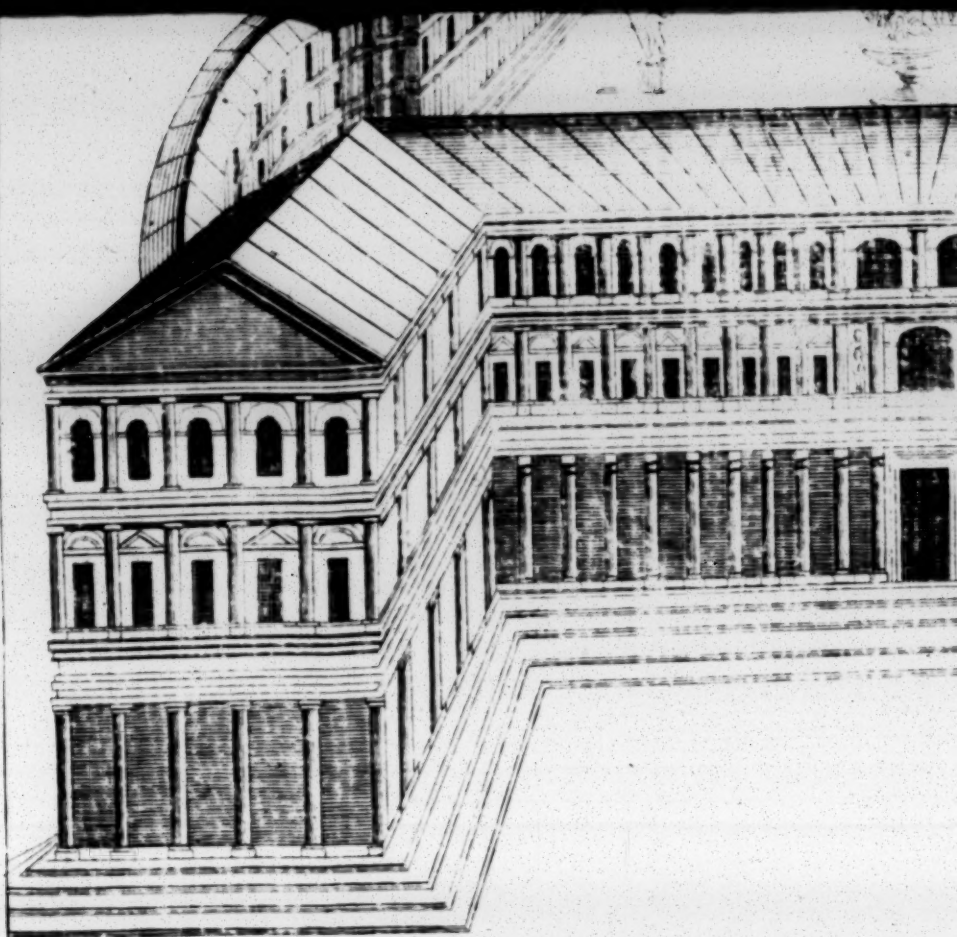
JULIUS CÆSAR



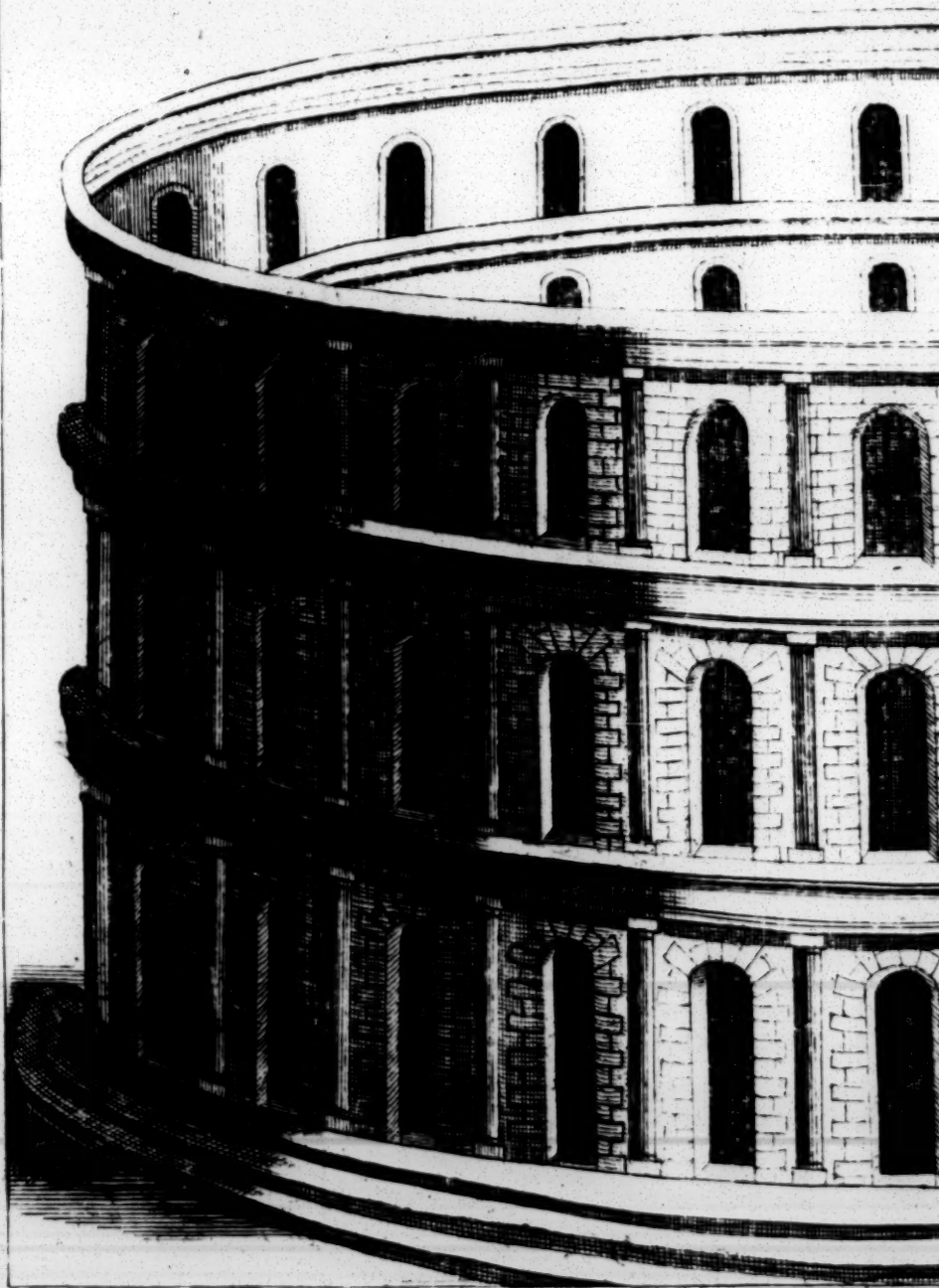
ex Dominic de Rubens

DIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MARTIS

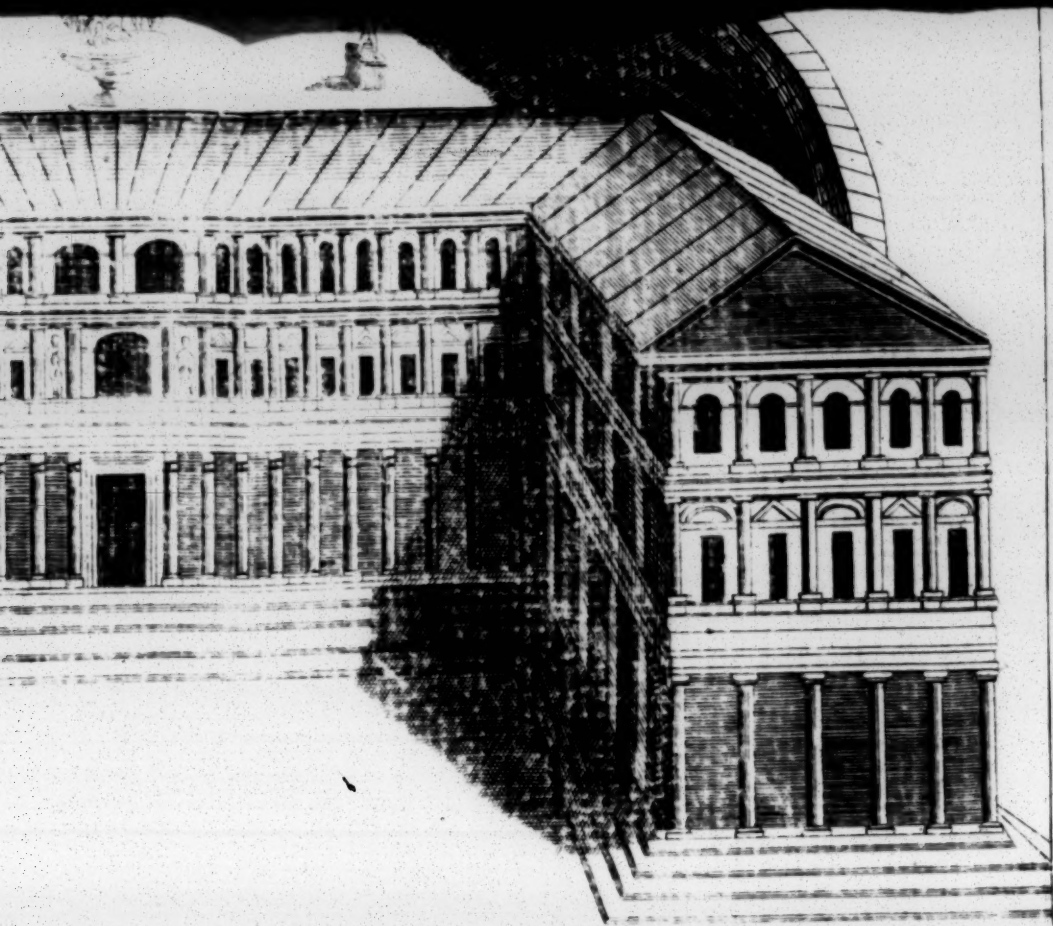




The AMPHITHEATRE of CLAUDIUS

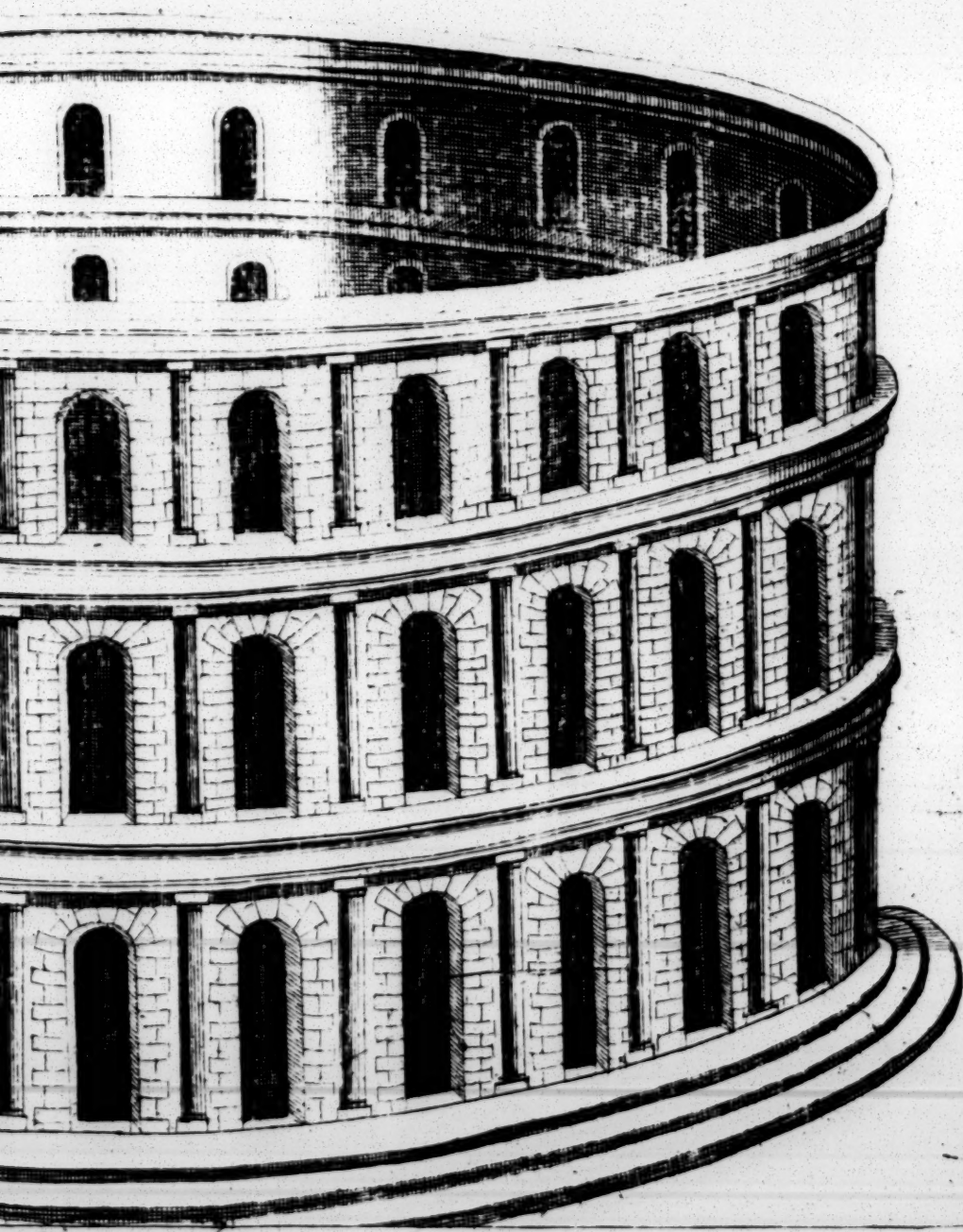


Pomaredo Sc.



ex Dominico de Rubens

UDIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MARTIS



ex Dominic de Rubens



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Statius Murcus, who had served under *Cæsar* in quality of lieutenant against the sons of *Pompey* in *Spain*, *A. Aquinius*, and several others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by *Antony* and young *Octavianus*. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the streets, that they had killed the king of *Rome* and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the symbol of liberty among the *Romans*. As they marched along, they called to the people to resume their antient liberty, and complimented such persons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, *Brutus*, holding up his bloody dagger, cried out, *Cicero, we have revenged the republic*. This he did, as some writers conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cause, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country against the wicked attempts of *Catiline*, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of *Cæsar*. However that be, the people did not join them; but, alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city, some bewailing the loss of one who had supported them with his largesses, and others laying hold of the present general distraction to plunder the houses of their fellow-citizens. They were no more those antient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more dear than life itself. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accustomed to live by the price of their votes, which they sold to the best bidder. *Brutus* therefore, with his followers, thought it adviseable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. The next day, as nobody was injured by the conspirators either in his goods or person, the senators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conspirators in the capitol. *Brutus* made an harangue to them, very popular and adapted to the present state of affairs. When he had done speaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come down into the city. Hereupon the conspirators descended with confidence into the forum, *Brutus* being attended and guarded by many persons of the most eminent quality in *Rome*, while the other conspirators went promiscuously mingled with the crowd. He no sooner appeared on the rostra, than the rabble, though consisting of a confused mixture, and all disposed to raise a tumult, were struck with reverence, and hearkened to him with silence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put *Cæsar* to death, and solemnly protested, that

The conspirators invite the people to resume their antient liberty.

His death attended with great disturbances in the city.

Brutus harangues the people.

But returns with his followers to the capitol.

neither he nor his companions had any thing else in view, but the delivering of *Rome* from a tyrannical yoke, and the restoring of their country to her former condition ; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than subjection, expressed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly displeased at the action ; and that they revered *Brutus*, but at the same time pitied *Cæsar*. Hereupon the conspirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where *Brutus* who expected to be besieged, dismissed several persons of distinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it just, that those who had no hand in the action should share in the danger ^m.

Dolabella takes upon him the consular dignity, and declares for Brutus.

As *Cæsar* had designed to set out in a few days on his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, he had resigned his consulship to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. The new consul, out of respect to *Cæsar*, waited for his departure to enter upon his office ; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and fasces, without the consent either of the senate or people. As this was an open acknowledgment of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends against *Brutus* and the other conspirators ; but he, to the great surprise of all, after so unwarrantable a step, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a consul ; and there, congratulating *Brutus* and his followers on the success of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would support them to the utmost of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made an harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country ; and, after having cast out many bitter reflections on *Cæsar*, and bestowed the highest elogiums on *Brutus*, he went so far as to propose a law, enacting, that for the future the *ides* of March should be celebrated with the same solemnity, as the day on which *Rome* was built. *The day*, said he, *in which Rome recovered her liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by all true Romans as happy a day, as that in which the city was first built. To the latter she owes her being, to the former her liberty ; and what is being itself without liberty ?* But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had supported with his liberal presents, were so far from being moved by his speech to approve of his death, that on the contrary they would have torn the consul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, saved himself in the capitol. However, the menaces,

^m PLUT. DIO CASS. APPIAN. ibid.

which

which the multitude threw out on this occasion against the dictator's enemies, did not deter *L. Cornelius Cinna* from renouncing his party in a most solemn manner. *Cæsar* had married to his first wife *Cornelia* the sister of *Cinna*, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raised him this year to the prætorship, and promised him the consulate. But *Cinna* was in his heart a well-wisher to his country and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon *Cæsar's* death, he not only sided openly with the conspirators, but going into the forum, with all the ensigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective against his brother-in-law, styling him tyrant, usurper, oppressor of his country, &c. When he had done speaking, he stripped himself, in the presence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, *These I received of Cæsar, against the known laws of Rome; and now I resign them to the Roman people, who alone have a right to dispose of them.* But even this generous and disinterested proceeding was highly resented by the vile populace, and *Cinna* obliged to abscond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury ⁿ.

The generous and disinterested behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

IN the mean time, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were intirely addicted to *Cæsar*, and had concealed themselves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people stood affected, appeared again in public. When the conspirators first consulted about the execution of their design, they were all, except *Brutus*, of opinion, that *Antony* should be cut off with *Cæsar*; for they looked upon him as a dangerous person, on account of his unbounded ambition and the powerful interest he had among the soldiery; but *Brutus*, whose intentions were upright and sincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, saying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of justice ought to be free even from all appearance of injustice. Besides he gave them hopes, that a great change might be worked in *Antony*. I do not despair, said he, but such a lover of glory as *Antony*, stirred up with emulation of our great attempt, will lay hold of this occasion to be joint restorer with us of the liberty of his country. Thus the generous *Brutus* saved *Antony's* life; but he instead of answering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the first news of *Cæsar's* death, fled in the disguise of a slave, and concealed himself, till he was informed, that the populace were disposed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majesty and splendor of a consul,

Antony saved by Brutus.

ⁿ APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 58.

being

Lepidus
is ordered
by Antony
to march a
legion into
the city.

Antony
assembles
the senate.

being this year *Cæsar's* colleague in that dignity, and managed matters with such address, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finishing blow to the republic, and reduced *Rome* to a lasting monarchy. The first step he took was, to order *Lepidus* to march into the city a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood, and to incamp in the field of *Mars*. This alarmed the conspirators in the capitol, who thereupon sent deputies to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, desiring them to consider the sad consequences of a division in so critical a conjuncture, and remonstrating, that no hatred to *Cæsar's* person had armed them against him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the state was already so drained by civil wars, that any new disturbances must prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views transport them to the prejudice of the public, &c. Both *Antony* and *Lepidus*, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar's* death, aimed at the sovereign power themselves, and sought it in the ruin of those brave men, who stood up in defence of their oppressed country; but, as *Decimus Brutus* was already set out from *Rome* to put himself at the head of an army of veterans in *Cisalpine Gaul*, which province had been allotted him by *Cæsar*, they both dissembled even their design of revenging *Cæsar's* death, and, to gain time, returned the following answer, That they were ready to sacrifice their private regards to the public good, and suffer the senate to be assembled, that they might govern themselves by the advice of so many illustrious and discerning persons as composed that venerable body. Accordingly *Antony*, as consul, appointed the senate to meet early the next morning in the temple of *Tellus*, near his own house, and, in the mean time, placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raising disturbances, and likewise ordered all *Cæsar's* money and papers to be conveyed to his house. Next morning by break of day, the conscript fathers assembled pursuant to their summons; and never did that august body meet on so important and nice an occasion. They came to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an usurper, or a lawful magistrate; and whether those who had killed him deserved punishments, or rewards. As none of the conspirators appeared in the senate, not daring to expose themselves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmness and temper than could have been expected in a matter of such consequence. Most of the conscript fathers were inclined to favour the conspirators; but nevertheless were divided among themselves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them the deli-

verers,

verers, the saviours of their country, and allotting them, as Different such, ample rewards. Others were for approving the action, *opinions of* without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, since *the con-* nobody demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to *script fa-* bury in oblivion what was past, without bestowing either *thers.* praises or rewards on the authors of Cæsar's death. Some of Cæsar's friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable; but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, out of a due regard to so many illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that, before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this question should be put, *Whether Cæsar was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?* since on the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators. Antony, foreseeing that this question would be decided to the disadvantage of his party, warded off the blow with an address and dexterity, which will seem incredible to those who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in Cicero's letters and speeches. *Have you well weighed with yourselves, conscript fathers, said Antony's* he, *the consequences that must attend the decision of this ques-* *address.* *on? If you declare the late dictator a tyrant, all his acts will be of course void and null; and who can conceive what confu-* *sion and disorders will hence ensue, not in this metropolis only, but in all the states and kingdoms subject to Rome? The republic will be without lawful magistrates, the provinces without governors, the armies without commanders, &c. since we have been all invested in our offices, commands, and governments by Cæsar. If we pronounce Cæsar a tyrant and usurper, we must lay down these honours, since we can no longer think them lawfully conferred upon us. If Cæsar is an usurper, his body must, pursuant to the ordinances of our ancestors be ignominiously dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber. What disturbances and tumults will not this produce among the populace, who adore him as a god? You are going, conscript fathers, to plunge the republic, nay, the whole world, which is filled with Cæsar's glory, into a bloody war and eternal disorders.* Antony's words made a deep impression on the assembly, which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not been nominated by Cæsar to any civil or military employments, still insisted on his being declared an usurper and tyrant; but all the present magistrates, and those whom

whom *Cæsar* had appointed to succeed them (E), were for dropping the question relating to him, and only decreeing, that nobody should be prosecuted on account of his death. Among the latter was the consul *Dolabella*, who, as he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the consular dignity, was well apprised, that, if he once parted with it, the people would not be easily induced to restore him, in defiance of the laws, to that post. However, several prætors were prevailed upon by the friends of the conspirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to strip themselves of their robes and publicly resign the offices, to which *Cæsar*, by his authority alone, had raised them. The division, which reigned in the senate, was likely to have involved the republic anew in a civil war, when *Cicero*, by an excellent speech, which has been transmitted to us, not in the language in which he spoke it, but in *Greek*^o, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*, viz.

An act of
oblivion
passed, and
Cæsar's
acts con-
firmed.

Whether he was a tyrant, or no; and to pass an act of oblivion for what was past. Accordingly a general amnesty was proclaimed, and at the same time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and the most zealous patriots, That not the least thing should be altered, which *Cæsar* had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the same time both innocent and guilty, since it was inconsistent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time decree, that those who had put him to death should not be prosecuted. *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, expresses himself on this subject thus; *The tyrant is no more; but the tyranny still subsists. We express great joy at his death, and at the same time confirm all his ordinances*^p.

^o DIO. l. xlv. ^p CIC. Philip. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 58. PLUT. in Cic. Brut. & Cæs. APPIAN. l. ii. DIO. l. xlv.

(E) *Cæsar*, foreseeing that his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to *Rome* for some time, had appointed consuls, as *Cicero* informs us, for the two following years, viz. *Aulus Hirtius* and *Caius Vibius Pansa*, for the first year after his departure, and *Decimus Brutus* with *Lucius Munatius Plancus* for the second. According to *Dion Cassius*, he had named consuls for the three following years; according to *Appian* for five, and according to *Suetonius* for many years. But the authority of *Cicero* ought to be of more weight than that of any historian, since he writes of such transactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally speaking, no small share.

THIS

THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable posture. *Antony* and *Lepidus* were still resolved to pursue their revenge on the conspirators, hoping to raise themselves by their destruction to the same post which *Cæsar* had held ; but, as they were afraid of each other, and both of *Decimus Brutus*, governor of *Cisalpine Gaul*, they artfully concealed their ambitious designs, and caused the act of oblivion to be published in all the quarters of the city. As the conspirators still kept in their asylum, for fear of some sudden tumult, *Antony* and *Lepidus* sent their children to the capitol as hostages for their security ; and then *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and their followers came down into the city. The same night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, *Antony* invited *Cassius* to supper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus*. As *Antony* liked joking, he asked *Cassius*, *Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robe ?* Yes, answered *Cassius*, who was naturally choleric and sullen, and a sharp one too, for any who shall dare to aspire at the sovereign power. This answer put a stop to any further jests. And now nobody doubted, but the republic would soon be restored to her former tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the conspirators as the deliverers of their country, and honoured them with the title of *tyrannicides*. This tranquillity did no-ways suit *Antony's* ambitious views. He therefore soon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incense the multitude anew against those, whom they had deservedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greatest honours and rewards. *Cæsar*, on the ides of *September* of the preceding year, had made his will in his house at *Laricum*, and appointed his father-in-law *Calpurnius Piso* to see it executed. To him *Marc Antony* applied, and pressed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well apprised, that this would produce new disturbances, and have a great effect on the inconstant multitude. On the other hand, the dictator's enemies endeavoured to persuade *Piso* to suppress it ; but he, being supported by *Antony*, openly declared, that nothing should divert him from discharging the trust *Cæsar* had reposed in him. The affair was at length brought before the senate, where it occasioned fresh disputes. *Antony* and *Piso* warmly insisted on having the will read, and the body of the deceased dictator honourably interred. Those, said *Piso*, who boast of having killed a tyrant, treat us themselves in a most tyrannical manner. They are willing, that whatever *Cæsar* has done in their behalf should be ratified, and at the same time demand, that his last dispositions be suppressed. As to *Cæsar's* funeral, you may order what you

think fit ; but as to his will, which he has deposited in my hands, I am resolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties and with great warmth, *Brutus yields them their request.* *Cassius* violently opposing the proposal of *Antony* and *Piso*, which, if complied with, he foresaw, would revive the affections of the people, and cause fresh troubles ; but *Brutus* at length yielded, and it was decreed, That *Cæsar's* will should be opened, his funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he worshipped as a god. This was an unpardonable oversight in *Brutus*, and *Cassius* loudly complained of his too easy condescension and unseasonable humanity ; and indeed with a great deal of reason ; for the reading of the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceased, proved fatal, both to the avengers of the republic, and the republic itself. *Cæsar's will.* The will being produced was read in the presence of the people ; and there it was found, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, *C. Octavius*, *Lucius Pinarius*, and *Quintus Pedius*. To *Octavius*, the grandson of his sister *Julia*, he left three fourths of his estate, and the remaining part to the other two. He also ordained, that young *Octavius*, his principal heir, should take his name, and be adopted into the *Julian* family ; and that if any of his great nephews should die or renounce his inheritance, *Marcus Brutus* and *M. Antony* should be substituted in their room. Several of the conspirators were appointed guardians to his children, in case he should have any ; and *Decimus Brutus*, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to succeed *Octavius*, in case he should die without issue male, and to be adopted into the *Julian* family. By the same will be bequeathed to the *Roman* people his fine gardens beyond the *Tiber*, and to each individual citizen the sum of seventy five *Attic* drachmas, or three hundred sesterces. *Disturbances occasioned by the reading of it.* These last tokens of *Cæsar's* good will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew against *Brutus* and his followers, on whom they no longer bestowed the glorious name of *tyrannicides*, but that of *assassins*, threatening to treat them in the same manner as they had treated the dictator their common benefactor. *Brutus*, perceiving this change, mounted the rostra in quality of prætor, and with the following speech, endeavoured to appease the enraged populace. *Brutus's speech to the people.* “ Great pains have been taken, said he, to prejudice you against us as disturbers of the public tranquillity. We are accused at the same time of cruelty, ingratitude, and perfidiousness. It is pretended that we have violated the oaths, which tied us to *Cæsar*. What oaths, immortal gods ! Had *Cæsar* any lawful power

“ power to require them ? Did he not extort them with his
“ sword at our throats ? Do you look upon forced engage-
“ ments as really binding ? Can forced oaths oblige us to
“ submit to a tyrant ? Has not *Cæsar* acted as such ever
“ since *Pompey*’s death ? He has disposed of the great
“ charges and principal employments, without your advice,
“ or that of the senate. The public money, the revenues
“ of the provinces, were conveyed into his coffers. All the
“ orders in the republic were forced to submit to his lawless
“ and arbitrary will. There is not one *Roman* throughout
“ the empire, whom he did not injure in the highest degree ;
“ for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greatest blef-
“ sing of mankind. When he seemed to be rendering his
“ country the most important services by his successful under-
“ takings, at that very time was he laying his schemes how
“ to bring her into subjection. He made war on foreign
“ enemies, only that he might know how to subdue and en-
“ slave his fellow-subjects. It is said, that he was meditat-
“ ing great things for the republic when he was cut off. He
“ might indeed have gathered empty laurels for himself by more
“ wars at the expence of the republic ; but what advantage
“ would have redounded to us from his victories ? Every
“ accession of power must, by raising his tyranny higher,
“ have sunk us lower and strengthened our chains. Had he
“ left us any hopes of his laying down one day the power he
“ had usurped, we should have bore the yoke with patience ;
“ but the name of *perpetual dictator* threatened us with eter-
“ nal slavery. He treated the very name of liberty and the
“ republic with contempt. He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning
“ his usurped authority, and manifestly shewed, that he
“ had nothing in his head or heart, but absolute rule, a dia-
“ dem, the title of king, and controlling the world accord-
“ ing to his lust. It is said, that his person was sacred and
“ inviolable ; but did not he the first violate that respect
“ which is due to sacred persons ? Did he not depose two of
“ our tribunes, and even condemn them to banishment, for
“ no other reason, but because they took from his statues the
“ royal diadem ? ” Then turning to the old legionaries,
“ who had for the most part, received lands of *Cæsar* by way
“ of reward for their long services. “ As for you, brave ve-
“ terans, said he, when you first entered into the service,
“ was it to *Cæsar*, or to the republic, you engaged your fide-
“ lity by the military oath ? You have fought under *Cæsar* ;
“ but was it for him you fought ? You have conquered ; and
“ your victories ought to be amply rewarded. We are re-
“ solved to allow you the rewards which *Cæsar* had promised

“ you. The commonwealth will not suffer you to be losers
 “ by his death. Those who have already received inheri-
 “ tances, shall be confirmed in the possession of them ; and
 “ such as have not yet been rewarded, shall be satisfied for
 “ their services out of the first money that comes into the
 “ public treasury. This I promise in the name of the re-
 “ public ; and my word shall be sacred and inviolable in
 “ every thing but the supporting of tyranny¹. ” This
 speech, which was no *frivolous apology*, as some assertors of
 absolute power are pleased to call it², appeased both the peo-
 ple and soldiery ; but *Antony* and *Piso* soon found means to
 inflame them anew with fury and sorrow, two gross passions

The body of which do not reason, but feel. They caused the body of
Cæsar *Cæsar* (F) to be brought forth with a great deal of pomp,
brought being carried on the shoulders of men, who were all in of-
forth with fice, and of the most illustrious families in *Rome*. They
great pomp. had raised a kind of stage in the forum over-against the

rostra, and on the stage a small temple of gilt wood, af-
 ter the model of that of *Venus*, *Cæsar*'s pretended mo-
 ther. In this temple was a bed of ivory, richly adorned
 with curtains of cloth of gold and of purple. On the bed
 was laid the body of the deceased, the robe in which he
 was killed being hung up by it. All *Rome* crowded to see
 the mangled body of their deceased hero, whose loss they
 bewailed anew with many sighs and tears. Those chiefly,
 who had served under him in most of his wars, were in-
 consolable, and with loud cries demanded vengeance. Then
Antony, to fire them still more, ascended the rostra (G), and
 took

Antony
inflames
the popu-
lace by his
funeral
oration.

¹ APPIAN. l. ii. DIO. l. xlv.
 Vol. XVII. p. 404.

² CATROU and ROVILLE,

(F) We are told by some historians, that the conspirators design-
 ed at first to throw the dead body of the dictator into the *Tiber*, in
 order to remove that object of compassion out of the sight of the
 populace ; but being prevented from putting their design in executi-
 on by the tumult which happened in the senate, they left it in the
 senate-house, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his
 house by three of his slaves, who took care to have it embalmed,
 not doubting, but the senate or people would, in due time, order
 it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence

(G) *Suetonius* is the only writer among the antients, who tells
 us, that *Antony* pronounced no funeral oration. *The consul*, says
 that historian, *made no oration, as was usual, in commendation of*
the deceased. He only ordered a herald to read aloud the decree of
 the senate, placing *Cæsar* among the gods, and ordering divine ho-
 nours

took upon him to pronounce his funeral oration, enlarging on every topic which could move compassion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conquests he had made, the various nations he had subdued, &c. Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorship, his being several times honoured with the consulate, the censorship, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and, above all, with the glorious name of *the father of his country*. From thence he passed to his virtues, crying up his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generosity, clemency even to his enemies, &c. After this he repeated the Oath, which the people of *Rome* had taken to him, and by which they had sworn, that his person should be sacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. *Antony*, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he said in commendation of *Cæsar*, to stir them up yet further to compassion, or rather to madness, unfolded the bloody garment of *Cæsar*, shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon *Antony*, seeing rage mixed with grief painted in every one's face, resumed his discourse, and turning to the capitol, *Great Jupiter*, said he, *and ye gods, protectors of the Roman empire, I call you to witness, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but the decree of the conscript fathers has tied my hands. Am I guilty of sacrilege and perjury?* At these words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but, *Vengeance, vengeance*. The senators were highly provoked against *Antony*, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he observing from their countenances, and fearing to disoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that august body, and, in some degree, qualify what he had said, concluded thus: *Yes, the Gods themselves absolve me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; since it is the crime of some evil demons, enemies to Rome, rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illustrious deceased, and placing him among the immortal gods.*

[DIO. APPIAN. SUET. *ibid.*]

nours to be paid him. *Antony* spoke only a few words in praise of the illustrious deceased. It is surprising that *Suetonius* should be ignorant of so remarkable an incident, related at length by all other historians, and, what is more, by *Cicero*, who, in his second *Philippic*, reproaches *Antony* with it in most bitter terms.

Antony,

Various artifices used to stir up the multitude. Antony had scarce done speaking, when one of the spectators, flying, as seized with some fury, from the midst of the croud, and, mounting the stage, laid hold of *Cæsar's* robe, and, displaying it again to the multitude, *There is the spoil of a hero*, he cried, *beloved of the gods, and revered by the world, even to adoration.* These words interrupted with frequent sighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries, and strange postures of sorrow, occasioned a general commotion. At the same time appeared all on a sudden an image of *Cæsar* in wax, which moved by springs, and shewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face, and other parts of his body. This sight transported the populace even to madness: the forum resounded with sighs mixt with menaces and curses against the authors of his death, whom they styled *assassins, parricides, &c. worthy of the most cruel punishments.* Their fury was so great, that they would defer no longer the solemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magistrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining shops, raised with them a funeral pile, and placing *Cæsar's* body upon it, set it on fire; so that the body, the bed, and the temple were consumed in a moment. When the fire first began to flame out, the old soldiers, who had served under the deceased, threw into the flames all the military rewards which he had given them. Many women of distinction, to testify their grief, and honour the memory of the deceased, threw into the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incensed multitude, whose blind fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in spite of the guards placed round the pile, snatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houses of the conspirators; but they, having before-hand got together a great number of their friends and domestics, easily repulsed a disorderly mob, that had no other arms but their grief and fury. As they were returning from the conspirators houses they met one *Cinna* (H), who had been always greatly

Cæsar's body burnt.

The fate of one Cinna.

(H) We are told, that *Cinna*, of whom mention is made here, had the night before an odd dream. He fancied, that *Cæsar* invited him to supper, and that, upon his refusing to comply with the invitation, the dictator pressed him very earnestly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this vision he was seized with a fever; but nevertheless in the morning, hearing that *Cæsar's* body was to be interred, and being ashamed

greatly attached to *Cæsar's* party; but, mistaking him for another of the same name, who was concerned in the conspiracy, fell upon him, and tore him to pieces on the spot. *Brutus* and his party were so alarmed at these proceedings, *Brutus and his followers* that they thought it adviseable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to *Antium*, with a design *ers retire* to return again as soon as the fury of the people was abated, *from* which, they hoped, would be soon, since the senate had espoused their cause. All the strangers in *Rome* mourned after the custom of their respective countries, especially the *Jews*, who watched several nights at the place where his body had been burnt (I). At last divine honours were given him, and an altar erected by the populace in the same place, which was ever after looked upon as sacred, his great nephew *Octavius*, having caused a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jasper twenty foot high, with this inscription, *To the father of his country*¹.

THE conspirators and the conscript fathers were equally offended at the artful speech of *Antony*. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the senate and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had passed in oblivion, he had so pathetically enlarged on the praises of *Cæsar*,

¹ PLUT. APPIAN. DIO. SUET. *ibid.*

shamed not to be present at the solemnity, he went into the forum, out of respect to the memory of his friend, though his dream gave him no small apprehension. One of the rabble, whom *Antony's* speech had stirred up and enraged, seeing him there, asked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was presently reported, that he was one of the conspirators, or, what is most probable, that he was that *Cinna*, who had, a little before, in a speech to the people, inveighed against *Cæsar*, and this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

(I) No people received more signal favours at *Cæsar's* hands than the *Jewish* nation. He restored *Hircanus*, the son of *Alexander*, to the sovereignty of *Judæa*, and secured the crown to him and his family by a decree, which he caused to be engraved on tables of brass in *Greek* and *Latin*, and to be hung up in the capitol at *Rome*, and in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Ascalon* in *Phœnice*. He remitted great part of the tributes, which the *Jews* paid annually to the republic, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the *Jewish* nation in the war of *Alexandria*; before he left that city he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed there, and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon, by his command, all these privileges were engraved, and also his decree confirming them (45).

(45) *Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.*

with

Antony
endeavours
to gain the
senate.

Punishes
Amatius
and other
rioters.

Proposes
the recall-
ing of Sex-
tus Pom-
peius.

with no other view but to stir up the rage of the people. *Antony*, therefore, finding he had discovered himself too soon, and being well apprised, that it was in the power of the senate to cross his designs, resolved to regain their favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by inflicting severe punishments on the authors of the disturbances, which were daily raised in all the quarters of the city. One *Amatius*, passing himself upon the multitude for the grandson of *Marius*, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of *Cæsar* his kinsman, committed every-where great disorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But *Antony*, to make his court to the senate, caused him to be seized, and put to death, without any further trial. As the people flocked daily in crowds to the altar, which they had erected to *Cæsar*, *Antony* caused it to be demolished. This provoked the mutineers, who thereupon assembled the next day in great numbers, in order to rebuild the altar; but *Dolabella*, with the consent of his colleague, fell upon them at the head of some legionaries, and cut several of them in pieces. Those who escaped the swords of the legionaries, were prosecuted by the two consuls, and punished with the utmost rigour, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. The slaves were all crucified, and such as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. Such vigorous proceedings struck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while restored the city to its former tranquillity. After this *Antony*, having assembled the senate, assured the conscript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention should be how to re-unite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occasion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the same time, to gain the fathers intirely, he proposed the recalling of *Sextus Pompeius*, son to *Pompey the Great*, who ever since the battle of *Munda*, had concealed himself in *Celtiberia*. He was even of opinion, that the loss of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by *Cæsar* and divided among his creatures, should be made good to him at the expence of the public, and that the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic should be conferred upon him, in the same unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This proposal was heard with surprise, and received with general applause. Some ascribed this change in *Antony* to his fear of the conspirators; others suspected, that he was desirous of engaging the senate in his favour against young *Octavius*, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from *Greece* to *Rome*. All the senators, however, bestowed on him the greatest commendations,

mendations, which were so much the sincerer, as the restoration of young *Pompey* seemed to be an implicit condemnation of *Cæsar's* memory. *Cicero* himself, deceived by this false appearance of zeal, highly commended *Antony's* conduct, first in the senate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the consul kept, and in due time made public by way of answer to the orator's bitter invectives.

THE conscript fathers were highly pleased with such a conduct in a consul and a friend of *Cæsar*; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing sides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. *Antony* failed not to make himself a merit with the senate of this aversion. He even pretended to be afraid, lest the enraged multitude should make some attempt upon his life, and, as if he were not safe, demanded a guard of the senate to secure himself against the rabble, who, he said, threatened him with destruction. The conscript fathers could not well reject his request, since he had incurred the hatred of the people for the interest of the senate. They allowed him therefore a guard *Is allowed for the security of his person; but Antony, under this pretence, a guard.* chose six thousand old legionaries, who had served with him under *Cæsar*, and passionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The senate was alarmed to see the consul *He is suspected by the senate.* walk the streets of *Rome* always attended with such a number of armed men. Even his friends remonstrated to him, that such an extraordinary attendance made him suspected and odious in a free state. *Antony* promised to disband them, as soon as he thought himself out of danger; and, in the mean time, to remove the suspicion they might entertain of his aspiring to succeed *Cæsar* in the dictatorship, he proposed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it passed in the assembly of the people. This calmed for a while the fears of the conscript fathers: but *Antony* soon gave them fresh motives of jealousy; for having gained over to his interest *Cæsar's* secretary, whom some call *Faberius*, others *Tabirius*, *His falsehood and double-dealing in concert with Cæsar's secretary.* and by his means made himself master of all his papers, he appointed what officers he pleased, brought whom he thought fit into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, &c. and all this as ordered so by *Cæsar*, whose acts had been declared void by the senate. The Romans, by way of raillery, called those new magistrates and senators *Charonites*, because, if obliged to prove their patents, they must have had recourse to the registers of the dead, that is, of those who had passed the river *Styx* in *Charon's* bark. They were also styled *Orcini*, an epithet given to such slaves as were enfranchised

franchised by their masters will made on their death-bed. *Antony*, having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the senate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conscript fathers or the populace, since he had now a strong party in the senate, and was guarded by a numerous body of chosen troops against the insults and attempts of the multitude. Besides, the whole authority of the government was, we may say, in his hands. He was himself consul, one of his brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was tribune of the people, and the other, *C. Antonius*, prætor; so that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, it may be said, that he governed *Rome* with an absolute sway^t. As for *Lepidus*, *Antony* attached that powerful *Roman* to his interest, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of *Cæsar*, and betrothing his daughter *Antonia* to young *Lepidus* his son.

Magnificent sports exhibited by Brutus.

IN the mean time, some of the conspirators returned to *Rome*, while others continued at *Antium*. Among the latter was *M. Brutus*, who, upon intelligence that many of the old soldiers, who had served under *Cæsar*, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by small parties had stolen into the city, would not expose himself to unnecessary dangers. However, in his absence, most magnificent shows were exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having bought up a great number of wild beasts of all sorts, he gave positive orders, that not one of them should be disposed of or saved; but that they should be all used in those shows. He even went in person as far as *Naples* to engage a considerable number of comedians, and wrote to *Cicero* and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his shows with their presence^u. *Cæsar* had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conspirators, viz. *Macedon* to *M. Brutus*, *Syria* to *Cassius*, *Asia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*. Some authors write, that these provinces were given them by the senate. However that be, they still continued in or near the capital, to watch *Antony's* steps, who now manifestly aspired, notwithstanding all his former protestations, at the sovereign power.

Octavius's origin.

SUCH was the posture of affairs, when news was brought, that young *Octavius*, *Cæsar's* great-nephew and adopted son, was coming to take possession of his inheritance. He was the

^t APPIAN. l. iii. & viii. DIO. l. xlv. PLUT. in Bruto. CÆC. in epist. passim, & in Philippiis. ^u PLUT. in Bruto.

son of *Caius Octavius* of the senatorial order, who had been prætor of *Macedon*, and of *Accia*, daughter to *Julia*, *Cæsar's* sister. The *Octavian* family was divided into two branches, viz. the *Cnei* and the *Caii*. The former were early distinguished at *Rome* with the first honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom *Cæsar's* adopted son was descended, were but simple knights at the time of the second *Punic* war. *Octavius's* great-grandfather served in *Sicily*, in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the first employments in *Velitræ*, his native city. His mother *Accia*, or *Atia*, was the daughter of *Julia* and *M. Accius Balbus*, whose family, as appears from several ancient inscriptions, had been, long before the birth of *Octavius*, one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*, an ancient city of *Latium* (K). *Octavius* was born

(K) *Marc Antony* reproached *Octavius* with the meanness and obscurity of his ancestors. According to him, *Octavius's* great grandfather, on the father's side, was a freed-man, and by profession a rope-maker in the territory of *Thurium*, and his grandfather a banker. On the mother's side, *Antony* derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of *Aricia*. *Cassius Parmensis*, in a letter he wrote to *Octavius* before the battle of *Actium*, told him, that he owed his birth to a money-changer and a woman brought up in the mills of *Aricia*. But these calumnies are learnedly rejected by *Joseph Rocco Volpi*, an *Italian* jesuit, in his account of the antiquities of ancient *Latium*, where he proves from several ancient inscriptions, that the *Octavian* family, before their migration to *Rome*, which happened, according to him, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, had borne the first employments in the republic of *Velitræ*, now *Velletri*. As to the *Atian* family, he shews, that, for several ages before the birth of *Octavius*, it had been one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*. *Virgil* indeed derives the *Atian* family from *Atys*, the companion of *Iulus*, son to *Æneas*.

*Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo* (46).

Many writers, and among the rest *F. Volpi*, are of opinion, that *Octavius* was brought up in the town of *Ulubræ*, situate in the district of *Velitræ*; for *Suetonius* tells us, that he was educated in *avito suburbano prope Velitras*; and that, as soon as he spoke, he commanded the frogs that were croaking to be silent, and from that time, adds he, *negantur ibi coaxare*. From this passage they infer, that *Octavius* was brought up in a place near *Velitræ*, which abounded with frogs, and consequently at *Ulubræ*, which was in the territory of *Velitræ*;

(46) *Æneid. l. v. ver. 569, 570.*

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His educa-
tion.

Theregard
Cæsar had
for him.

Is inform-
ed at A-
pollonia
of his
uncle's
death.

born in the consulate of *Cicero* and *Caius Antonius*, that is; in the year of *Rome* 690. His father *Caius Octavius* dying when he was but four years old, his mother *Accia* married again, and took to her second husband *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, descended from those *Philippi*, who signalized themselves in the *Macedonian* wars. From his infancy he bore the surname of *Thurinus*, borrowed, as *Suetonius* conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of *Catiline's* army from the neighbourhood of *Thurium*, a city of *Great Greece*, and was from thence styled *Thurinus*. *Accia* his mother and *Philippus* his father-in-law took care to have him educated and instructed by the best masters then in *Rome*; and he is said to have so profited by their instructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother *Julia* when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glaring proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the most difficult enterprises. His extraordinary parts, say they, joined to the majesty of his mien and comeliness of his person, influenced in his favour all who knew, or only beheld, him. Above the rest, *Julius Cæsar*, his great-uncle, was so taken with his prudent conduct and a certain maturity of judgment, which young *Octavius* discovered from his tender years, that he cherished him, with all the tenderness of a father, and very early formed the design of adopting him, in case he had no children of his own. He designed to take him with him into *Spain*, when he went thither to make war on the sons of *Pompey*, that he might have an opportunity of instructing him in the military art; but his mother *Accia*, alarmed at a slight indisposition, with which he was seized when upon the point of departing, kept him in *Rome* till that war was near ended, the battle of *Munda* being fought before he reached *Spain*. He intended to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, and with this view sent him before to *Apollonia*, on the other side of the *Adriatic*, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*. He had been six months in *Apollonia*, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death, and, as it was situate in the midst of the *Pomptine* marshes, must of course have been well stocked with frogs (47). Hence it is, that *Tully* calls the inhabitants of this town *frogs*, because, like frogs, they lived in the midst of marshes (48.)

(47) *Sust. in Octav.*

(48) *Cic. epist. fam. l. vii. ep. 18.*
death,

death, which most sensibly afflicted him. At first he knew not whether the whole senate was privy to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conspiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed that sixty senators of the most illustrious families in *Rome* had been in the plot; that even those who had no share in it, did, however, secretly favour the conspirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions occasioned by the animosity of different parties, &c. At the same time he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, advising him to forbear for the present declaring either his pretensions or resentment, since there could be no safety for him but in an obscure and private life. Some of his friends went even so far as to advise him to renounce *Cæsar's* adoption, lest he should be involved in the same fate with his uncle. Others would fain have persuaded him to seek for shelter among the troops in *Macedon*, which had, for the most part, served under *Cæsar*, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition against the *Parthians*. But *Octavius*, rejecting the timorous counsels of his friends, resolved to pass over into *Italy* without delay, to inform himself on the spot of the situation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a small vessel, and, passing the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Lupia*, now known by the name of *La Rocca*, between *Brundisium* and *Hydruntum*. The former of these two cities was the usual place of landing for those who came from the east; but *Octavius* thought it adviseable not to shew himself there, the place being full of soldiers, till he had, by means of some dexterous persons, sounded the dispositions of both the inhabitants and garison. The latter no sooner heard of the arrival of their late general's son, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of triumph into the city. *Octavius* thanked them for their attachment and respect to the memory of his uncle, and, after having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, declared himself *Cæsar's* heir and son by adoption, calling himself no longer *Caius Octavius*, but *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus* (L); and by the latter *Cæsar's* name heir.

(L) Adopted persons assumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper descent, added at the end either their former *nomen* or *cognomen*; the first exactly the same

How supplied with arms, money, &c.

name we shall distinguish him, following therein most of the antients, till he acquires that of *Augustus*, which was given him by the senate after the victory he gained over *Antony* at *Actium*. His thus taking the name of *Cæsar*, and declaring himself his heir in so critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold step in a youth scarce eighteen years old; the more, because it was against the advice of all his friends and relations; but, from his first setting out, fortune seemed to espouse his cause; and indeed his rise seems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to seasonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whose memory was adored by the soldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether historians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, represent him as the greatest commander, the ablest statesman, and the most accomplished prince, the world ever saw; but whether he deserved the praises, which they so lavishly bestowed upon him, and for which they were amply rewarded, is a question which must be decided by facts. But to proceed: the garison of *Brundisium*, which was very numerous, and consisted for the most part of brave veterans, whom *Cæsar* intended to lead against the *Parthians*, not only offered their service to *Octavianus*, but put him in possession of all the military stores and provisions, which *Cæsar* had prepared for his *Parthian* expedition, and conveyed to *Brundisium*, in order to be transported from thence into the east. At the same time *Octavianus* had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were sent annually to *Rome* from the provinces on the other side of the sea, and likewise the provisions and money designed for the support and payment of the troops of the republic in *Macedon*. These *Octavianus* seized for his own use, which was, according to the laws of *Rome*, a capital crime, and would have been punished with death in less turbulent times; but *Octavianus*, young as he was, had already resolved to make himself master of the republic, under the specious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus supplied at once with men, money, arms, and provisions, he set out from *Brundisium*, and took his rout through *Campania* to *Rome*. On the fourteenth of the kalends of *May* he arrived

same as before, for instance, *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*, the name of *M. Junius Brutus* when adopted by *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo*. The other was added with some slight alteration, as in the case before us, *Octavius* calling himself, after his adoptive father, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and changing the cognomen *Octavius* into *Octavianus*, declaring himself thereby to be of the *Octavian* family.

at

at *Naples*, and the next day went to visit *Cicero* at his country-house in the neighbourhood of *Cumæ*, whither the orator *Cicero* had retired for fear of *Antony*, who now governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. Of this visit *Cicero* himself makes mention in one of his epistles to *Atticus* ^w. *Octavianus* wanted a man of *Cicero*'s eloquence and authority to support his interest in the senate, and *Cicero* one of *Octavianus*'s credit among the troops to screen him against the attempts of *Antony*, with whom he had quarrelled. It was therefore agreed between them, that *Cicero* should assist *Octavianus* with his eloquence, both in the senate and with the people, and that *Octavianus*, *Cicero* on the other hand, should defend *Cicero* against all his enemies, especially *M. Antony* (M). From *Cumæ* *Octavianus* pursued his journey to *Rome*, being joined, as he passed through *Campania*, by the most considerable of his uncle's friends, his relations, freed-men, and even his slaves. The veterans likewise, to whom *Cæsar*, after the civil wars, had given lands in *Italy*, hastened from all parts to offer their service to his adopted son. As he drew near *Rome*, most of the

Agreement
between
and Octa-
vianus.

^w Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.

(M) We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cicero* had long had a tender regard for young *Octavius*, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occasioned by the following dream: While *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, says *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, in a dream, seemed to summon the sons of the senators into the capitol, as if *Jupiter* designed to declare one of them the sovereign of *Rome*. The citizens, hastening thither out of curiosity, surrounded the temple; and the youths, sitting in their purple robes, kept a profound silence. On a sudden the doors opened, and the youths arising passed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all one after another, and dismissed them; at which they seemed much displeased: but when it came to *Octavius*'s turn to be reviewed, *Jupiter*, stretching forth his hand, said aloud, *This, O Romans! this young man, when he shall become master of Rome, shall put an end to all your cruel wars*. The same author adds, that *Cicero*, by this vision had framed a perfect idea of the youth, and preserved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day, as he was going down into the *campus Martius*, he met the boys returning from their exercises, and the first he saw was young *Octavius*, just as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly surprised at this, he asked him who he was, and hearing he was the grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s sister, from that time he saluted him wherever he met him, and shewed on all occasions a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all *Cicero*'s works; and yet it is not to be presumed, that he would have concealed so significant a dream from his friend *Atticus*.

magistrates,

magistrates, the officers of the army, and the people, came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay him the least respect; nay, he did not so much as deign to send any of his servants or attendants to compliment him in his name; but of this young *Octavianus* took no notice, being unwilling, on so trifling an account, to disoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to transact. His friends indeed could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of *Antony*; but *Octavianus*, with a seeming good temper, excused him on account of his greater age and the prerogatives of the consular dignity. *It behoves me, who am but a young man, and in a private station, said he, to wait the first on one who is my senior, and in the highest post of the republic.* Accordingly he resolved to make him a visit the next morning; but as he designed to have his adoption first ratified by the prætor, according to the *Roman* custom, he desired his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to assist at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crouds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, pursuant to his request, into the forum, where he proved before *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, at that time prætor urbanus or city prætor, his adoption, declared with the usual ceremonies his acceptance of the same, and caused this his acceptance to be registered by the public scribes or notaries. From the forum *Octavianus* went strait to *Pompey's* gardens, where *Antony* then resided, he having appropriated them to himself upon that great man's death. The consul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected disregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he designed to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeness and civility. *Octavianus* spoke first. He began with returning thanks to *Antony* for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modestly complained of his having suffered a pardon to pass in favour of the conspirators, whom he might have punished with as much severity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impostor *Anatius*. He reminded him in a very handsome manner of *Cæsar's* friendship to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to assist him in revenging his death, at least not to oppose him in so laudable an undertaking. In the close of his speech he gave *Antony* to understand, that he was resolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father

Octavianus
proves his
adoption.

His speech
to *Antony*
at their
first inter-
view.

father had left to the people and soldiery; and therefore desired him to deliver up to him, as *Cæsar's* chief heir, the money which he had caused to be conveyed from *Cæsar's* house to his own; *But as that, said he, will hardly be sufficient to discharge all my obligations, I shall be highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me some of your own, or procure me some at interest from the quæstors, that I may pay off what shall remain due to those whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you should keep them, as marks of his affection; but for the ready money I have present occasion, and therefore hope you will order it, without delay, to be delivered to me.* Antony, amazed at the young man's boldness, and piqued at what he said in the close of his speech relating to his father's money, which, according to *Plutarch*, amounted to no less than four thousand talents, told him with an air of authority, That he was very much mistaken, if he fancied, that *Cæsar* had left him heir of the *Roman* empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought to have taught his adopted son, that the constitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective sovereigns; and that therefore he ought not to demand reasons of a *Roman* consul for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, since what he had done was without any regard to him, and only designed for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his estate; for had *Cæsar* been treated like an usurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I secured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and estate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. 'Tis true, I have suffered some decrees to pass in the senate favourable to the conspirators; but I have been prompted thereunto by reasons, which one of your age is not capable of discerning. As to *Cæsar's* money, which you demand, it does not amount to so great a sum as you imagine; besides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, shared among the magistrates since his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the state. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to advise you, young man, not to lay it out in largesses and gratifications: employ it rather in sending back to their respective colonies that shoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monster that

Antony's
reply.

will never be satisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the basest ingratitude. As you are conversant in the *Grecian* history, you must know, that the favourites of the people are, generally speaking, short-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconstant than the waves of the ocean *.

Antony's
artifice.

Octavianus gains
the favour
of the
people.

Octavianus, highly offended at this speech, took his leave of *Antony*, repeating several times, as he went out of the door, the name of *Cæsar*. He was well apprised, that the consul kept his father's money and estate from him, with no other view but to disable him from purchasing the favour of the people. He therefore resolved to expose to public sale all the houses and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent *Antony* from depriving so many families of the effects of *Cæsar's* bounty towards them; but the consul, to put a stop to the sale, prevailed upon some private citizens to claim the lands, as the estates of their ancestors, which the dictator had appropriated to himself during the civil war. At the same time the quaestors and other officers of the revenue, at the instigation of the consul, claimed part of those lands, as having been confiscated for the use of the public. Hereupon *Octavianus*, foreseeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, instantly put up to sale his own patrimony, with the estates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his designs, and assist him in purchasing the favour of the people. With the money accruing from these sales he paid part of his father's legacies; which affected generosity so charmed the populace, who expected more favours from him, that they all declared in his favour, and broke out into bitter invectives against *Antony*, for withholding from him his father's estate. A few days after, a new dispute arose between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, on occasion of the public shows, which *Crotonius* exhibited during his ædileship. The senate had decreed, as we have related above, in *Cæsar's* life-time, that at all public shows a gilt chair and a crown of gold should be placed for him even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Pursuant to this decree, *Octavianus* failed not to send the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by *Antony*, refused to admit them. Hereupon the affair being carried before the consul, *Antony* answered coldly, That he would refer it to the

* LIV. l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 531, 533. DION. l. xlv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 60. SUBT. in Octavio. CIC. epist. ad Attic. 10 & 13. l. xiv. OROS. l. vi. c. 10.

senate; And I, answered *Octavianus* haughtily, will go and place my father's chair where it ought to stand, while you are consulting the conscript fathers. *Antony*, provoked at the young man's boldness, threatened to send him to prison, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of *Crotonius*, or at those which he himself was to exhibit in honour of the dictator before the temple of *Venus*. *Octavianus*, perceiving that this prohibition was ill received by the people, resolved to turn it to his advantage; and accordingly going into the forum complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addressing himself to *Antony*, as if he had been present: *Why should your hatred to me*, said he, *extend to Cæsar, who deserved so well of you? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying those honours to the memory of my father, which you yourself procured, and the senate decreed, for him? Sacrifice me, if you please, to your revenge; but do not thus revile the manes of a great man, to whom you owe your present dignity. Suffer me at least, O Antony, to discharge those legacies, which he has left to his fellow-citizens; I freely abandon to your insatiable avarice all the rest. I shall think myself rich enough, If I can but do justice to his memory, by distributing among the people what he has left them by his will.* This discourse incensed the populace against *Antony*; every one detested his ingratitude; even his own guards, who had all served under *Cæsar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the son of their general. Hereupon *Antony*, finding it behoved him to dissemble, notwithstanding his passion against young *Octavianus*, answered, That he preserved a tender regard for the memory of *Cæsar*, and had also a great value for his son; but that as the young man, proud of the name of *Cæsar*, pretended to put himself upon the level with a consul, he thought himself obliged to make him sensible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magistrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was past, provided *Octavianus* would, for the future, pay him that respect and deference, to which his office and age intitled him. This explanation was, at the request of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual protestations of friendship, they promised to assist each other in revenging *Cæsar's* death and persecuting the authors of it *. *They are reconciled.*

IN this pretended reconciliation with *Octavianus*, *Antony* had his private views. As the consular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the interest of *Octavianus*, to procure for

* PLUT. DIO. APPIAN. *ibid.*

himself the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been given to *Decimus Brutus* by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death by a decree of the senate. As he knew the importance of that government with respect to all *Italy*, he remonstrated to *Octavianus*, that since he was generously disposed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to suffer one of his assassins to enjoy a command at the very gates of *Rome*. *Octavianus* fell into the snare, and promised to assist him with all his interest. Hereupon the affair was brought before the senate, where it met with great opposition, the conscript fathers looking upon the cause of the conspirators as the same with that of liberty. Besides, they could not turn *Brutus* out of the province which *Cæsar* had allotted him, without reversing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The proposal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting some, who, well apprised of *Antony's* ambitious views, proposed declaring that province a free state, rather than trusting the government of it to one, who would make use of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but as that province seemed very convenient for his designs, *Antony* had recourse to the people, whose tribunes he had bribed; and the undiscerning multitude, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the senate, granted him the government he desired. On this occasion *Octavianus* employed all his interest in favour of *Antony*, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the consul carried his point. The conscript fathers immediately dispatched a messenger to *Brutus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and advising him not to deliver up the province to *Antony*; but to fortify himself there, and keep out the consul, if necessary, by force of arms †.

Antony
obtains of
the people
the pro-
vince of
Cisalpine
Gaul.

THE friends of *Cæsar* triumphed on account of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but, as the interests of the two rivals were so widely opposite, each of them aspiring at the same power which *Cæsar* had enjoyed, it was impossible they should continue long united. *Antony*, thinking himself now master of *Italy*, began to thwart *Octavianus's* measures and regard him less; nay, he commanded him, under severe penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largesses: and because *Octavianus*, by the great interest he had among the people, was likely to get *Flaminius*, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, *Antony* employed all his credit and authority with the multitude to postpone the election. Thus the hatred and aversion of the two rivals were

A new
breach be-
tween An-
tony and
Octavi-
anus.

† PLUT. DIO. APPIAN. *ibid.*

kindled anew. *Antony* never mentioned *Octavianus*, but with the epithets of a *rash, turbulent, and seditious, young man*; while *Octavianus*, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to stir up the resentment of the people against *Antony*. The senate was overjoyed at this division; but *Antony's* guards and the late dictator's friends did not fail to remonstrate to him anew the dangerous consequences of their disagreement and to exhort *Antony* to be reconciled again to the son of their general: *Both your safety and ours, said they, depend upon the undoing of the conspirators. If their party prevails, we must expect to be proscribed, as the ministers and accomplices of an usurper. Nothing can support our party but your union with young Octavianus. Assist him therefore in his generous design of revenging Cæsar's death. Let it not be said, that the dictator's best friend crosses his son, in the prosecution of those who have basely and treacherously murdered his father.* *Antony* was no less desirous of destroying the conspirators than his soldiers and officers: but he could not brook it should be owing to *Octavianus*. He was afraid, that, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar's* death, he might seize on the sovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the secret motive that prompted him to oppose *Octavianus*, whom he saw greatly beloved both by the soldiery and people. However, as it much concerned him not to disoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him since the dictator's death, he undertook to justify his conduct to them in the following harangue, which is related at length by *Appian*^y, and unravels all the mysteries of his wicked policy. After having given them an account of the disturbances that happened in the city upon the first news of *Cæsar's* death, he goes on thus: "The general cry was, that the republic
" was restored, and the senate seemed disposed to decree a
" reward for the assassins, as the authors of liberty. If this
" had been effected, *Cæsar* had been declared a tyrant, and
" we all involved in the same sentence as his accomplices;
" but I alone stood up against all the conspirators, their
" relations, their friends, and, I may say, against the senate
" itself. Their adherents foreseeing, that, if *Cæsar* was not
" declared a tyrant, the conspirators might be punished, were
" very sanguine for having his memory branded with infamy.
" As both parties defended their opinions with obstinacy, I
" thought it adviseable to propose a general pardon for the
" conspirators, rather than a reward. The conscript fathers
" approved of my proposal, and, thinking the conspirators
" secure, were easily prevailed upon to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*. Thus I preserved the glory of his name

Antony endeavours to justify his conduct.

^y APPIAN. l. iii. c. 9.

Is reconciled anew to Octavianus.

“intire, saved his estate and goods from being forfeited, and prevented that adoption from being cancelled, which now makes *Octavianus* so daring. He enjoys the fruit of my cares. To get his father’s will confirmed, I consented to a pardon in favour of the conspirators; but you must not infer from thence, that my design was to secure their lives: I only reprieved them. It was not my fault if they were not all tore to pieces on the day of *Cæsar*’s obsequies. Under pretence of deploring *Cæsar*’s death I incensed the people against them, and obliged them to quit *Rome*. I have opposed all the measures of the senate tending to their safety. I have obtained of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of the conscript fathers, the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, whence, with your assistance, I design to drive *Decimus Brutus*. In short, I am determined at all adventures to revenge your general’s death, and use my utmost endeavours to compass the total ruin of all who have had any hand in his murder. Such has hitherto been my conduct, such are at present my designs, which I was unwilling to conceal from you, who are to assist me in the execution of them.” This speech satisfied his officers; yet they insisted on his being reconciled anew to *Octavianus*, with whom, at their request, he had a second interview in the capitol, which ended in mutual engagements and promises to assist each other, as the former had done; but notwithstanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted just as sincere friends as they were before. *Octavianus* was willing, that *Antony*, as his father’s creature, should assist him in revenging *Cæsar*’s death; but would not put him at the head of a party, which, after the defeat of the conspirators, would be master of the republic. On the other hand, *Antony*, quite indifferent about the revenging of *Cæsar*’s death, only pretended to be in earnest, to ingratiate himself with the soldiery and populace. The sovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traversed him in the pursuit of it, whether *Octavianus*, *Brutus*, or *Cassius*, was equally odious to him.

AND now *Antony*, the more to attach his colleague *Cornelius Dolabella* to his interest, and at the same time to weaken the party of the conspirators, persuaded him to demand the government of *Syria*, which had been allotted by *Cæsar* to *Cassius*, and the command of the army which the dictator had designed to lead against the *Parthians*. The senate, highly offended at such an unseasonable demand, remonstrated to him, that it was an insult both upon the memory of *Cæsar*, who had given that government to *Cassius*, and upon them, who

who had, by a special decree, confirmed all his ordinances; but *Dolabella*, who was now wholly addicted to *Antony*, answered, That *Cassius* had first transgressed the ordinances of *Cæsar*; and that a traitor, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought not to have any share in his favours. As the senate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the people, who readily granted the government of *Syria* to *Dolabella*, in hopes of seeing a speedy vengeance taken of the dictator's enemies, without considering, that their death would be immediately followed with the loss of their own liberty. *Antony*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the people, prevailed upon them at the same time to confer on his brother *Caius Antonius* the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, which had been given to *M. Brutus*. By these new promotions *Brutus* and *Cassius* were deprived of their governments; but the senate, who placed all their hopes in these brave patriots, and were equally jealous of *Octavianus* and *Antony*, procured other provinces for them, viz. *Cyrene* and *Crete* for *Cassius*, and *Bithynia* for *Brutus*^a.

The government of Syria conferred on Dolabella, and that of Macedon and Illyricum on C. Antonius.

As the reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octavianus* was forced and no ways sincere, their pretended friendship was but short-lived. A few days after they had mutually engaged in the capitol to assist each other, *Antony* caused some of his guards to be put under arrest, giving out, that they had been corrupted by *Octavianus* to murder him. This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was only a fetch of *Antony's* to estrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others seem inclined to believe, that *Octavianus* had really formed such a design, and that he was put upon it by the conscript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon very good terms. *Cicero*, tho' a friend to *Octavianus*, does not question the fact; but endeavours to turn it to the glory of *Octavianus*, as if he ought to be highly commended for attempting to deliver the republic from so cruel an enemy. There were not wanting some among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was agreed on before-hand between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a plausible pretence to raise troops for the accomplishment of their private designs; but their ensuing conduct sufficiently shewed, that each of them sought the others destruction, and aspired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was opposite to that of the conspirators. With this

A new breach between Antony and Octavianus.

^a DIO, l. xlv. LIV. l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 543—546.

They both
arm.

Octavia-
nus enters
Rome
with a nu-
merous bo-
dy of men.

Cicero fa-
vours Oc-
tavianus.

view they began now both to raise forces. *Antony* sent orders to his brother *Caius*, for whom he had procured the government of *Macedon*, to bring over into *Italy* four of the legions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himself, that *Lepidus*, who was now in *Spain* at the head of four legions, and *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Transalpine Gaul*, would declare for him. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, fearing to be surpris'd and crush'd by his enemy, hasten'd into *Campania*, where he drew together ten thousand brave veterans, who had served under *Cæsar*, and had been rewarded by him for their service with lands in that part of *Italy*. To these the name of *Evocati* was first given, because after they had served their legal time, and received the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army. He likewise found means to corrupt with large presents, and gain over two of *Antony's* legions, the *Martian* and the fourth. Having thus rais'd an army of his own authority, without being invest'd either with a military title or any magistracy, which gave him right to head the forces of the republic, especially against a consul, he march'd straight to *Rome*; but thought it adviseable to halt at the temple of *Mars*, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the consent of the people for his entry. *Canutius*, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, assur'd them, that young *Octavianus* had no other view, in entering *Rome* with so numerous a guard, but to protect them and himself from the insults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious consul. The populace, always short in their foresight, believ'd their tribune, and suffer'd *Octavianus* to enter the city with all his forces. *Antony* was then at *Brun-
dysium*, whither he had gone to appease a tumult, which some mutineers had rais'd among the *Macedonian* legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions which had remained faithful to him, nobody doubted, but a civil war would soon be kindled within the very walls of *Rome*. In this persuasion some sided with *Antony*, others with *Octavianus*; but the most discerning among the senators declar'd for neither, affecting to stand neuter, and, in the mean time, stirring up under-hand the heads of the two parties against each other, not without hopes of seeing them both undone by their mutual hatred ^b. *Cicero*, out of the aversion he bore to *Antony*, sided with *Octavianus*, whom he had assist'd with his advice ever since his first

^b APPIAN. DIO. VELL. PATERC. *ibid.* CIC. in epist. ad Attic. & famil. pass.

arrival in *Italy*, omitting no occasion to discredit his rival *Antony* both with the senate and people, as plainly appears from those inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of *Philippics*, a name borrowed from the orations which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. *M. Brutus*, who was still in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, wrote several letters to *Cicero*, wherein he complained of his conduct in very sharp terms, telling him, That, notwithstanding his boasted love of liberty, he was very sensible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifest, from his courting *Octavianus*, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful master for himself; but our forefathers, said *Brutus*, could not brook even an easy and gentle slavery. As for my own part, says he in one of his letters, I am not resolved whether I shall make war or peace; but as to one point I am fixed and settled, which is never to be a slave. I wonder, that you, says he in writing to *Cicero*, should fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous peace. All you can promise yourself from destroying the tyranny of *Antony* is, to make *Octavianus* the tyrant. Such were the sentiments of that noble and truly generous spirit!

Brutus complains of his conduct.

BUT to return to *Antony*, after he had appeased the tumult, which had been raised among his troops at *Brundisium* by the emissaries of *Octavianus*, and discharged such of the officers as he distrusted, he ordered his legions to march to *Ariminum*; but took himself his rout towards *Rome*, which he entered at the head of a thousand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to *Alba*, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they shutting the gates against him, he hastened from thence to *Tibur*, where he had lodged great store of ammunition and provisions, with a design to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of *Cisalpine Gaul*. At *Tibur* he was joined by the tenth legion, lately arrived from *Macedon*, by several senators, and a great number of *Roman* knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*; so that he began his march towards *Ariminum* at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of *Roman* knights. *Octavianus* was in the mean time at *Alba*, with the two legions that had abandoned *Antony*, one of new-raised soldiers, and

Antony marches his troops towards Ariminum.

* PLUT. in Bruto & Cic.

Octavianus's affected modesty and private views.

two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that august body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had basely abandoned his party and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against *Antony*, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. But the soldiers pressed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and in that quality to head them against *Antony*. *Octavianus* well knew that this would give great umbrage to the senate, whose favour he designed to court till he had got rid of *Antony*; and therefore he refused the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his most intimate friends, whom he used to consult in all affairs of moment, remonstrated to him, that his troops would scruple to obey a citizen without any title or magistracy, he acquainted them with the reasons which induced him to refuse the title offered him by the army. The senate, said he, has declared for me, not out of friendship to me, but because they are afraid of *Antony*: their design is to make use of me to destroy him, and afterwards to destroy me by the hands of those who have assassinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them understand, that I have penetrated so far into the mysteries of their policy, which I should certainly do, if I accepted of those honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do *Antony*. Let us therefore dissemble for a while; my pretended respect and submission to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity which, they know, my soldiers are disposed to give me in spite of them. And indeed the conscript fathers, deceived by his seeming modesty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refused; nay at the motion of *Cicero*, desirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector against *Antony*, they ordered a statue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the senate, and enabled him to hold the consulate ten years sooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator securing a protector to himself at the expence of the public safety ^d.

^d APPIAN. DIO. PLUT. *ibid.* & CIC. *passim.* in *epist.* & *Philippic.* 1, & 2.

IN the mean time, *Antony* from his camp at *Ariminum* dispatched a messenger to *Decimus Brutus*, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and conferred it on himself. To the decree of the people *Brutus* opposed that of the senate, confirming all the acts of *Cæsar*. After several messages and deputations, *Antony* at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if within a limited time he did not resign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the *Roman* people. *Brutus*, without being the least frightened by his threats, returned answer, that he had been appointed governor of *Cisalpine Gaul* by a decree of the senate, and would not quit his province, till those who had placed him in it thought fit to recal him. Hereupon the consul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of several cities, and even laid siege to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, whither *Brutus* had retired with a troop of gladiators and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under *Cæsar*. The siege of *Mutina* was looked upon by the senate as a declaration of war; but they postponed all deliberations on so important a subject, till the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Caius Vibius Pansa* and *Aulus Hirtius*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar's* commentaries. They no sooner entered upon their office, than they assembled the senate, and after having set forth in a very pathetic speech the evils with which the republic was threatened, they proposed the two following questions to the consideration of the conscript fathers, viz. what rewards the two legions deserved, that had abandoned *Antony* to side with *Octavianus*, and what expedients they judged proper to be taken in order to bring *Antony* to renounce his pretensions to the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*? It was unanimously resolved, that the two legions should be rewarded, and the consuls were empowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for *Antony*, some were of opinion, that a deputation should be sent to him, intreating him in the name of the senate to raise the siege of *Mutina*, and abandon that province. But *Cicero* in a speech, which has reached us, viz. his fifth *Philippic*, shewed, it was beneath the dignity of the *Roman* people to treat with a revolted citizen, and that negotiations would only give him time to strengthen himself in the province he had usurped; he was therefore of opinion, and promoted his opinion with great warmth and eloquence,

*Antony
invades
the pro-
vince of
Cisalpine
Gaul and
lays siege to
Mutina.*

that war should be forthwith proclaimed against him, as a common enemy. His speech was filled with most bitter invectives against *Antony* and the highest commendations of *Octavianus*; which seems to confirm the truth of what *M. Brutus* wrote to his friend *Atticus*, viz. that *Cicero* did not, in siding with young *Cæsar*, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful master to himself. Others are of opinion, that *Cicero*, deceived by the affected modesty and feigned protestations of the young politician, really believed, that he had nothing else in view but to guard himself and the republic against the ambitious attempts of *Antony*. However that be, after warm debates, which lasted three days, *Cicero*, who bore great sway in the senate, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to pass a decree, commanding *Antony* to raise the siege of *Mutina* without delay, to quit the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and marching his troops over the *Rubicon*, which parted *Gaul* from *Italy*, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the senate. All this he was ordered under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But *Antony*, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not persuade himself, that *Octavianus* would employ his forces against him in favour of one of the conspirators, paid no manner of respect either to the deputies of the senate, who were sent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itself. Hereupon at the motion of *Cicero*, *Antony* was declared an enemy to his country, and the two consuls were ordered to raise troops and hasten to the relief of *Brutus*, who was closely besieged, and already reduced to great straits in *Mutina*. At the same time, *Octavianus* was commanded by the senate to join his forces to those of the consuls, and to act in concert with them against the common enemy. He was invested with a power equal to that of the consuls, and it was decreed, that the veterans, who served under him, should be rewarded with lands as soon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the service.

Antony
ordered by
the senate
to raise the
siege of
Mutina.

He is at
the motion
of *Cicero*
declared an
enemy to
his country.

WHILE the two consuls were busy in raising troops, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Caius Trebonius*, who by a decree of the senate had been sent into *Asia* in quality of proconsul. The manner of his death is thus related by *Cicero*. *Dolabella* having obtained, as we have related above, by means of *Antony*, the government of *Syria*, hastened thither; but on his arrival found *Trebonius* in possession of seve-

• *Cic. Philippic. 5. & epist. ad Brutum 15. Liv. l. cxviii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 81. SUET. in Octavio. PLUT. in Antonio. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 359, 360. DIO. l. xlv. p. 310.*



ral cities, which he had seized as lieutenant to *Brutus*, who had been first appointed governor of that province. As *Dolabella* was not in a condition to dispossess him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that they should abstain from all manner of hostilities, and live in perfect amity and friendship; for *Dolabella* pretended now, as he had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wisher to *Brutus* and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promises of *Dolabella*, continued quietly at *Smyrna* as in the most peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his security and indolence, surprised the city in the dead of the night, and having taken *Trebonius* himself prisoner, delivered him up to a *Roman* exile, by name *Samarius*; who, after having made him suffer, by *Dolabella's* orders, for two days together, the most exquisite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through all the streets of *Smyrna*, and then thrown into the sea. His head was carried on the point of a spear all over the city, and afterwards set up over-against the tribunal, where he used to administer justice. From thence it was taken down by the soldiers, who being incensed against *Trebonius*, as privy to the death of their general, abused the poor remains of his body in the grossest manner † (N). Thus was *Trebonius*, the first

C. Trebonius treacherously murdered by Dolabella in Syria.

† Cic. Philippic. ii.

(N) *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that *Trebonius*, who had been sent into *Syria* by *Brutus* as his lieutenant, refused to admit *Dolabella*, though consul, into the cities of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*; but nevertheless, out of respect to the consular dignity, supplied his army with provisions, and sent word to the *Ephesians*, that they might open their gates to him. While the consul was marching towards *Ephesus* at the head of his army, *Trebonius* detached a small body of troops after him to observe his motions. As he quietly pursued his rout to *Ephesus* without committing any hostilities, the greatest part of *Trebonius's* troops returned to *Smyrna*. Then *Dolabella*, turning back unexpectedly upon those who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing by the favour of the night to *Smyrna* without being perceived, surprised the city, and put all those to the sword who offered to oppose him. A party of his soldiers, breaking into the house where *Trebonius* lodged, seized him in bed. The proconsul earnestly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to *Dolabella*. We will carry you to the consul, answered the centurion, who was one of

Dolabella
declared a
rebel and
enemy to
his country.

first of all the conspirators, inhumanly sacrificed to the manes of *Cæsar*. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raised by him to the consulate for the three last months of the year 703, and had been two years before trusted with the government of *Hither Spain*, whither he was sent to stop the progress of the sons of *Pompey*. He served the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined *Brutus*, and shared with him the glory of delivering, at least for some time, his fellow-subjects from slavery. When the news of his death, and soon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to *Rome*, the senate, highly provoked at the cruelty and treachery of *Dolabella*, declared him, at the motion of *Cicero*, a rebel and enemy to his country. At the same time, they passed a decree enacting, that *Brutus* should have the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, and the command of the forces in those provinces, till such time as the republic recovered her antient majesty; that he might make use of the fleet which *Apuleius* had, by *Cæsar's* orders, got ready, together with all the provisions, military stores, and money, to the amount of seven thousand talents, which *Cæsar* had lodged in the city of *Demetrias*, and designed for his *Parthian* expedition; that *Cassius* should take upon him the government of *Syria*, and the charge of making war upon *Dolabella* and revenging the death of *Trebonius*; and, lastly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic should receive orders from these two generals^b.

Antony
endeavours
to gain
over *Hir-
tius* and
*Octavia-
nus*.

Antony, being informed by his emissaries of such an extraordinary step taken by the senate, laid hold of this opportunity to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the consul *Hirtius* and young *Octavianus* against the conscript fathers. He writ a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude for basely be-

^b Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 7. & Philippic. ii. STRABO. l. xiv. p. 646. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 542. & l. iv. p. 624. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 344.

of *Cæsar's* old soldiers: *But your head must remain here*. Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incensed soldiery in a most contemptuous manner (49).

(49) Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. l. iii. p. 542, 543. Dio, l. xlvii. p. 344.

traying

traying the cause of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the secret designs of the senate, which were to make them the instruments of each others ruin. These remonstrances made a deep impression on *Octavianus*, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But, as his own interest was the sole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined *Antony*, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he still pursued his former measures, which were to court the favour of the senate, till such time as he had got rid of so powerful and formidable a rival. Pursuant to this scheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conscript fathers, but, to give proof of his deference to the consuls, readily surrendered to *Hirtius* the legion of *Mars* and the fourth, which had quitted *Antony's* party, and which the consul, by a secret order from the senate, required him to deliver up to himself. After this he joined the remainder of his forces to those of *Hirtius*, and marched with him into *Cisalpine Gaul*, to the relief of *Decimus Brutus*, while *Pansa*, the other consul, continued in *Italy* to raise more troops there. *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* took *Bononia* and several other cities which *Antony* had seized, and then, advancing to the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, incamped at a small distance from *Antony's* lines, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of provisions, to raise the siege. In the mean time, *P. Ventidius*, a soldier of fortune, who had served under *Cæsar* and was a particular friend to *Antony*, quitting *Rome*, where *Cicero* governed with an absolute sway, visited all the colonies which *Cæsar* had lately established in *Italy*; and, as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he raised in a short time two legions, consisting wholly of veterans, with a design to march them to the relief of *Antony*. But first, he caused several of them to enter *Rome* privately with orders to seize upon *Cicero*, who was daily inveighing against *Antony*, and wholly taken up in raising money, at the expence of *Antony's* friends, to pay the troops of *Octavianus* and the consuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his design, abandoned the city, with several other senators, and concealed himself in the country. Hereupon *Ventidius*, finding his design had got vent, marched in all haste towards *Mutina*; but all the passes being seized by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, he was obliged to retire into *Picenum*, where he raised another legion, keeping his troops in a readiness to march on the

Hirtius
and *Octavianus*
march to
the relief
of *Decimus Brutus*.

Ventidius
raises forces to assist
Antony.

the first opportunity that offered of serving his friend and party ^h.

*The consul
Pansa sets
out for Cis-
alpine
Gaul.*

IN the mean time, *Pansa*, having raised four legions in *Rome*, left the city, and, taking his rout towards *Cisalpine Gaul*, arrived at *Bononia*. As the country between that city and *Mutina* was full of woods and marshes, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* upon the news of his approach detached the legion of *Mars*, which consisted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of *Carfulcius*, to cover his march. On the other hand, *Antony* sent out in the night-time his two best legions, the second and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themselves among the rushes of a large morass, which lay on each side of the *Æmilian* way, through which the consul *Pansa* was to march. *Carfulcius* joined the consular army with his detachment before they reached the morass, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of *Mars* and the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, when upon entering the causeway, which led across the marsh, he observed some armed men lying among the rushes. However, he advanced boldly on the causeway with the legion of *Mars*; but was not gone far before he saw himself invested by *Antony's* two legions, who, starting up from among the reeds and rushes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the same time, *Antony* appeared in person at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain. The consul *Pansa*, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the assistance of the legion of *Mars*, which was engaged with two of *Antony's* legions; but those brave veterans, refusing to admit the consul's raw and undisciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they should rather incumber than relieve them, the consul passing the morass, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent *Antony* from lending any assistance to his legions and guards on the causeway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Antony's* two legions were bent on revenging themselves on the *Martial* legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other side the *Martial* legion was resolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under *Cæsar*. Thus the engagement became a particular quarrel between the soldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, *Antony's* two legions being supported by his guards, and the *Martial* legion by the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, the battle lasted

*A sharp en-
gagement.*

^h APPIAN. DIO. VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid.* Cic. *Philippic*, ii.

from morning to night without any considerable advantage on either side. *Octavianus's* guards were almost to a man cut in pieces, but those of *Hirtius*, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, obliged *Antony's* second legion to give ground, which they did in good order. The *Martial* legion and *Antony's* thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the causway into the morasses, till *Carfulcius* drew off his men to relieve the consul *Pansa*, who was engaged with *Antony* in the plain and hemmed in by his cavalry. But, as *Carfulcius's* legionaries were greatly fatigued after so long and obstinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the consul was mortally wounded and his troops put to flight. *Torquatus*, quæstor of the consular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to serve as an asylum for his party, in case of any misfortune. Thither the consul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was run through the body with a javelin. *Antony* pursued them, not doubting but he should easily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed. But the consular legions, though wholly consisting of raw soldiers, who had been just defeated in the plain, made so vigorous a resistance, that *Antony*, fearing *Hirtius* might come upon him in the mean time, thought it adviseable to content himself with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before *Mutina*. But while his troops were marching back in disorder, as often happens after a victory, *Hirtius* unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty chosen cohorts, and, falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many of them in pieces. However, those brave veterans, tired as they were, made a vigorous resistance, and, being encouraged by the example of their general, who distinguished himself on this occasion in a most eminent manner, stood their ground a great while; but were at length entirely defeated, and forced to save themselves by flight cross the marshes on each side of the *Æmilian* way. *Hirtius*, who in this action discharged the duty both of an experienced general and a valiant soldier, would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives for fear of some ambuscade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marshes. As for *Antony*, he passed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a small village called *Forum Gallorum*, at present *Castel France*, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his camp before *Mutina*. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and, taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite spent with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of sixty furlongs through woods and marshes. As

*Antony
prevails
over the
consul
Pansa.*

*But is de-
feated by
his colleague
Hirtius.*

for *Octavianus*, some writers tell us, that he was at the first battle; nay, *Antony* afterwards upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having quitted his horse and thrown away his arms, that he might with more ease save himself, cross the woods and marshes, where, according to him, he lay concealed two days, being both ashamed and afraid to shew himself. Others say, that he remained in his camp in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, and there repulsed with great bravery a strong detachment from *Antony's* camp, which attempted to force his intrenchments. They add, that for so gallant an action, which was, we may say, his first essay in the art of war, he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Imperator*, as were likewise the two consuls for their courageous behaviour in the two battles. The loss on both sides was pretty equal; in the first battle *Octavianus's* guards, with a great number of *Pansa's* legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the second *Hirtius* lost only a small number of men, whereas the slaughter of the enemy was very great¹.

The battle
of Mutina.

The consul
Hirtius is
killed.

AFTER the battle both armies returned to their respective camps in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*. *Antony* resolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the siege with all possible vigour. On the other hand, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, fearing the place, if not relieved, might soon be obliged to capitulate, were for venturing another engagement. But as *Antony* kept close within his lines, the two generals resolved to make a bold push, in order to throw some succours into the invested city. Accordingly, leaving a sufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the rest close up to *Antony's* lines, with a design to force them where they appeared weakest. *Antony* immediately sent out all his cavalry against them; but his horse being put to the rout, after a sharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had possessed themselves of an eminence, he caused two legions to advance, which were so vigorously attacked by *Hirtius*, that they soon began to give ground and retire in disorder to their intrenchments. The consul pursued his advantage, and, suffering himself to be carried away by his courage and ardour, entered the lines pell-mell with the fugitives, and penetrated, in spite of all opposition, as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid him dead on the ground. And now, by the death of one of the consuls and the absence of the other, who had been

¹ CIO. Philippic. 4. Suet. in Octavio. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 61. DIO. APPIAN. ibid.

conveyed to *Bononia* after the first battle, in which he was mortally wounded, *Octavianus* was left commander in chief of the whole army. He is said by some writers to have given on this occasion signal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander. For at the head of some brave legionaries he rescued the body of the dead consul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his standard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himself, fighting like a private man in the first line. But, as he observed the consular troops somewhat discouraged by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to seek for shelter behind their intrenchments. Some ascribe the whole glory of this action to *Decimus Brutus*, who, sallying out of the city, and falling upon the enemy's rear while they were engaged with *Octavianus*, forced them to give ground and retreat in the utmost confusion to their camp (O). However that be, *Antony*, weakened by these losses, and fearing the event of a third battle, raised the siege the next day; and not being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, retired towards the *Alps*, and took the road to *Transalpine Gaul*, with a design to join *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, who were in those large provinces at the head of considerable armies^k. Antony obliged to raise the siege of Mutina.

Decimus Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troublesome siege, was for some time at a loss how to behave with *Octavianus*, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcilable hatred, notwithstanding the assistance he had lent him against *Antony*. At length, by the advice of his friends, he dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the *Scultemnis*, now the *Panaro*. *Octavianus* received the messenger with great coldness, but agreed to his

^k APPIAN. DIO. ibid. PLUT. in Antonio.

(O) The battle of *Mutina* was fought on the seventeenth of the kalends of *May*, as is plain from a letter, which *Galba*, who was in the battle, wrote to *Cicero* (50). From the third day after this victory, those seem to reckon the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, who will have him to have governed the *Roman* empire forty six years four months and and one day (51).

(50) Cic. l. x. ad familiar epist. 30. (51) Vide Usher. ad Ann. Mundi 4671. Theophyl. Antiochen. in Autolycho. & Clement. Alex. drin. l. x. stromat.

An inter-
view be-
tween De-
cimus
Brutus
and Octa-
vianus.

proposal; which *Brutus* no sooner understood, than he caused the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broke down, and by a second message required, that the conference might be held in the presence of their troops, and with the river between them. These were not unseasonable precautions, it being well known that *Octavianus* had vowed the destruction of all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made use of, on all occasions, to destroy such as were true friends to their country and enemies to tyranny. *Octavianus* having agreed to these conditions, both he and *Brutus* appeared on the opposite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the assistance he had lent him, and acknowledged himself indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite discourse *Octavianus* answered with great surliness, that *Brutus* owed him no obligations, since he had relieved *Mutina*, not for his sake, but to chastise the insolence of *Antony*, who nevertheless might one day become his friend, whereas he should ever maintain a mortal enmity to *Brutus*, and all those who had embued their hands in the blood of his father. *Brutus*, piqued at this haughty and threatening answer, replied smartly, that since *Antony* was already sufficiently humbled, he had no further business in the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the senate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. *Octavianus* was highly offended at the boldness of *Brutus*; but, being well apprised that he was supported by the senate, he thought it adviseable to stifle his resentment for the present, and quitting the neighbourhood of *Mutina* to return to *Bononia*, where he found the consul *Vibius Pansa* lying at the point of death. He no sooner heard of the arrival of *Octavianus*, than he sent for him, and, tenderly embracing him, spoke to him in the following manner: *I always loved your father more than myself, and when he was slain, would have ventured my own life to save his, had I been armed. I never laid aside the desire, nor the hopes of revenging one day his death, though some prudential reasons, to which even you have submitted, have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the senate. But now my death, just at hand, deprives me of that comfort. However, before I expire, I will at least acquit myself towards the son of what I was indebted to the father. Know then that the senate both hates and suspects you. Nothing has pleased them more than to see you fall out with Antony, and they flatter themselves with the hopes of finding you become the instruments of each other's ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only because they thought*

Pansa's
last advice
to Octa-
vianus.

thought you the weakest, and the man they could the more easily overcome. This they have declared more than once to Hirtius and to me. The friendship therefore, with which Cæsar once honoured me, obliges me to give you such advice, as I myself would follow on the like occasion. Agree with Antony; for you have no other means of saving your life and advancing your fortune. My design was not, as the senate believed, to destroy Antony, but to compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction pursue the murderers of our common benefactor. I return to you your two legions, and would willingly surrender up to you the rest of the army, but they do not intirely depend upon me. The commanders are most of them the spies of the senate, who have private orders to observe your conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands of Torquatus. The words of the dying consul made a deep impresson on the mind of Octavius, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. *Pansa* died presently after, having first delivered up his army to *Torquatus* one of his lieutenants: (P). *Pansa dies of his wounds.*

IN the mean time, the senate, upon the news of the advantages gained over *Antony* by the generals of the republic, decreed, at the motion of *Cicero*, fifty days supplications to return thanks to the gods for the success of the campaign. By the same decree large sums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public treasury, to such of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of

1 APPIAN. bell. civil. l. iii.

(P) *Octavianus* was suspected of having murdered both the consuls; *Hirtius* with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and *Pansa* after it, by causing poison to be poured into his wound by *Glyco* his physician. It is certain *Glyco* was seized, and even condemned to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master *Octavianus*. *Decimus Brutus*, indeed, wrote to *Cicero* in behalf of the physician, whom he seems to have thought incapable of so black a crime. But notwithstanding *Brutus's* declaration, who was known to be a humane and good-natured man, the report was credited by many in *Rome*. As for the consul *Hirtius*, *Aquilius Niger* wrote, that *Octavianus* killed him undesignedly in the hurry of the battle. We will not warrant the truth of these reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundless, as some modern writers call them, broached by enthusiastic republicans to blacken the reputation of so great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this great man, we shall have many, too many, instances in the sequel of this history.

these

those who had died in the battle, or since of their wounds ; which had never been done before on account of any victory. The bodies of the two consuls were, by an order from the senate, conveyed to *Rome*, and with the utmost magnificence interred in the *Campus Martius* at the expence of the public ; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the most eminent personages of the republic. The bodies of three other officers of distinction, viz. of *Caius Peduceus*, *Decimus Carfulcius*, and *Pontius Aquila*, were conveyed to *Rome* with those of the consuls, and interred with great pomp in the burying-places of their respective families, most of the senators attending their obsequies ^m.

The bodies
of the two
consuls
carried to
Rome,
and inter-
red with
great pomp.

AND now the conscript fathers, conceiving *Antony* to be utterly undone, began to slight *Octavianus*, for whom they believed they should have no further occasion. He demanded a triumph, which was refused to him, and granted to *Decimus Brutus*, though *Octavianus*, it must be owned, had at least as just a claim to that honour as *Brutus*. *Cicero* indeed was for granting him an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the senate to allow him even that mark of distinction. On the other hand, they heaped all sorts of honours on *Decimus*. They ordered *Torquatus* to deliver up to him the troops which the consul *Pansa* had commanded : they appointed him commander in chief of all the forces in *Cisalpine Gaul*, charging him, without so much as mentioning *Octavianus*, to pursue *Antony*, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of *Rome* were opened, and public prayers appointed for the success of his arms : as the siege of *Mutina* had been raised on his birth-day, the senate decreed, that it should be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as such marked in the *fasti*. At the same time, the conscript fathers, as if they had taken pleasure in mortifying *Octavianus*, passed a decree, enacting, that a statue should be raised at the public expence to the memory of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the conspirators who had been killed in the battle of *Mutina*, and that all the charges he had been at, and the losses he had sustained during the war, should be made good to his heirs out of the public treasure. So many marks of distinction heaped upon the conspirators, left *Octavianus* no room to doubt of the disposition of the senate toward him. From that moment he resolved to follow the last advice of *Pansa*, and to be reconciled to *Antony*. With this view he sent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle, and among the

The senate
by honour-
ing Brutus
disgust Oc-
tavianus.

Who re-
solves to be
reconciled
with An-
tony.

^m BRUTUS ad Cic. epist. 6. DIO. l. xlv. Suet. in Octavio. rest

rest *Decius*, one of *Antony's* most intimate friends, after having signified to him in ambiguous words his intention. *Ventidius*, as we have observed above, had raised three legions for *Antony*, and was attempting to join him after the battle of *Mutina*. *Octavianus* overtook and surpris'd him with a superior force, and might easily have defeated him; but he suffered him to escape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charg'd him to tell *Antony* in his name, that he was ignorant of his true interest, and acted directly contrary to it. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the senate, intirely addicted to the assassins of his father, were resolv'd to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studi'd only how to divide them, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death, of their late general, &c. He added some complaints of *Antony*; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was no ways averse to a reconciliation ⁿ.

IN the mean time, *Antony*, press'd by *Brutus*, endeavour- *Antony is*
ed to gain the *Alps* with a design to pass those mountains, and *driven out*
join *Lepidus*, who commanded seven legions in *Transalpine of Italy by*
Gaul, and who, he imagin'd, would stand his friend in con- *Decimus*
sideration of the many kind offices he had done him, during *Brutus*.
his late consulship and in the dictator's life-time. *Brutus*,
having thus driven him out of *Italy*, wrote to the senate,
that he had dispers'd his army, and that *Antony* himself was
sculking somewhere among the *Alps*, where he could not a-
void falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at this
news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered
its antient liberty, and appointed, as if *Antony* had been actu-
ally taken, ten commissioners to try him. They talk'd of
nothing less than repealing all the laws which had been enact-
ed by him during his consulship, and even including in this
repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to resettle
the commonwealth on its antient foundation. At the motion
of *Cicero* a decree immediately pass'd, confiscating all *Anto-*
ny's effects, and those of his friends and adherents, with
grievous menaces against such as should dare to conceal any

ⁿ CICERO. ad Attic. l. i. epist. 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epist. 20.
DIO. l. xlvi. APPIAN. l. iii.

He and his
army re-
duced to
great
scarcity in
passing the
Alps.

part of his effects. While *Cicero*, at the head of the senate, was thus venting his rage upon *Antony*, that general was struggling among the *Alps* with all the hardships and miseries that can be imagined. *Brutus*, having obliged him to quit *Italy*, he attempted to pass those mountains, without his baggage, and the necessary provisions for so long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed first upon the flesh of their horses, and afterwards on such wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous and inhospitable country, and which no man had ever tasted before; nay, they were at last so pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. *Plutarch* tells us, that in this extremity, *Antony*, though accustomed to luxury and ease, was a most illustrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be easily distinguished from a virtuous man. He suffered all hardships imaginable with the constancy of a hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleasures. But after all, he must have perished with his whole army, if *Culeo*, one of *Lepidus's* lieutenants, who guarded the passes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander suffered himself to be bribed by *Antony*, and for a sum of money granted him a free passage. *Antony* no sooner entered *Gaul*, than he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, reminding them of their antient friendship, and exhorting them to join him against the murderers of *Cæsar*, their common enemies. *Lepidus* was greatly surprised at his arrival, and quite at a loss how to behave in so critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illustrious family, but of slender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the same time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined *Antony*, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get the ascendant over him, and scarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this consideration alone he rejected *Antony's* proposals, and wrote him word, that, since the senate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himself a decree of the same nature; but he assured him at the same time, that whatever orders he received from the senate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any ways molesting him. *Asinius Pollio* on the contrary no sooner received *Antony's* letter, than he assured him, that he should find him always ready to concur with him in all his measures; for he had been one of *Cæsar's* particular friends, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to all those who had been concerned in his death. As for *Plancus*, he kept a secret intelligence with both parties, and

Lepidus
refuses to
join him.

and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was most likely to prevail. In the mean time, *Antony* marched straight up to *Lepidus's* army, and marked out his camp near his, but without fortifying it, as *Antony* if they had been of the same party and interest. He sent out ^{incamps} immediately some of his officers to him, putting him in ^{near Le-} mind of their antient friendship, and conjuring him by *Cæ-* *pidus*. *far's* memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But *Marcus Juventius Laterensis*, one of *Lepidus's* most intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from joining *Antony*. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conspirators, he artfully represented to *Lepidus*, that, having seven legions under his command, he was one of the most powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight; what side soever he chose; but that, if he joined *Antony*, he would be obliged to submit to the authority of so haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot strove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well apprised would prove fatal to his country. But *Antony*, who saw his ruin unavoidable, if *Lepidus* should be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with *Dacimus Brutus*, resolved to push his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his late defeat. In this condition and with a mourning mantle flung over him, ^{Enters} he went boldly into the camp of *Lepidus*, and there began to ^{Lepidus's} harangue the soldiers, who had all served with him under ^{camp in a} *Cæsar*. They were all greatly moved at his habit, and more ^{mourning} at his speech; which *Lepidus* observing, ordered the trum- ^{habit, and} pets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This rai- ^{moves the} ed in the soldiery a great sense of compassion; infomuch, ^{pity of the} that they secretly sent *Clodius* and *Lælius* disguised in wo- ^{soldiers.} men's cloaths advising *Antony* to attack *Lepidus's* camp, and assuring him, that the greater part were disposed to receive him with open arms, and even to dispatch *Lepidus*, if he would give them orders for so doing. *Antony* would by no means suffer any violence to be offered to *Lepidus*; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, sounded a river (Q), which lay between the two camps, and was the first who flung himself into the water to gain the opposite side. The soldiers of *Lepidus* no sooner saw him

(Q) This river, which is called by the antients *Argenteus*, and by the moderns *Agens*, rises near *S. Maximin* in *Provence*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* at a small distance from *Frejus*.

By whom
he is re-
ceived into
the camp,
and de-
clared ge-
neral.

Antony is
joined by
Pollio and
Plancus.

than they ran in crouds to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make way for him. *Antony* entered the camp amidst the loud acclamations of the soldiery, and marched straight to the general's quarters, whom he found asleep in his tent. We may easily conceive the surprise of *Lepidus* at the sight of *Antony*, no longer in the attire of a suppliant, but surrounded by his guards, and attended both by his own officers and those of *Lepidus*. He leaped out of his bed in the utmost consternation, and throwing himself at *Antony's* feet, offered him the command of the army. *Antony*, though now absolute master both of his person and army, treated him with great civility, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title and all the badges of a general, tho' he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave *Juventius Laterensis* was so touched with the misfortunes which he foresaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that, while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himself in the height of his grief with his own sword *. This union happened on the fourth of the kalends of *June*, as is plain from *Cicero's* epistles †. *Asinius Pollio*, who was incamped at a small distance from *Lepidus*, followed his example and joined *Antony*. *Munatius Plancus*, who had been hitherto wavering and doubtful which side to take, thought it now high time to declare himself; and accordingly, leaving his camp at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, where he had been trusted by the senate with the charge of founding a colony (R), he led all the troops under his command to *Antony*, who was much about the same time joined by *Ventidius* at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before *Brutus*, and abandoned *Italy*,

* APPIAN. l. iii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 63. † CIC. ad famil. epist. 29. PLANCUS. ad Cic. l. x.

(R) The city of *Lyons* is commonly thought to have been founded by him. *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that the proconsul *L. Munatius Plancus* stopt at a place called *Lugdunum*, and founded in that neighbourhood a colony which he called *Lugdunum*. The antient city was founded, according to some writers, in the year of *Rome* 364 by two brothers, named *Momorus* and *Atepomarus*, chiefs of the *Gaulish* nation, and contemporaries with the famous *Brennus*. In process of time *Lugdunum* and *Lugudunum* became one and the same city (52).

(52) Vid. *Plut. de fluviis*.

found

found himself now in a condition to return thither with twenty three legions and above ten thousand horse.

WHILE these things were transacting in *Gaul*, *Octavianus* continued still at *Bononia* with the fourth legion, that of *Mars*, and some others, which had remained with him after the battle of *Mutina*. As the senate had committed the whole management of the war against *Antony* to *Decimus Brutus*, he concluded from thence, that the conscript fathers intended to reduce him to the state of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he resolved to stand for the consulate, which office was become vacant by the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. But as he was well apprised of the difficulties he should meet with in the pursuit of that dignity from the senators, who were for the most part intirely addicted to the party of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he artfully applied himself to *Cicero*, with whose vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, discovering his design to him as to a bosom friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very desirous of having him for his colleague in the consulate, in order to be instructed by so great a master in the rules and maxims that are requisite for the government of the commonwealth; that for his part, he only desired the name of consul, to make him some amends for the loss of a triumph which he thought due to him, but that all the power and authority should be left to him; so that he might manage affairs as he pleased. *Cicero*, old as he was, suffered himself to be made the dupe of a child as he used to call him; and to the great surprise of all, proposed in the senate the raising of *Octavianus* to the consular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with *Antony*. He added, that, as *Octavianus* was yet very young, the conscript fathers ought to appoint him such a colleague, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At these words the senators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himself as the most proper person to be chosen for *Octavianus*'s colleague, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no small mortification to *Cicero* to see his vanity at the same time both exposed and disappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conspirators cried out with one voice, that to put *Cæsar*'s son at the head of the republic was utterly destroying it ⁹.

Octavianus, finding he could obtain nothing of the senate even by *Cicero*'s means, resolved to put off no longer his re-

Octavianus makes use of Cicero's ambition to get the consulate.

But is disappointed.

Octavianus is reconciled with Antony.

⁹ APPIAN. DIO. *ibid.*

conciliation with *Antony*, and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into *Italy*, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. *Antony*, overjoyed to find *Octavianus* so earnest for a reconciliation, readily consented to it, and, without further delay, began his march towards *Italy* to confer there with *Octavianus*. He led with him seventeen legions and a thousand horse, having left six legions in *Gaul* under the command of *Varius*, one of his bottle-companions, who on that account was nick-named *Corylon*, which signifies a bottle.

Lepidus
declared
an enemy
to his
country.

In the mean time, the news of the conjunction of *Antony* and *Lepidus* reaching *Rome*, filled the city with consternation. The senate immediately assembled, and passed a decree, declaring *Lepidus* an enemy to his country, and likewise the legionaries of his army, who should not abandon him and return to their duty before the kalends of *September*. This decree was enacted, the day before the kalends of *July*, as appears from one of *Cicero's* letters to *C. Cassius* ¹. The statue of *Lepidus* was, by order of the senate, thrown down, and that of the brave *Juventius Laterensis* raised in its room. As the senate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and *Lepidus*, they had recourse to *Octavianus*, and committed to him, in conjunction with *Decimus Brutus*, the management of the war against *Antony* and *Lepidus*. *Octavianus*, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the senate thanks in the most humble terms, for the honour they had been pleased to confer upon him, and began, without delay, to raise troops, and make the necessary preparations for a new war. When he saw himself again at the head of an army, he threw off the mask, and assembling his soldiers, told them, that the only thing the senate had in view was, to destroy all his father's friends, by sowing divisions among them, and arming them against each other; but that he, well apprised of their wicked designs, had entered into a confederacy with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were on their march into *Italy* at the head of seventeen legions; that this was the only means of procuring safety for themselves, and for so many brave men who had espoused their cause: *Do you believe*, said he, *that those who have murdered my father, will spare my life or yours, if their party should prevail? and prevail they must if we are divided among ourselves. What security can*

The management
of the war
against
him and
Antony
committed
to *Octavianus*
and
D. Brutus.

His speech
to his soldiers.

¹ Cic. l. 12. ad familiar. epist. 10,

you have for those houses, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if those men get into power, who approve of his death, and are for annulling all his ordinances? You know I am not ambitious; for you have seen me refuse the prætorship, which you yourselves offered me. But now I must intreat you, not for my own sake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and interest in raising me to the consulate. I shall be in a condition, when vested with that dignity, to secure to you the possession of those inheritances, which my father bestowed upon you, and at the same time to revenge his death, with the destruction of those who endeavour to destroy us. The soldiers received this proposal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to Rome, and demand the consulship for their general in the name of the legions. The senate received the deputies with great civility, but refused to comply with their request, alledging Octavianus's youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a consul. But the deputies, who had been well instructed beforehand, brought several instances of persons who had been raised to the consular dignity without any regard to their age, viz. of Rullus, of Decius, of Corvinus, of the two Scipios, of Pompey, and of Dolabella, who had been but very lately honoured with the consulate, though much of the same age with Octavianus. These precedents were of no weight with the conscript fathers: others, 'tis true, had enjoyed that honour before the lawful age; but most of them were persons of unblemished characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty; whereas they had reason to believe, that Octavianus would make use of his power to oppress his country. As for Dolabella, he had been raised to the fasces by Cæsar without the consent of the senate. The fathers therefore, without casting any reflections on Octavianus, or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the request of the legionaries; when one of those armed ambassadors, by name Cornelius, laying his hand on his sword, *If you will not make him consul, said he, this shall.* Having thus spoke, he left the senate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad success of their negotiation. The soldiers, provoked at this refusal, pressed Octavianus to lead them to Rome, saying, that he, as heir to Cæsar, had a right to dispose of the consulate as he pleased. The ambitious youth heard this with pleasure, and, taking advantage of the present disposition of the soldiery, Octavianus marched immediately towards Rome with eight legions. He passed the Rubicon, as his father had done, when he began the first civil war, and, dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced

Octavianus's soldiers demand the consulate for their general.

He marches towards Rome.

*Resolutions
taken by
the senate.*

advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to surprise his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leisurely. The unexpected news of *Octavianus's* approach filled the city with dread and confusion. Several senators, among the rest the cowardly *Cicero*, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Those who remained, assembled in haste, and came to the following resolutions; viz. that the money, which the senate had promised to the two legions, the fourth, and that of *Mars*, should be immediately sent them; that the same sum should be promised in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of *Octavianus*, and that he, though absent, should be allowed to stand for the consulate. Deputies were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with these resolutions. They were scarce gone, when the conscript fathers, reflecting coolly on their behaviour, began to be ashamed of their pusillanimity in thus submitting to a boy, and giving way to the insolence of the soldiery. At the same time two legions, which had been in *Africa*, arrived at the gates of *Rome*. These the senate looked upon as a supply sent them by the gods, and taking courage, resolved, with them and a legion which *Vibius Pansa* had sent back to guard the city, to put themselves in a posture of defence. Two prætors, viz. *Quintus Gallius Lupercus* and *Marcus Cornutus*, had governed the city, and supplied the room of consuls ever since the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. The former favoured in his heart the party of *Octavianus*, and therefore continued inactive; but the latter, who was a zealous republican, and an avowed friend to *Brutus* and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the conscript fathers, and inspire them with resolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to garison the *Janiculum*, whither the public money had been conveyed. In the mean time, *Octavianus* drew near, and posting himself on the *Quirinal*, then without the walls, he sent from thence emissaries into the city, assuring the people, that both their lives and estates were safe. Hereupon they flocked out in crouds to see their friends and relations, who served under *Octavianus*, carrying them refreshments, and freely conversing with them. Many of the senators themselves, and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a chosen body of legionaries.

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

legionaries. He was met by his mother and sisters, who had concealed themselves among the vestals, and accompanied by them and a numberless croud to his house, whither all the nobility flocked to make their court to him. *Cicero*, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two *African* legions, was one of the last who came to pay him his devoirs. *Octavianus* received him coldly, and, when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, *You are the last of my enemies*, answered *Octavianus* with an ill-natured sneer, *who have honoured me with a visit*. He well knew, that *Cicero* was entirely in the interest of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and besides, he had been told by some of his emissaries, that the orator, in the speech which he made to the conscript fathers, when he demanded the consulate for him, had used a very odd and equivocal expression; *Egregius iste juvenis*, said he, *laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus est*, that is, *The brave youth ought to be praised and honoured*; but as to the last word, it signifies equally to be *advanced*, and to be *cut off*.

The next day the three legions that were in the city went out to join *Octavianus*, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city, and incamp in the field of *Mars*. From thence he sent a detachment to seize on the *Janiculum*, and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier under his command. The prætor *Quintus Gallius* summoned the people to meet in the *campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the election of new consuls. But his colleague *Marcus Cornutus*, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the promotion of *Octavianus*, gave up the republic for lost, and, scorning to submit to the yoke of his fellow citizen, laid violent hands on himself. A memorable instance of the old *Roman* spirit, which, in the virtuous ages of *Rome*, would have been celebrated with the highest encomiums, but is scarce taken notice of by the slavish writers, who flourished under *Augustus*, and his successors. On the day appointed for the election, *Octavianus* withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at least, some appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimously declared *Octavianus* first consul, and appointed *Quintus Pædus*, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator, for his colleague. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was sacrificing according to custom, fix, as some say, twelve, vulturs are said to have been seen, the same number that appeared to the founder of *Rome*. Hence he concluded, that he should one day be invested with the same power and authority as *Romulus*. This year is reckon-

*Is joined
by the le-
gions in
the city.*

*Octavia-
nus chosen
consul,
Year after
the Flood,
2971.
Before
Christ, 38.
Of Rome,
710.*

ed

ed, by most of the antient historians and modern chronologers, the first of the long reign of *Octavianus*, known afterwards by the name of *Augustus*. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for some time divided with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and warmly disputed by the republican party both in the east and west. *Livy* says, that *Octavianus* was but nineteen years old when he was created consul^f: but *Suetonius* writes more freely, that he usurped the consulship in the twentieth year of his age^t. *Plutarch* tells us, out of *Octavianus*'s own commentaries, that he was scarce twenty years old when he was honoured with the consular dignity^u. He was declared consul, says *Velleius Paterculus*^w, the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the kalends of *October*. But *Velleius* was certainly mistaken, for there wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of *Octavianus*'s age; neither did he obtain the consulate in the month of *September*, in which he was born, but in that of *Sextilis*, which was thence called *Augustus*, as is manifest both from *Suetonius*^x; and the decree of the senate, which is to be seen in *Macrobius*^y. *Dion* observes, that, on the nineteenth of *August*, he was made consul the first time, and that he died on the same day^z; and *Tacitus* tells us, that the superstitious multitude, after *Augustus*'s death, admired the strange events of his fortune, *That the last day of his life and the first of his reign were the same, &c.*^a. And thus far of the disturbances which happened in the west from the death of the dictator to the first consulate of *Octavianus*. We shall now briefly relate what passed in the east during the same period of time; for there likewise a war was kindled, and those vast provinces involved in the same fate with *Italy* and *Gaul*.

What happened in the east, from the death of *Cæsar* to the consulate of *Octavianus*.

To return therefore to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; these two chiefs of the republican party, having left *Rome* to escape the fury of the populace, whom *Antony*'s artful speech, and the sight of *Cæsar*'s dead body, had stirred up against them, retired first to *Antium*, with a design to return to the city, and there discharge the functions of their office, for they were both prætors, as soon as the rage of the unsettled multitude was abated. But *Antony* raising daily new disturbances, they wrote to their friends, that since it was not safe for them to resume the functions of their office in the city, they were

^f LIV. l. cxix. ^t Suet. in Octavio, c. 16. ^u PLUT. in BRUTO. ^w VELL. PATERCUL. ^x Suet. ibid. c. 31.
^y MACROB. l. i. Saturnal. c. 12. ^z DIO. l. lvi p. 590.
^a TACIT. l. i. annal. c. 9.

determined to spend the rest of the year in *Italy* as private citizens; which the senate, who favoured them under-hand, no sooner understood, than they committed to them the care of supplying the city with corn, which *Brutus* was appointed to send out of *Asia*, and *Cassius* out of *Sicily*^b. The design of the conscript fathers in charging them with such a commission was, to give them an opportunity of assembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of those provinces in their cause, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But, in the mean time, *Octavianus* arriving from *Apollonia* at *Rome*, the city began to be divided into two factions, some siding with him, and others with *Antony*, and the legionaries, without any regard to their country, publicly selling themselves to the highest bidder. Hereupon *Brutus* *Brutus* and *Cassius*, despairing of being able to do their countrymen any service in *Italy*, resolved to pass over into *Greece*,^{into} and from thence into the eastern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were dispersed about those countries. Accordingly *Brutus*, crossing *Lucania*, came to *Elea*, a maritime city, in order to imbarque there, and sail for *Athens*. From *Elea* he thought it adviseable to send back to *Rome* his beloved *Porcia*, who had accompanied him thither. That illustrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief at the thoughts of parting from so tender a husband, yet concealed her affliction with a constancy worthy of the greatest heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in spite of her many resolutions, by a picture which she happened to observe in the house where they lodged. It represented *Hector* parting from *Andromache* to go and engage the *Greeks*, and giving his young son *Ashtanax* into her arms, while she fixed her eyes upon him with an earnest and affectionate look. The resemblance this piece bore to her own case, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel *Hector*, made her burst out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it (S),
when

^b APPIAN. l. iii. p. 530. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xv. epist. 9, 11, 12.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that on this occasion *Acilius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, repeated out of *Homer* the following verses spoken by *Andromache*:

Yet, while my *Hector* still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. *Pope*.

How re-
ceived at
Athens.

Statues
erected to
him and
Cassius by
a public
decree.

when she reflected on the dangers to which her husband, like a second *Hector*, was going to expose himself. *Brutus* was extremely troubled, and not without reason; yet he did not suffer himself to be so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear *Porcia*, and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Athens*, while she, bathed in tears, took her rout towards *Rome*. At *Athens* *Brutus* was received with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem. The *Athenians* still retained those noble sentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers had been so renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man, who had so generously sacrificed his private interest to the public welfare. They compared him and his faithful companion *Cassius*, who joined him a few days after his arrival at *Athens*, to *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two brave *Athenians*, who, by the death of the tyrant *Hipparchus*, had delivered their country from slavery. Their ancestors, to perpetuate the memory of so glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected statues to those two deliverers of their country: and the present *Athenians*, thinking the enterprise of *Brutus* and *Cassius* equally glorious, in imitation of their ancestors, by a public decree ordered statues to be erected to them over-against those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. How different were the sentiments of the *Athenians* from those of the greater part of our modern writers! Notwithstanding these public demonstrations of honour and esteem, *Brutus* seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, that he might be wholly at leisure for the study of

To which *Brutus* replied with a smile; But I must not answer *Porcia* as *Hector* did *Andromache*:

———— Hasten to thy task at home,
There guide the spindle, and direct the loom. *Idem.*

For though the natural weakness of her body hinders her from acting what only the strength of man can perform, yet she has a mind as valiant and as active for the good of her country as the best of us. This *Plutarch* borrowed, as he tells us, from the memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus* the son of *Porcia* (53). For *Porcia*, when *Brutus* married her, was the widow of *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, by whom she had a son named also *Bibulus*.

(53) *Plut. in Bruto.*

philosophy.

philosophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his guest, and constantly attended the lectures of *Theonnestus* the *Academic* and *Cratippus* the *Peripatetic*, as if he intended to pass the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while, being unsuspected, he was secretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief business to gain the affections of the young Roman noblemen, who were attending their studies at Athens. Among these was *Marcus Tullius*, Cicero's son, of whom he used to say, *That whether sleeping or waking, he could not help admiring a young man of so great spirit and such an enemy to tyrants.* As *Brutus*, during his stay at Athens began to want money, young *Marcus* generously supplied him with as much as he could spare; for in one of his letters to *Tiro*, wherein he speaks of those who boarded with him, *I have hired*, says he, *a place hard by me for Brutus, and, as much as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intended to declaim in Greek before Cassius, but before Brutus I will perform my exercise in Latin, &c.* *Cassius* by this time, it seems, had left Greece to go into Syria, whither we shall soon follow him. As for *Brutus* he continued some time longer in Athens, whence he sent one *Herostrates*, whom he had gained over to his interest, into Macedonia, to found the Roman troops quartered in that province. *Herostrates* discharged his trust with no less fidelity than address; for he either found the Macedonian troops ready to side with *Brutus*, or dexterously prevailed upon them to do so. Hereupon *Brutus*, pulling off the mask, began to act openly and raise troops in all the cities of Greece, whither many Romans had retired, being dissatisfied with the present situation of affairs at home. He wanted money; but his want was soon supplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quaestor *Vetus Antistius*, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to Rome the tributes of Asia, was in his course to touch at *Carystus*, a city of *Eubœa*; he went thither to meet him, and easily persuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treasure (T). *Brutus*

Gains several

young Roman noblemen.

Raises troops and prepares for war.

• Cic. l. xvi. ad famil. epist. 21.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Antistius*, out of the money he was carrying to Italy, gave *Brutus* πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, five hundred myriads, which the Latin interpreter rendered twenty thousand sesterces: and this sum *Brutus* himself acknowledges in an epistle, wherein he commends him to Cicero, as *Antistius* was going to Rome

on his birth-day made a splendid entertainment for the quaestor, at which, while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of *Brutus* and liberty of *Rome*, *Brutus*, calling for a larger bowl and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud this verse, which was spoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of his death :

Fate and Apollo against me conspire (U).

Seizes on
the maga-
zines of
arms at
Demetri-
as.

It was no sooner known, that *Brutus* was raising forces, than all the remains of *Pompey's* army, who, ever since the defeat of their general, had wandered about *Thessaly*, readily and joyfully joined him. With these he obliged *Cinna*, who was leading five hundred horse to *Dolabella* in *Asia*, to deliver up that body to him. Young *Cicero* gained over to him an intire legion, which *Piso* designed to convey over to *Marc Antony* in *Italy*. And now *Brutus's* army being greatly increased, the prudent leader imbarqued with a strong detachment for *Demetrias*, a town of *Thessaly*, which we have often mentioned in the history of *Greece*, and there seized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly amassed in that city by *Cæsar* for his *Parthian* expedition, and were now designed for *Antony*. *Macedon* was then governed by *Hortensius*, the son of the famous orator, who was *Cicero's* rival in eloquence. As he was a sincere friend to his country, he declared without the least hesitation, for *Brutus*; and before the arrival of *Gaius Antonius*, who was appointed to succeed him and already on his march, he resigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his

to stand for the prætorship (54). *Pomponius Atticus* likewise sent him a present of C M. sesterces, when he left *Italy*, and ordered three hundred more to be remitted to him in *Epirus* (55).

(U) *Plutarch* pretends, that *Brutus* quoted this verse on a sudden without any premeditation, or any preceding circumstance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as madam *Dacier* well observes. According to her, *Brutus* spoke this verse in the person of *Cæsar*, signifying thereby, that in putting *Cæsar* to death, he had only lent a helping hand to fate and *Apollo*, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his destiny. Some historians, quoted by *Plutarch*, tell us, that the word *Brutus* gave his men at the battle of *Philippi* was *Apollo*; whence they conclude, that the line quoted on this occasion was a presage of that overthrow (56).

(54) *Cic. lib. ad Brutum. epist. 11.*
ta Pomp. Attic.

(56) *Plut. ibid.*

(55) *Corn. Nep. in vi-*

troops ;

troops; nay, he raised new forces for him in all the countries *Is joined by* under his jurisdiction, and appeared as sanguine in the great *the troops* cause of liberty as *Brutus* himself. And now, *Brutus* be- *in Mace-* ing at the head of a powerful army and master of *Greece* and *don*.

Macedon, all the petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their service. Among the rest a queen of *Thrace*, by name *Polemocratia*, whose husband had been lately murdered by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and, delivering up to him all her treasures, put herself and her son under his protection. *Brutus* received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and sent her to *Cyzicum* in *Asia Minor*, to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of restoring her to her kingdom^d.

In the mean time, news being brought, that *Caius*, the brother of *Antony* having crossed the *Adriatic*, was advancing to join *Gabinus*, or, as others call him, *Vatinius*, who commanded three legions in *Dyrrhachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* resolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haste with the few troops he had then with him. His march though through rugged places and a deep snow, was so expeditious, that he left those who were to bring his provisions a great way behind. When he got near to *Dyrrhachium*, he was seized with a distemper, which the *Greeks* call *Bulimia*, that is, a violent hunger (W). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could supply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourse to the enemy, and, advancing to the very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the sad state of *Brutus*, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compassion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of provisions. *Brutus* on this occasion won so much upon the affections of those legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, *Gabinus* himself not excepted, whom *Cicero* com-
mended on that score, laying aside the hatred he had former-

And by
Gabinus's three
legions.

^d CIC. l. v. ix. x. & xii. epist. famil. & Philippic. 11. PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668, & seq. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 339, & seq. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 62, & seq.

(W) The word *Bulimia* is compounded of the two *Greek* words, *Bῆς*, an ox, and *λῦσις*, hunger, and signifies an ox-like hunger, an insatiable appetite, which proceeds from a too sharp ferment in the stomach.

ly bore him. *Caius Antonius*, receiving intelligence of what had happened at *Dyrrhachium*, advanced with all possible expedition to *Apollonia*, and summoned all the soldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to *Brutus*, and suspecting that the garison of *Apollonia* were inclined to the same party, he abandoned that city, and hastened to *Butrotus*, now *Butrinto*, on the *Ionian* sea. *Brutus* pursued him close, and on his march cut in pieces three of the seven cohorts that attended him. Upon this success *Brutus* wrote to the senate, acquainting the conscript fathers with what he had done in *Greece* and *Macedon*. His letter was read in the senate by the consul *Pansus*, who was still in *Rome*, and his generous concern for the welfare of his country set forth by *Cicero* in his tenth *Philippic*; at whose motion a decree passed, appointing *Brutus* to govern

Brutus appointed governor of Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum.

Macedon, Illyricum, and all Greece, in quality of proconsul. By the same decree both he and *Cassius* were empowered to make use of the public money, and to raise what sums they pleased in the provinces subject to *Rome*. The kings and cities of the east, in alliance with the *Roman* people, were at the same time ordered to lend them all the assistance they could.

Caius Antonius defeated and taken prisoner.

In the mean time, young *Cicero*, whom *Brutus* had detached with his light-armed foot in pursuit of *Caius Antonius*, coming up with him near *Byllis*, or *Bullis*, a city of *Illyricum* on the *Adriatic*, attacked him and gave him a total overthrow. *Caius* fled with his troops to a neighbouring marsh, where he was surrounded by *Brutus*, without any possible means of making his escape. *Brutus* might with great ease have cut him off with all his troops; but he would not suffer his men to fall upon them, saying, that in a little time they would be all of his side; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to *Brutus*, and even delivered up to him their general; so that *Brutus* had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horse, and a great many archers and slingers, with several companies of *Macedonians*, whom he daily exercised after the *Roman* manner.

Is treated with great civility by Brutus.

As for *Caius Antonius*, *Brutus* treated him with the utmost civility, and even suffered him to enjoy the title of proconsul, and all the badges of that dignity, though several senators, and particularly *Cicero*, solicited him by letters to rid the re-

* *Cic. Philippic. 10. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567. & T. iv. p. 622, 632, 633.* f *Idem ibid. & VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.* * *Plut. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 632, 633.*

public of so dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abused his good-nature, and made use of the liberty, which, through an excess of kindness, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers and raise seditions among the soldiers, he confined him on a board a ship, and there kept him close prisoner. Several soldiers, whom he had privately seduced, abandoning *Brutus*, retired to *Apollonia*, whence, repenting of the step they had taken, they sent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. *Brutus* answered, that *this was not customary among the Romans, but that it became those, who had offended, to come to their general and beg forgiveness of their crimes*; which they did, and were received with great kindness by their humane and good-natured general ^h.

ABOUT this time *Brutus* received a letter from the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, in which was inclosed, it seems, the copy of one written by *Cicero* to *Octavianus* after the battle of *Mutina*; wherein he first congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, that *it was desired and expected of him, that he would suffer those citizens to lead a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men and the people of Rome loved and esteemed*, meaning *Brutus* and his followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in *Octavianus* above the laws, *Brutus* highly resented it, and expressed his resentment in the letters he wrote to *Atticus* and *Cicero* himself. *I Brutus's had rather not live, says he, writing to Cicero, than owe my letters to life to him. I do not believe, that the Roman people have provoked the wrath of all the gods to such a degree, that Octavianus must be intreated for the safety of one private citizen, much less for that of the deliverers of the world*ⁱ. *Cicero* had, it seems, on what occasion we know not, reproached *Casca* with the murder of *Caesar*, and was employing all his interest in favour of *Octavianus*. This drew several letters in very sharp terms from *Brutus*, which are still extant among *Cicero's* epistles, and will be lasting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly noble spirit of that brave patriot, in spite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of *Augustus*, and, since his time, the abettors of absolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character.

Brutus, being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of all *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*, resolved to pass into *Asia* and there join *Cassius*, whose progress in those eastern provinces, from the time he parted with *Brutus* in *Athens* to the consulate of *Octavianus*, we are now to relate.

^h PLUT. in Bruto.ⁱ CIC. ad Brutum, epist. 16.

We have observed above, that *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, by the interest of *Marc Antony*, obtained of the people, in spite of the senate, the government of *Syria*. This *Cassius* no sooner understood, than he left *Athens*, and sailed first into *Asia*, which province was then governed by *Trebonius*, one of the conspirators, in quality of proconsul. It had been allotted to him a few days after *Cæsar's* death, and he, upon the arrival of *Octavianus* at *Rome*, had quitted the city and retired to his government, as is manifest from several of *Cicero's* epistles^k. *Cassius* was well received by *Trebonius*, and also by *P. Lentulus*, who had been sent with him in quality of proquæstor extraordinary, his ordinary quæstor being *L. Patiscus*. This we gather from *Cicero's* epistles^l, which some writers seem not to have consulted, or to have misunderstood. These supplied *Cassius* with money; and he was soon after joined by a body of horse, which *Dolabella* had sent into *Asia*, with orders to pursue their march into *Syria*, and there wait for him. *Lentulus*, in one of his letters to *Cicero*, ascribes to himself the glory of having brought over these troops to *Cassius's* party^m. It was no sooner known in *Asia* and *Cilicia*, that *Cassius* was raising forces, than the *Romans*, who were dispersed about those provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; so that seeing himself at the head of a considerable army, he left *Asia*, we mean *Asia* properly so called, and marched into *Syria*, with a design to seize on that province, before the arrival of *Dolabella*. He was scarce gone when *Dolabella* landed on the *Asiatic* coast, laid waste the country, made himself master of *Tarsus*, where *Cassius* had left a garison, and murdered in a most cruel and treacherous manner the proconsul *Trebonius*, as we have related above. *Cassius*, on his arrival in *Syria*, found *Statius Murcus*, and *Marcus Crispus* carrying on the siege of *Apamea* against *Q. Cæcilius Bassus*, as we have related above. These two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and *Bassus's* soldiers forced him to do the same; whereupon the city being delivered up to *Cassius*, an end was put to the siege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, increased to the number of eight legions. From this time he took upon him the title of proconsul, as appears from his letters to *Cicero*ⁿ; though *Cicero*, in his letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the senate^o. Both *Murcus* and *Crispus*

Cassius
passes over
into Asia.

Is joined by
a body of
horse, and
by the Ro-
mans dis-
persed a-
bout Asia
and Cili-
cia.

And also by
Statius
Murcus,
Cæcilius
Bassus and
Marcus
Crispus.

^k Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 10. & l. xiii. ad familiar. epist. 73. collata cum epist. 43. 45. ^l Vide Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14. 15.

^m Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14. ⁿ Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 11, 12. ^o Idem ibid. epist. 7, 8, 9, 10.

heartily embraced *Cassius's* party; the former was by him appointed governor of *Syria*, and also admiral of his fleet; but *Bassus*, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire^p. *Cassius* being thus strengthened, soon made himself master of all *Syria*, which he did the more easily on account of the great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by defending it against the *Parthians* after the overthrow of *Crassus* at *Carrhæ*, as we have related at length in the history of the *Parthians*^q. From *Syria* he passed into *Phœnice* and *Judæa*, and secured to himself those countries^r. While he lay there, he was informed, that *Allienus*, one of *Dolabella's* lieutenants, was marching through *Palestine* with four legions, which *Cæsar* had left in *Egypt* after the *Alexandrian* war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged both *Allienus* and his legions to side with him, which, with those he had before, *Allienus* made up the number of twelve legions. Of these forces he gave a particular account to *Cicero*, in a letter dated the nones of *March* from his camp at *Tarichæa* in *Galilee*^s. For the maintaining of so numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay the country under heavy contributions; and *Judæa* being taxed at seven hundred talents, *Antipater* took speedy care for the answering of this sum, committing it to the charge of his two sons, *Phasaël* and *Herod*, and to *Malichus*, and some others, ordering them to raise the sum forthwith, and assigning to each of them their proper districts for this purpose. *Herod*, having brought in his quota the first, gained by that means the favour of *Cassius*. But *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, being backward in raising their quotas, *Cassius* caused the inhabitants to be sold for slaves to the best bidder, for the more speedy payment of the sum required. He was provoked to such a degree against *Malichus*, who was very dilatory in this matter, that he would have put him to death, had not *Hyrchanus* appeased him with a present of a hundred talents, which he sent him by *Antipater*^t. In the mean time, *Dolabella*, after a long stay in *Asi*, where he burdened the cities with new taxes, and oppressed the inhabitants in a most cruel and tyrannical manner^u, passed first into *Cilicia*, and thence into *Syria*, with two legions, whither his fleet, composed of vessels hired of

Makes
himself
master of
all Syria.

Obliges
with his
four legi-
ons to take
party with
him.

^p Dio. l. xlvii. p. 343. & Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12.

^q Vide Vol. X. p. 528. & seq. ^r JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico. l. i. c. 9. ^s Cic. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12.

^t JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico. l. i. c. 9.

^u Cic. ad Brut. epist. 3, 4 & l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 15.

Dolabella
retires to
Laodicea.

Where he
is besieged
by Cassius.

Cassius's
fleet de-
feated.

the *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and *Cilicians*, failed soon after under the command of *L. Figulus* ^w. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he attempted to enter *Antioch*, as governor of that province; but being repulsed by the inhabitants, and the garrison, which *Cassius* had left there, with the loss of about a hundred of his men, he abandoned the enterprize, and retired in the night towards *Laodicea*. During his march, most of the troops he had raised in *Asia* abandoned him, some of them returning to *Antioch*, where they joined *Cassius*'s men, and others retiring over mount *Amanus* into *Cilicia* ^x. As the inhabitants of *Laodicea* were intirely devoted to *Cæsar*'s party, they received *Dolabella* with open arms, and put him in possession of their city; which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he hastened thither, leaving *Herod* governor of *Cæle-Syria*, with a strong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe ^y. Upon his arrival, he found *Dolabella* incamped under the walls of the city, nay, as we learn from a letter of *Cassius Parmensis*, and not of *Cassius Longinus*, as we conjecture, to *Cicero*, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined his camp to the town ^z. As *Laodicea* was placed on a peninsula, *Cassius*, to prevent *Dolabella* from making his escape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length cross the isthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and sepulchres. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the *Phœnicians*, *Lycians*, and *Rhodians* for ships, with a design to block up the harbour. But the *Sidonians* alone complied with his summons, and sent him what vessels they had ready equipped in their harbour. They were scarce arrived, when *Dolabella*'s fleet under the command of *L. Figulus* appeared off *Laodicea*. *Cassius*, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length *Cassius*'s fleet was overpowered, and five of his ships taken with all the mariners on board. Hereupon *Cassius* dispatched messengers anew to those who had slighted his first summons, and besides to *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, and to *Serapion*, who commanded her forces in *Cyprus*. The *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and also *Serapion*, without the knowledge of his mistress, obeyed the second summons, and sent what ships they could assemble. But *Cleopatra* herself, who had been greatly favoured by *Cæsar*, and consequently bore an irreconcilable hatred to all

^w APPIAN. l. iv. p. 624. ^x P. LENTUL. ad CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 15. ^y JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 19. ^z CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 13.

those who were concerned in his death, refused to lend them any assistance, under pretence, that *Egypt* was then afflicted with a plague and famine. The *Rhodians* and *Lycians* declared, that they designed to maintain a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that *Dolabella's* fleet consisted mostly of *Lycian* and *Rhodian* vessels. Of this *Lentulus*, who was pro-quæstor extraordinary of *Asia*, complained in his letters both to the senate and *Cicero*; for *Dolabella* had been declared an enemy to the people of *Rome*, and the republic had lately renewed her alliance with the *Rhodians* ^a. However *Statius Murcus*, the admiral of *Cassius's* fleet, having got together a considerable number of ships of war in *Phœnice* and on the coast of *Asia*, ventured two other engagements, in the first whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the second *Dolabella's* fleet was entirely defeated. Then *Murcus* blocked up the port with his victorious fleet; so that no provisions could be conveyed into the besieged city either by sea or land, the wall, which *Cassius* had begun cross the isthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmost extremity, *Dolabella* attempted several times to sally out at the head of the garison, but was constantly driven back into the city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one *Quintius*, a chief officer of his army. *Dolabella*, seeing the enemy in possession of the city, and fearing *Cassius* would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate *Trebonius*, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himself with the same sword. The example of *Dolabella* was followed by *M. Octavius* his lieutenant, and *Q. Marfus*, another of his chief officers. *Cassius* ordered their bodies to be decently interred, though they had refused that honour to the poor remains of *Trebonius*, which they threw into the sea, after having insulted them in the grossest manner. But *Cassius*, at the sight of *Dolabella's* head, seemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the soldiers, who served under the deceased general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic as well as himself, *Cassius* generously forgave them, and, having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries ^b. *Appian* tells us, that *Cassius* plundered both the temples and treasury of *Laodicea*, that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put

^a CICERO. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 14, 15.

^b APPIAN. l. iv.

p 625 & seq. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 345. & seq. LIV. l. xii. STRABO. l. xvi p. 752. VALL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

all the nobility to the sword ; so that the city was reduced to a most miserable condition ^c. What *Appian* says has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the *Roman* history now publishing at *Paris* : for they tell us, that *the streets in an instant were covered with dead bodies ; that the blood ran in streams ; that neither temples nor palaces were spared ; that those, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, were forced to pay such exorbitant sums that death seemed less painful to them than life* ^d. These reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon those who stood up in defence of their liberties. They constantly follow those authors, whose accounts are the least favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, less partial and biassed, have wrote on the same subject. In the present case, *Dion Cassius* disagreeing, as he often does, with *Appian*, after having told us, that *Cassius* gave quarter and impunity to *Delabella's* troops, adds, *neither punished he the inhabitants of Laodicea, otherwise than by obliging them to pay a sum of money* ^e. No mention here of *streams of blood, of streets covered with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes which made death itself desirable*.

The government of Syria, confirmed to Cassius.

AND now *Cassius*, after the reduction of *Laodicea*, become master of all *Syria*, acquainted the conscript fathers with the success of his arms ; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of those vast provinces, as they did to *Brutus* that of *Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum*, ordering all the states and cities, in alliance with or subject to *Rome*, to obey their orders and assist them to the utmost of their power ^f. Thus *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had fled from *Rome*, as *Plutarch* observes ^g, like despicable exiles, without money or arms, without ships, soldiers, or one single city to rely on, were now masters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe and withstand the united forces of *Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus*. Thus was the *Roman* state, taken in its utmost extent, divided between two opposite parties, *the Caesareans*, that is, those who were for introducing absolute government and arbitrary power ; and *the republicans*, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties and the ancient customs and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the east ;

^c APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 625, 626.

tom. 17. p. 584.

^e DIO. l. xlvii. p. 345.

PATERCUL. *ibid.* c. 62. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567, 568.

in BRUTO.

^d CATROU and ROUILLE,

^f VELL.

^g PLUT.

and the former in the west : where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the straits of *Messana*, or the most southern borders of *Italy*. As for *Sicily*, it was held at this time by *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger son of *Pompey the Great*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of *Octavianus's* first consulate. What happened in *Italy* and the several provinces subject to the distracted and expiring republic, from his consulate to the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

C H A P. XV.

The history of Rome, from the first consulate of Octavianus to the death of Cassius and Brutus.

Octavianus causes Brutus and Cassius to be condemned.

THE first step *Octavianus* took, after he had entered upon his consulate, was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring *Dolabella*, whose death was not yet known at *Rome*, an enemy to his country ^h. Soon after his colleague *Q. Pædus*, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of *Cæsar*. Pursuant to this law which passed without opposition, *L. Cornificius* took upon him to accuse *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Vipsanius Agrippa* (X) appeared against *Cassius*. The conspirators were

^h APPIAN. l. iii. p. 586. DIO. l. xlv p. 321, 322.

(X) *Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa* was, according to *Suetonius* (37), of a mean descent, but of an equestrian family according to *Cornelius Nepos* (38). The former writer tells us, that the emperor *Caligula*, ashamed to acknowledge *Agrippa* for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but the fruit of an incestuous commerce, between *Julia* the wife of *Agrippa* and her father *Augustus*; chusing out of a foolish and shameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an incest, than a lawful marriage (39). *Agrippa* was brought up from his infancy with *Octavianus*, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of him in the sequel of this history. *Velleius Paterculus*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, tells us, that his uncle *Capito* joined *Agrippa* in accusing *Brutus* (40).

(37) *Suet. in Caligula.*

(38) *Cornel. Nep. in vita Attici.*

(39) *Idem. ibid.*

(40) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69.*

all summoned to take their trials; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of *Brutus*, both the people and senate expressed their concern for so worthy a citizen with sighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were chosen for the decision of so important a cause, *Silicius Coronas* was the only person who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which cost him his life; for tho' *Octavianus* thought it then adviseable to dissemble his resentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to *Silicius*, yet he soon after sacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithstanding the opposition of that generous citizen, the conspirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscated. But as *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at the head of twenty legions, *Octavianus* rightly judged, that it would not be easy for him to destroy them, without the assistance of *Antony* and *Lepidus*. He therefore dispatched trusty messengers *Invites* to these two chiefs, desiring them to march with all possible *Antony* expedition into *Italy*, that they might with their united forces *and Lepi-* fall upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and drive them out of the pro- *duces into* vinces which they had seized. Hereupon they both set out *Italy.* without delay, and passing the *Alps*, at the head of seventeen legions, entered *Cisalpine Gaul*. The senate, alarmed at their approach, and still strangers to the private managements between them and *Octavianus*, ordered the latter to march out against them, and make war upon them as public enemies. *Octavianus* with great joy embraced this opportunity of putting the last hand to the treaty, which had been begun some time since between him and his rival. But, before he left *Rome*, he gave private instructions to *Quintus Pædus* his colleague and creature, to insinuate, as of his own motion, to the senate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree against *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and not to drive such men to despair, especially *Antony*, who was as great a commander, and no less to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius*. This proposal was no-ways agreeable to the senate; but nevertheless, as they suspected *Octavianus* to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in so nice a point. The crafty general readily consented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but, to deceive the senate, told them in his letter, that his consent had been in a manner extorted by the earnest intreaties of his soldiers. However, the conscript fathers began now plainly to see, that *Octavianus's* design was to gain over *Antony* to his

LIV. l. cxv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. SUET. in Nerone, c. 3. DIO. l. xlv. p. 322. PLUT. in Bruto.

The decree
against
Antony
and Lepi-
dus revok-
ed.

The misfor-
tunes and
death of
D. Brutus.

party, and to act in concert with him against the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withstand him, and therefore solemnly disannulled all the decrees against *Antony* and his adherents. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antony* marched immediately against *Decimus Brutus*, who was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Mutina* with ten legions, four whereof consisted of veterans, but who were in a very bad condition on account of the distempers and fatigues they had suffered during the late siege; the six others were newly raised, and quite unacquainted with military discipline. So that *Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to oppose the united and superior forces of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, resolved to quit *Cisalpine Gaul*, and by the way of *Aquileia* pass into *Illyricum*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where *M. Brutus* commanded. But, finding all the passes seized on that side by *Octavianus's* troops, he took his rout towards the *Alps* with a design to pass the *Rhine*, where that river divides *Transalpine Gaul* from *Germany*, and through the latter country pursue his march into *Macedon*. But the apprehension of the fatigues and dangers of so long a journey had such an effect on the minds of the new raised troops, that they all abandoned *Brutus* and went over to *Antony*. Their example was soon followed by the other four legions; so that *Brutus's* army was soon reduced to a few squadrons of *Gaulish* horse; and to such of these also, as betrayed any unwillingness to follow him, *Brutus* not only gave leave to return home, but generously supplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus guarded only by three hundred horse, he marched as far as the *Rhine*, the sight of which rapid river so frightened the few *Gauls* he had with him, that they stole away one after another, except ten, who seemed determined never to forsake him. In this extremity he laid aside all thoughts of entering *Germany*, and dressing himself after the *Gaulish* manner, as he spoke the language like a native, he resolved in that disguise to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, not without hopes of reaching at length *Macedon* undiscovered. But he had not gone far before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of free-booters, who conducted him, at his request, to the lord of that district, by name *Camillus*, or, as others call him, *Camelius*, who had received a thousand favours at his hands in the dictator's lifetime. But the ungrateful wretch, after having received him in a friendly manner, dispatched a messenger to *Antony*, acquainting him, that he had *Brutus* in his power, and was ready to dispose of him as he pleased. *Antony* was touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man so considerable for his birth,

birth and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheless, as it was for the interest of his party that he should be cut off, he wrote word to *Camillus* to dispatch him and send him his head; which the treacherous *Gaul* did accordingly, without any regard to the sacred laws of hospitality. *Dion Cassius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca* tell us, that *Brutus* behaved on this occasion in a manner very unbecoming a man of his rank and station, and that he earnestly begged for his life, even after *Helvius Blasius*, his intimate friend and inseparable companion, had killed himself in his presence, to animate him by his example ^k. *Cicero* on the contrary, who was intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him as a man, *who was never afraid, or even disturbed* ^l; and the authority of *Cicero* is more to be relied on, than that of all the historians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers *Catrou* and *Kouille*, in their *Roman* history, take no notice of this passage, which would have left no room for their long declamations on the cowardice of that *perfidious wretch*, that *cruel traitor*, that *inhuman assassin*, as they are pleased to style *Brutus* for conspiring against so fine a man as *Caesar*, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and usurpation. When his head was brought to *Antony*, he looked on it with some concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried ^m. Thus died *Decimus Junius Brutus*, a year and a half after the death of *Caesar*. He had been always honoured by the dictator with particular marks of friendship and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raised him. For he was appointed one of his second heirs, in case any of his great nephews should renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horse; governor first of *Transalpine*, and afterwards of *Cisalpine*, *Gaul*, and named consul, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, for the year after the consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa* ⁿ. And indeed *Decimus* served him with the utmost fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, considering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare to his private interest, which the abettors of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime. *Antony* immediately acquainted *Octavianus*, that he had sacrificed *Decimus* to the manes of his father, and then advanced with *Lepidus* at the head of his army to meet him. The place they chose for their private conferences was a small island

^k DIO. l. xlv. p. 325. VAL. MAX. l. ix. SENICA. epist. 32.

^l CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 21.

^m DIO. ibid.

p. 325.

ⁿ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 64.

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus meet in a certain island.

The articles of their agreement.

formed by the river *Rhenus*, now the *Reno*, which falls into the *Po*, after having watered the territory of *Bononia* or *Bologna* (Y). Both armies advanced to the opposite banks of this river, from whence by two bridges a communication was opened with the island. *Lepidus* entered the first into the island, to view whether it was safe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of those ambitious men, who, even in the midst of a reconciliation, could not help mistrusting each other. *Lepidus* having made the signal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the island from the opposite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a rising ground, whence they could be equally seen by their guards and both armies. After they had saluted and embraced each other in a polite and friendly manner, they took their seats, the other two yielding to *Octavianus*, as consul, the most honourable place. The conference lasted three days, during which time they had the precaution to speak constantly so low, notwithstanding some warm debates, that not a single word could be heard even by their guards, who stood but at a small distance. At length they agreed on the following articles: 1. That *Octavianus* should forthwith resign the consulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to *Ventidius* one of Antony's lieutenants. 2. That the supreme authority should be divided among them three, and kept by them for the space of five years, under the name of triumvirs, and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth. 3. That they should cause this authority to be confirmed by the Roman people. 4. That Antony should have all Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, except *Narbonne*, which together with both Spains should be yielded to *Lepidus*; and that *Octavianus* should have for his share Africa, with Sicily and Sardinia. 5. That Italy and the eastern provinces, which were possessed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, should for a while remain in common. 6. That Antony and *Octavianus* should forthwith join their forces, and make war upon *Brutus*

(Y) *Appian* will have the triumvirs to have met in an island formed by the river *Labinius* in the neighbourhood of *Mantua* (41). But, in the first place, the *Labinius*, or, as others call it, the *Lavinius*, is at a great distance from *Mantua*, and rather in the neighbourhood of *Bononia*; and besides is not large enough to form an island, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at present by the name of *Lavino*.

(41) *Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. sub. init.*

and Cassius, while Lepidus with four legions staid at Rome, to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there. Thus was the empire of the world divided, as *Plutarch* observes, among these three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Besides these, several other articles were settled. As it was of the utmost importance, especially for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were to march into the east against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to secure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary should receive after the war five thousand drachmas, each centurion twenty five thousand, and each tribune fifty thousand. To these immense and almost incredible sums, were added other rewards, yet more substantial. The triumvirs agreed to promise their soldiers settlements, on their return from the east, in eighteen of the best cities of *Italy*, which should be chosen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houses and lands to the soldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injustice to be driven out of their old habitations, stript of their lands and effects, and suffered either to perish with famine, or shift for themselves in the best manner they could. Some of these unhappy cities were even then named, viz. *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Ariminum*, and *Vibo*. As the triumvirs had occasion for immense sums to carry on the war, and besides were well apprised, that there were still in *Rome* great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raise disturbances in *Italy*, during their abode in the east, they came to that barbarous and inhuman resolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the latest posterity; a resolution, which brings disgrace upon tyranny itself. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but those also who were either possessed of great estates, or were thought to retain the least spark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the surest means of maintaining themselves in the peaceable possession of their usurped tyranny, and at the same time of raising the necessary sums for the support of their troops. These regulations were made without the least contest or dispute; but the list of the proscribed, when it came to be settled, occasioned warm debates, each of them intending to destroy his enemies and save his friends. *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Cicero's* name was set down in the fatal list. *Octavianus* endeavoured to save him, and was for having *Antony* to sacrifice *Lucius Cæsar*; his uncle by the mother's side. As for *Lepidus*, some writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he insisted upon the condemnation of his own brother *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had voted the first in the senate for passing the decree, which

The pra-
scription.

declared him a public enemy when he joined *Antony*. Other authors say, that he would fain have saved his brother, but that *Octavianus* and *Antony* demanded his head. However that be, the thirst of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the desire of saving their friends and relations. *Octavianus* in the end sacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*; *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Octavianus*; and *Lepidus* was either allowed to murder his brother *Paulus*, or forced to abandon him to the resentment of the other two. The death of these three being agreed on, the list of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was soon drawn up, each of the three tyrants setting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The first in this list was *Paulus*, the brother of *Lepidus*; *Lucius Cæsar*, *Antony's* uncle, was the second; and *Cicero* the third. After these were named *Plotius*, consul elect, and brother to *Planus* one of *Antony's* lieutenants; *Quintus*, who was also designed consul for the ensuing year, and whose daughter *Asinius Pollio*, a great stickler for the triumvirate, had lately married; *Thoranius*, who had been governor to *Octavianus*, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of the history. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and sworn to by the contracting parties, the three chiefs separated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the result of their conferences to their respective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promises that were made them, heard the report with the greatest satisfaction. The same day the two armies joined, and mutually feasted and entertained each other (A). Thus was concluded the second triumvirate about a year and a half after *Cæsar's* death, the consequences whereof were most dreadful, and gave the last blow to the liberty of *Rome* °.

The second
triumvi-
rate.

° APPIAN. l. iv. 589, 590. DIO l. xlvii. p. 325, 326. PLUT. in CIC. & ANTONIO. FLOR. l. iv. c. 6.

(A) The agreement being made, and the articles signed by the triumvirs, the army desired that the friendship between *Antony* and *Octavianus* might be cemented by some alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce *Servilia*, the daughter of *Servilius Isauricus*, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room *Clodia*, the daughter of the famous *P. Clodius*, who was killed by *Milo*, and of *Fulvia*, whom *Antony* had married after the death of her first husband. (42).

(42) Plut. in Antonio.

AND

AND now the triumvirs, seeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the soldiery of both armies, resolved in the first place to publish the decree of proscription, and hasten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked designs. Accordingly, the fatal decree was drawn up and made public. It began thus: *M. Lepidus, M. Antonius, and Octavianus Cæsar, chosen for the reformation of the common-wealth. If the generosity of Julius Cæsar had not prompted him to pardon some faithless men, and to grant them besides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deserved as little, he had not fallen by their treason, nor should we have been obliged to proceed in a manner disagreeable to us, against those who have declared us enemies to our country. But the wicked designs they formed against us, the horrible treachery they shewed towards Cæsar, and the certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened.* Then followed a justification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which Cæsar had procured for the Roman people by his victories, on the ingratitude of those who had murdered him, and on the necessity of clearing the city of such as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: *No man shall dare to receive, conceal, help to escape, any ways relieve those who are proscribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himself proscribed. Whosoever shall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proscribed person shall receive if a freeman, twenty-five thousand sesterces, and ten thousand, if a slave. The slave who shall kill his master, shall moreover be declared a Roman citizen. The same rewards shall be given to such as shall declare the place, where any proscribed person lies concealed, and the name of the informer shall not be entered into any register, to the end it may never be known who he was.* This decree, together with the first list of the unhappy wretches who were doomed to die, was immediately sent to Rome, and at the same time some companies of soldiers dispatched thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The soldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proscribed persons in the streets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly massacred in their houses; some while they were supping with their friends, and some in the temples, whither, upon the first alarm, they had fled for refuge. The city was in an instant filled with horror and confusion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the list of the proscribed persons was not yet made public, every one fancied

Rome in
the utmost
consterna-
tion.

cied himself in that number; and hence a general terror and consternation. Some in the height of their despair, resolved to involve the whole city in their destruction, and accordingly set fire to it in different quarters. The darkness of the night, the fire which began to flame out in several places, the cries and groans of those who were inhumanly butchered in the streets, the running up and down of the armed soldiers, the flight of the people, the shrieks of the women, &c. filled every breast with dread and horror. Q. Pædius, the only consul then in Rome, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude and prevent disorders, ran from street to street, causing it to be every where published, that the number of those, who were doomed to die, was but very small, and that, as soon as it was day, he would cause their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning, the list of the proscribed, containing the names only of seventeen persons, was set up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This restored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the consul Pædius, having over-heated himself with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people and prevent disorders, died the night following.

The entry
of the tri-
umvirs in-
to Rome.

DURING these alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards Rome, which they entered on three different days, Octavianns on the first, Antony on the second, and Lepidus on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The first step they took after their arrival was, to get a law passed, investing them with the authority which they had usurped. It was accordingly proposed by the tribune P. Titius to the assembled tribes, who passed it the same day in the following terms: *The Roman people lawfully assembled have thought fit to appoint three persons to govern the commonwealth with consular power. These are M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus, whose authority shall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the space of five years.* The decree was no sooner passed, than Octavianus, pursuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, resigned his consulship, some say to C. Carrinas, others to Ventidius (B). However that be, these

two

1 APPIAN. DIO. FLOR. PLUT. *ibid.*

(B) We have given elsewhere a particular account of the rise, exploits, and character of Ventidius (43); and therefore shall only

(43) Vol. X. p. 531, & *seq.*

add

two were by the triumvirs appointed consuls for the remaining part of the present year ; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. These three tyrants, looking upon themselves now as lawful magistrates, added the night following the names of one hundred and thirty persons to those they had already proscribed ; a few days after they proscribed a hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increased the number, till it amounted at last to three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights. It is impossible to paint the horrors of this bloody proscription ; by it every considerable man in *Rome*, who was disliked, or suspected by the triumvirate to disapprove their tyranny, who was rich and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given to such as discovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their slaves and freedmen, many by their treacherous hosts and relations. Many fled to the wilderness, where they perished for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be seen but blood and slaughter ; the streets were covered with dead bodies ; the heads of the most illustrious senators were exposed upon the rostra, and their bodies left unburied in the streets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming *Rome* to perish at once. Many uncondemned persons perished in this confusion, some by malice or mistake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Some of the ancient historians seem to take pleasure in describing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proscription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almost to a wilderness. They produce many remarkable and affecting instances of the affection of wives for their husbands, and of the fidelity of slaves towards their masters ; but few, very few, as they own with

*The sad
condition
which the
city was in.*

add here, that as he had been formerly a muletier, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of such *Roman* magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raised to the consulate, the following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city :

*Concurrite, omnes augures, aruspices ;
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens :
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est (44).*

(44) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. A. Gell. l. xvi. c. 4. Plin. l. vii. c. 43.*

great

Some of
the pro-
scribed
saved by
their chil-
dren.

great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of *Oppius* may stand for many, who, like *Æneas*, carried his old and decrepid father on his shoulders to the sea-side, and escaped with him into *Sicily*. His piety was not long unrewarded; for on his return to *Rome*, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proscription, he found the people so taken with that generous action, that all the tribes unanimously concurred in raising him to the ædileship, and because he wanted money to exhibit the usual sports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themselves to defray the necessary charges attending such shows, but gave proofs of the esteem they had for so dutiful a son by such contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by the triumvirs. *Caius Hosidius Geta* was likewise saved by his son, who spread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himself, and, to render the fact more credible, spent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obsequies. By this means *Hosidius*, not being searched after, made his escape, but lost one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaister, the better to disguise him. As for the barbarous impiety of those children, who, by a strange apostacy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried with them in eternal oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing such impious monsters. Several slaves chose rather to die on the rack, amidst the most exquisite torments, than discover the place where their masters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon their dead bodies. Many illustrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of their conjugal love in these times of calamity, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The wife of *Q. Ligarius*, seeing her husband betrayed by one of his slaves, declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that she had concealed him, and consequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the same fate. But they not hearkening to her, she appeared before the triumvirs themselves, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned she had concealed, in spite of their decree, her husband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, she shut herself up in her own house, and there, as she was determined not to outlive her husband, starved herself to death. *Acilius* was betrayed by one of his slaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to save his life. *Apuleius*, *Antistius*, *Antius*, *Q. Lucretius Vispallio*,
Titus

Others by
their
wives.

Titus Vinius, and many others, were saved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives; after they had given themselves up for lost. *Lucius*, the uncle of *Antony*, was saved by his sister *Julia*, in whose house he had taken refuge. The ministers of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room, where he lay concealed; but his sister meeting them at the door, cried out several times, *You shall never kill Lucius Cæsar, till you first dispatch me, me, who gave your general his life and being.* The assassins, thunder-struck at these words, retired: but nevertheless *Julia* flew to the forum, where her son was sitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proscribed, and paying the assassins the promised rewards. *I have transgressed your decree,* said she to *Antony*, and am come to inform against myself. I have taken my brother into my house, and am resolved to protect him, till you shall think fit to put us both to death. *You have behaved,* replied *Antony*, *like a good sister, but as a bad mother,* and took no further notice of what *Julia* said; but *Lucius* was no more inquired after. Though the country as well as the city swarmed with informers and assassins; yet many illustrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proscription, and to get safe, either to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, or to *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*. The latter kept constantly a great number of small vessels hovering on the coasts of *Italy*, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them with great kindness and civility. The most considerable persons among those who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and persecutors; were, besides those we have already mentioned, *Valerius Messala*, *Bibulus*, *Arianus*, *Metellus*, *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, *Junius*, *Pomponius*, *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, *Aruntius*, *Coponius*, and *Ventidius*. *Messala* and *Bibulus* were invited home by the triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any ways accessary to the death of *Cæsar*; but they chose to continue with *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and signalized themselves in the battle of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* was afterwards raised to the first employments in the state. *Arianus* and *Metellus* were saved by their children; *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, and *Junius* by their slaves. *Restio* had marked one of his slaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the usual punishment inflicted on such slaves as attempted to run away from their masters. This slave, having by chance found out the place where *Restio* lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him, asking whether he could do him any service? *Restio* had afterwards treated the slave with great humanity, and done him many favours; but nevertheless, seeing himself now in his power, he looked upon his case as

Lucius Antonius saved by his sister.

The fidelity of some slaves.

desperate, not doubting, but the slave would seize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront ; which the faithful and generous slave observing, addressed him thus ; *Can you imagine, that the marks, with which you formerly branded me, have made a deeper impression on my forehead, than the favours, which you have since bestowed upon me, have done in my heart !* Having thus spoke, he led him to a cave, and there supported him for some time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of soldiers coming that way and approaching the cave, the faithful slave, alarmed at the danger his master was in, followed them close, and falling upon a poor peasant, killed him in their presence, and cut off his head, crying out, *I am now revenged on my master for the marks with which he has branded me.* The soldiers, seeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed *Restio*, snatched the head out of his hand and returned with it in all haste to the triumvirs. They were no sooner gone, than the slave conveyed his master to the sea-side, where they had the good luck to find one of *Sextus Pompeius's* vessels, which transported them safe into *Sicily*. The generosity of the slaves of *Appius* and *Meneius*, or *Menenius*, was still more heroic ; for they suffered themselves to be slain in their masters habits, while their masters made their escape in the disguise of slaves. *Pomponius*, finding no other means to get safe out of *Rome*, assumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his slaves in the disguise of lictors : he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was sent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young *Pompey* : he was well received in all the cities on the road, and supplied both with horses and provisions : several bands of soldiers and assassins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to stop or examine an ambassador of the triumvirs ; so that he reached *Sicily* undiscovered. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, and *Aruntius* killed, with the assistance of their friends, clients, and slaves, the soldiers, who were sent to murder them, and made their escape sword in hand. *Ventidius*, not the consul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himself, and patrolling about the country with some of his friends, as in search of proscribed persons. The senator *Coponius* was saved by his wife at the expence of her virtue, *Antony* having caused his name to be struck out of the black list in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after she had been proof for several years against the offers, caresses, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another senator, being quite
tired

*The bold
undertak-
ing of
Pomponi-
us.*

tired with concealing himself in caves and dens, and sculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to *Rome* in the disguise of a school-master, opened there a little school, and kept it as long as the proscription lasted without being discovered, nobody imagining, that a poor pedant could have been of such significancy, as to be ranked among the proscribed senators and knights⁹.

THO' we may perhaps seem to have already dwelt too long on so disagreeable a subject, yet we must, before we dismiss it, acquaint our readers with the fate of *Cicero*. The great reputation of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the most minute circumstances attending it. He was with his brother *Quintus*, who was likewise proscribed, at his country-house near *Tusculum*, when the first news was brought him of the proscription. He no sooner heard it, than he left *Tusculum*, with his brother, taking his rout towards *Astura* (C), or, as some call it, *Stura*, another of his country-houses, on the sea-side between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circæum*. There they both designed to take shipping, and endeavour to join *Brutus* in *Macedon*. They travelled together each in his litter, oppressed with sorrow, and often joining their litters on the road to condole each other. As they had, in the first alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the necessary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that *Cicero* should make what haste he could to the sea-side, and *Quintus* return home to provide necessaries. Thus they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. *Quintus* returned to *Rome*, and got to his house undiscovered, where he thought himself safe at least for a short time, since it had been lately searched by the ministers of the triumvirs. But, as in most

The fate of
Cicero.

⁹ APPIAN. l. iv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO. l. xlvii. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 11. SUET. in Octavio. MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 11.

(C) *Pliny* speaks of *Astura* as a river and an island (45); and *Cicero* seems to insinuate in one of his letters to *Atticus* (46), that his house was in the island. In process of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the same name of *Astura*, as we learn from *Servius* (47).

(45) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 5. & 6. (46) *Ad Attic.* l. xii. epist. 19. (47) *Servius in Æneid.* 7. v. 801.

*Affecting
circum-
stances of
the death
of his bro-
ther.*

houses there were as many informers as domestics, his return was immediately known, and the house of course filled with soldiers and assassins, who, not being able to find him out, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young *Roman* against the most exquisite torments. However, the tender youth could not help sighing now and then, and groaning in the height of his pain. *Quintus* was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot express, how the heart of a tender father must have been affected, in hearing the sighs and groans of a son dying on the rack to save his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he presented himself to the assassins, begging them with a flood of tears to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. But those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected, with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that *they must both die*, the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because, in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die the first: but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, and no-ways affected with such melting scenes, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time. Tho' *Quintus Cicero's* life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it must be owned, was truly glorious; as for that of his son, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an instance of the most heroic affection and filial duty^r.

*Em-
barques
for Ma-
cedon.*

BUT to return to the elder brother: *Cicero* having reached *Astura*, and by good luck found a vessel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board with a design to pass over into *Macedon* and join *Brutus*. But, either dreading the inconveniences of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of *Octavianus*, whom he had all along supported with his credit and eloquence, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at *Circæum*, whence he took his rout towards *Rome* by land. But after he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his resolution anew, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholy and perplexing thoughts. One while he resolved

*Changes
his mind.*

^r APPIAN. DIO. PLUT. VAL. MAX. ibid. SENECA in suavor.

to go privately into *Octavianus's* house, and there kill himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of those furies, which were deemed the avengers of violated friendship. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehension of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, soon made him drop that resolution. Then falling into other thoughts equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in *Octavianus's* friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics to convey him by sea to a country-house, which he had in the neighbourhood of *Gaieta*. Near the place, where he was to land, stood a little temple dedicated to *Apollo*, from which, it is said, a flight of crows, coming with great noise made towards *Cicero's* small vessel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the sails and rigging, pecked them with a hideous noise; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, *Cicero* went ashore, and entering his house, lay down upon his bed to take some rest. The crows followed him, and fluttering about the windows of the room where he lay, made a dreadful noise. One of them was so bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where *Cicero* was reposing with the cloa he cast over his head, pecked them off by degrees and uncovered his face. The example of this creature roused his indolent domestics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to save the life of a man, for whose preservation the very birds of the air seemed concerned: wherefore, partly by force partly by entreaty, they put him again into his litter, and carried him towards the sea-side. They were scarce gone, when a band of soldiers under the command of *Herennius*, a centurion, and *Popilius Lænas*, a military tribune, came to the house. *Cicero* had formerly undertaken the defence of *Popilius*, when he was under a prosecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had got him absolved by those very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a most cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with *Antony*, had promised to find out *Cicero*, wherever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his house shut, but breaking them open and searching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the slaves in the house to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their master lay concealed. But the faithful slaves, without betraying the least fear, answered with great constancy and resolution, that they knew not where he was. At length

*Goes by
sea to his
country
house near
Gaieta.*

*A band of
soldiers in
search of
him.*

Is discovered.

His head and right hand cut off, and carried to Antony.

The cruelty of Fulvia.

length a young man by name *Philologus* (D), who had been slave to *Quintus*, and afterwards enfranchised by him, and instructed by *Cicero* in the liberal arts and sciences with all the tenderness of a father, discovered to the tribune, that *Cicero's* domestics were then carrying him in a litter through the close and shady walks to the sea-side. Upon this information, *Popilius* with some of his men hastened to the place, where he was to come out, while *Herennius* with the rest followed the litter through the narrow paths. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his servants to set down his litter and stroaking, according to his custom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the assassins with great intrepidity. This constancy, which they did not expect from him, his face disfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected and in disorder, &c. so affected the soldiers who attended *Herennius*, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, pursuant to *Antony's* directions, his right hand, with which he had wrote the *Philippics*. With those trophies of their cruelty, *Herennius* and *Popilius*, hastened back to *Rome*, and laid them before *Antony* while he was holding an assembly of the people for the election of new magistrates. The cruel tyrant no sooner beheld them, than he cried out in a transport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proscriptions ; live Romans, live in safety ; you have nothing more to fear.* He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great satisfaction, smiling at a sight, which drew tears from all who were present. After he had satiated his cruel and revengeful temper with so dismal a spectacle, he sent, as we are told by several writers, the head of the orator to his wife *Fulvia*, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himself, and had borne an implacable hatred to *Cicero*, ever since the time of her first husband *P. Clodius*, who was slain by *Milo*. That infernal fury, after having insulted the poor remains of her enemy with the most injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and drawing out the tongue of the deceased, which had uttered many bitter invectives against both her husbands, pierced it several times with a golden bod-

(D) *Plutarch* seems to question what some authors have wrote of the treachery of *Philologus* ; at least he tells us, that this circumstance was unknown to *Tyro*, *Cicero's* emancipated slave, who published an account of his life, which in *Plutarch's* time was in great request, but has not reached ours. *Appian* tells us, that *Cicero* was betrayed and discovered by one *Cyrillus*, who had formerly served *Clodius*, his mortal enemy.

kin,

kin, which she wore in her hair. When *Fulvia* had satiated her impotent rage, *Antony* ordered both the head and the hand to be set up on the rostra, where *Rome* could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had so often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence^r (E). Thus fell the greatest orator *Italy* or any other country ever bred; a man who, as *Cæsar* the dictator used *His char.* to say, had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, as *rafter.* it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman learning than those of the Roman empire. In his consulate, which was truly glorious, he discovered with wonderful sagacity the most secret plots of the seditious *Catiline*, defeated his best concerted measures, and saved, we may say, *Rome* from utter destruction; whence he was deservedly honoured with the glorious title of *the father of his country*. The *Roman* people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; for he was quoting on all occasions, in and out of season, the *nones of December*, as *M. Brutus* observed in one of his letters to *Atticus*. He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him so far as to make him sacrifice his private interest to the public welfare. This *Brutus*, who sincerely loved him but knew his foible, insinuates in several letters to their common friend *Pomponius Atticus*. *We are too much afraid*, says he in one of his epistles, *of death, banishment, and poverty. These things appear to Cicero as great evils, who, provided he be allowed what he desires, provided he be respected and praised, reckons an honourable slavery as nothing, if honour is compatible with so great infamy. And elsewhere; I have no great opinion of those fine arts, of which*

^r VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 66. SENECA in suaſor. orat. 7. PLUT. in Cic. DIO. l. xlvii. APPIAN. l. iv. TACIT. dialog. de orat.

(E) We have followed *Plutarch's* account; but other writers tell us, that *Cicero's* slaves and domestics, seeing *Popilius* and *Herronius* pursuing their master, put themselves in a posture of defence, and seemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that *Cicero* would not allow them to use any violence, saying, *Let us obey the decrees of destiny, and avoid shedding more blood than it has pleased the gods to require.* Having thus spoke to his domestics, he encouraged *Popilius* to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, *Draw near, veteran*, said he, *and shew us what you can do.* At these words the tribune came close to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head (48).

(48) *Appian. l. iv. & Val. Max.*

Cicero

*Cicero is so great a master ; for what use do we see him make of all he has written concerning the liberty of his country, true honour, death, and banishment ? &c. Plutarch tells us, that though Brutus and his followers both loved and trusted Cicero, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their design to him, because they were determined to admit into the conspiracy such only as were bold, brave, and despisers of death ; whereas Cicero was by nature a coward, and besides become so wary and over-cautious by old age, that he would not have made one step without the greatest security, which would have blunted the edge of their forwardness and resolution, in an affair that required all the dispatch imaginable *. But after all, the intrepidity, with which he offered himself to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorousness, pusillanimity, and irresolution, which he betrayed in most occurrences of his life. He died on the seventh of the ides of December, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. Antony himself made some sort of reparation to his memory ; for, instead of rewarding the perfidious Philologus, who betrayed his master and benefactor, he delivered him up to Pomponia, the widow of Quintus Cicero and sister of Pomponius Atticus, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and desire of revenge with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, obliged the miserable wretch to cut off his own flesh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her presence. But Tyro, Cicero's freedman, has not so much as mentioned the treachery of Philologus, as we have observed above out of Plutarch. Octavianus, who shamefully sacrificed Cicero to his most cruel and bitter enemy, declared several years after the esteem he had for him : for visiting one day his daughter's son, and finding him with a book of Cicero's in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown ; which Octavianus perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book standing, gave it him again, saying, *This, my child, was a learned man and a lover of his country* †.*

The cruelty of Pomponia towards the slave who betrayed him.

Lepidus's triumph.

WHILE the proscription was still raging, and Rome in the utmost consternation in seeing herself daily deprived of some of her best citizens, Lepidus took it in his head to triumph, on account of some inconsiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted Spaniards. The decree, empowering him to enjoy this honour, was issued by himself with the consent and approbation of his two colleagues, and began thus : *To all those who shall honour our triumph with sacrifi-*

* PLUT. in Bruto.

† PLUT. in Cic.

ces, feasting, and other demonstrations of joy, health and good fortune ; but to others misery and proscription. This decree drew greater crouds to his triumph than had ever been seen on the like occasion : he was attended by all the nobility of Rome, who strove to outvie each other in offering sacrifices for the safety of *Lepidus* and his colleagues, and in feasting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. *L. Munatius Plancus* was likewise decreed a triumph for something, we know not what, he had done in *Gaul*^u. As it was customary for the soldiers to sing, during the triumphal procession, satyrical verses on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occasion ; *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules*. The Latin word *Germani* signifies equally *brothers*, and, the inhabitants of Germany, so that the verses might be understood as importing, either that the designed consuls triumphed over the *Germans*, or over their *brothers* ; for they had both procured the proscription of their brothers, or at least consented to it^w.

AND now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of so many illustrious citizens, began to think of raising the necessary sums for the carrying on of the war against *Brutus* and *Cassius*. In order to this they published daily new lists of proscribed persons, containing the names of the richest citizens in Rome, whom they caused, under several pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then seized on their estates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and succession. They burdened the people with most grievous taxes, seized all the gold and silver, whether in plate or specie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immense sums, belonging both to strangers and citizens of Rome, which had been deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the sum of two hundred thousand talents, which they judged necessary to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of Rome, mothers, daughters, relations, or any ways allied to such persons as they had proscribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though most of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourse in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go all in a body, and plead their cause at the tribunal of those magistrates, while they were administering justice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their

The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.

The Roman ladies taxed.

^u Vide. GRUTER. inscript. p. 297. & APPIAN. l. iv. p. 607.

^w VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 67.

Horten-
fia's speech
to the tri-
umvirs.

way through the croud and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed at such an unusual sight, ordered their guards to disperse them; but this occasioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at length permitted to speak, and the person the suppliants chose for this purpose was *Hortensia*, the daughter of the celebrated orator *Hortensius*, who addressed the triumvirs thus: *The unhappy women you see here imploring your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this place, had they not first made use of all other means, which their natural modesty could suggest to them. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto observed with all strictness, yet the loss of our fathers, children, brothers, and husbands, may sufficiently excuse us, especially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our further misfortunes. You pretend, that they had offended and provoked you; but what injury have the women done, that they must be impoverished? If they are as blameable as the men, why do you not proscribe them too? Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we suborned your soldiers, raised troops against you, or opposed you in the pursuit of those honours and offices which you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor is it our ambition, which has drawn the present misfortune on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for us. Why should we contribute to a war, wherein we have no manner of interest? 'Tis true indeed, that in the Carthaginian war our mothers assisted the republic, which was at that time reduced to the utmost distress: but neither their houses, their lands, nor their moveables, were sold for that service; some rings and a few jewels furnished the supply: it was not constraint and violence that forced it from them: what they contributed was intirely owing to their own good will and generous disposition. What danger at present threatens the city? If the Gauls or Parthians were incamped on the banks of the Tiber, or the Anio, you should find us no less zealous in the defence of our common country, than our mothers were before us. But we ought not, and will not be any ways concerned in civil wars. Neither Marius, nor Cæsar, nor Pompey, ever thought of obliging us to take part in the domestic troubles which their ambition raised; nay, not Sylla himself, who first set up tyranny in Rome; and yet you assume the glorious title of reformers of the state, a title, which will turn to your eternal ignominy, if, without the least regard to the laws of equity, you persist in your wicked resolution of plundering those of their estates and fortunes, who have given you no just cause of offence.*

The

The triumvirs, provoked at the boldness of this speech, and fearing it might occasion some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away such troublesome suppliants; but the people crying out against such violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appease the multitude, who had openly espoused the cause of the women, they reduced their number from one thousand four hundred to four hundred; but at the same time taxed above a hundred thousand men, as well strangers as citizens, without exempting the priests themselves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their estates, and a whole year's revenue. In the levying of this tax the soldiers committed such unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the consuls to watch them, and punish the offenders with the utmost severity. But the cowardly magistrate, fearing to disgust the legionaries, winked at the disorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only against a few slaves, whom he caused to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exercised in the disguise of soldiers, on some of the most illustrious citizens *.

Many of the ladies exempted from paying the tax.

AND now the triumvirs, having caused about three hundred senators and two thousand knights to be inhumanly massacred, and raised by a thousand extortions the necessary sums for their eastern expedition, assembled at last the few senators they had left alive, and, entering the senate-house, declared, that the proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured the conscript fathers, that for the future he at least should give them no occasion of complaint. But *Octavianns*, not yet satiated with so many butcheries, openly declared, *That he still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing the guilty.* And indeed *Suetonius* tells us, that though he was at first unwilling to sign the fatal decree, which doomed so many citizens to die, yet he was the most cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it †. Some of the antient and most of the modern writers endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon *Antony*; nay, they cry him up for one of the most mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever swayed a sceptre. But we meet with too many instances in history, which evidently shew that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We shall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his short consulate, and reserve the rest for their proper places. The prætor *Quintus Gellius* had on all occasions assisted him to the utmost of his

The proscription at an end.

The cruelty of Octavianus.

* DIO. APPIAN. *ibid.*† SWEET. in *Octavio.*

power, and employed all his interest in his behalf, when he first stood for the consulate. *Octavianus* therefore no sooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of *Africa*, with the title of proconsul: but soon after, taking it into his head, that the prætor designed to murder him, he caused him to be seized by a band of soldiers in his seat of justice, and to be hurried away, without further inquiry, to the rack, like the meanest slave. He confessed nothing, nor indeed had any such thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to *Cæsar* and *Octavianus*. But neither could his great quality and high station, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle consul condemned him to die, but first caused the venerable magistrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleasure of digging out his eyes with his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, less cruel than himself, to dispatch him². Is not this single instance an undeniable proof of the cruelty of his temper?

The triumvirs appointed consuls, prætors, &c. for several years.

AFTER the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpressible joy both of the senate and people, that the proscription was at an end, they appointed of their own authority, without so much as assembling the people, the consuls for the ensuing year. These were *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the triumvir, and *Lucius Munatius Plancus*. After this, as *Antony* and *Octavianus* were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the east, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they named, in concert with *Lepidus*, consuls, prætors, and ædiles, for several ensuing years, chusing for these great offices such persons as they all approved of, and could safely rely on. This precaution seemed necessary, to prevent the people from raising to these dignities, during their absence, men of seditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus settled matters in the city, *Antony* and *Octavianus* first divided both the money and troops, and then set out, the former for *Brundisium*, and the latter for *Rhegium*, where the fleets, appointed to transport them into the *Levant*, were ready to take the forces on board, and put to sea with the first favourable wind. But, before we relate the great events which determined the fate of the unhappy republic, we must give a succinct account of what passed in the east, from the taking of *Laodicea* by *Cassius*, to the arrival of *Antony* and *Octavianus* in *Macedon*.

Cassius resolves to invade Egypt.

Cassius, having, by the reduction of *Laodicea*, made himself master of all *Syria*, resolved in the next place to invade

² Suet. *ibid.*

Egypt; for *Cleopatra* had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet; but as he was on his march, he was recalled by *Brutus*, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in *Italy*, and assembling forces with a design to pass over into *Macedon*. *It is not, said he in one of his letters, to gain an empire for ourselves, but to relieve our country, that we have assembled such powerful armies. We ought not so much to think of gaining glory by new conquests, as of destroying those who have enslaved Rome. Let us remember what we have undertaken, and persevere in our first intentions. It is high time for us to turn our thoughts upon Italy, which now groans under the oppression of tyrants. Let us make what haste we can thither, and endeavour to relieve our fellow-citizens.* As *Cassius* had a great esteem and veneration for *Brutus*, he dropt his enterprize upon *Egypt*; and, committing the government of *Syria* to his brother's son with one legion, he set out with all the rest to meet him. On his march he detached a body of horse into *Cappadocia*, with orders to put king *Ariobarzanes* to death, upon an information that he had conspired against him, and kept up a private correspondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great sums raised on his subjects, who were looked upon by *Cassius* as disaffected to the republican party. As he passed by *Tarsus*, being touched with compassion on the miserable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the rest of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for siding with *Dolabella*, and refusing to supply with provisions the troops which *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conspirators, was leading into *Syria*. This conduct of the *Tarsenses*, after they had entered into an alliance with *Cassius*, and even presented him with a crown of gold, so provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raising of which sum they first sold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both sexes, and at last their women and old men. As the money accruing from these sales did not amount to the sum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at last forced to sell some of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy wretches, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on themselves: which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he forgave them the rest of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From *Tarsus* he pursued

But is recalled by Brutus.

Is touched with compassion on the miserable condition of the Tarsenses.

fued his march into *Asia* to join *Brutus*^a. That general, seeing himself master of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, had resolved to pass over into *Asia* with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caius Antonius*, whom he had taken prisoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmost civility, had raised a sedition among the troops that were left in *Macedon*. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put *Caius* under close confinement in the city of *Apollonia*, pursued his march, and passed over into *Asia*, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and, among the rest, by *Dejotarus*, king or tetrarch of *Galatia*, though he had refused to send any succours to *Cassius*. While *Brutus* was in *Asia*, *Caius Antonius*, having found means, even in his confinement, to debauch many of his soldiers, attempted to make his escape; but the plot being discovered, *Antonius* was more closely confined, and the guilty soldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they seemed determined to stand it out, and rather undergo any hardships, than submit to the will of their officers. Hereupon *Caius Clodius*, to whose custody *Brutus* had committed the seditious prisoner, fearing he might raise new disturbances, and at length make his escape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by *Brutus*'s orders, is uncertain. Thus *Dion Cassius*^b. But *Plutarch* tells us, that *Brutus* no sooner heard the news of *Cicero*'s death, than he sent orders to *Hortensius* to kill *Caius Antonius*; and adds, that, on this account, *Antony*, having afterwards taken *Hortensius* in the battle of *Philippi*, slew him on his brother's tomb. However that be, *Brutus*, fearing the death of *Antonius* might occasion disturbances in *Macedon*, left *Asia*, and hastened back thither. On his arrival he put himself at the head of a legion, and marched against the mutineers, whom he soon forced to sue for mercy. As *Brutus* was a man of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, and insensible of the passions of anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himself to put any of the seditious legionaries to death, respecting, as *Appian* observes, the character of a *Roman* citizen even in an enemy. His officers pressed him to punish at least a small number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The good-natured general seemed to yield to their importunity; and, having ordered a galley to be got ready, caused the ringleaders of the

Brutus
passes over
into Asia.

Caius An-
tonius put
to death.

The great
clemency of
Brutus.

^a PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 625, & l. v. p. 675. DIO. l. xlvii. ^b Idem, ibid. p. 340, 341, & l. xlix. p. 341.

late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the sea, and drowned; but, in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to some place of safety, and there leave them.

Brutus, having thus quieted all disturbances in *Macedon*, hastened back into *Asia*. It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither, that he coined a new piece of money, which was for some time current in all the eastern countries. On one side was the head of *Brutus*, and on the reverse a *pileus* or *cap*, the badge of liberty, between two poniards, with this legend, *Eid. Mar.* to revive the remembrance of the *ides of March*, which was the last day of *Cæsar's* life, and usurped empire. *Brutus*, arriving in *Asia*, advanced in all haste to *Smyrna*, where he had appointed to meet *Cassius*, who accordingly came after him. As they had not seen one another since they parted at *Pireæus*, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedon*, we may easily imagine how great their joy was at their first meeting. They had been intimate friends long before the death of *Cæsar*, were nearly related, *Cassius* having married *Julia* the sister of *Brutus*, and looked upon themselves as the only protectors of their oppressed country. Their joy was doubled, when they compared their present circumstances with the despicable condition they were both in when they left *Italy*. *Cassius* shewed all possible respect for *Brutus*, having a great opinion of his virtue, honesty, and integrity. On the other hand, *Brutus*, considering *Cassius* as the elder man, and of a more weakly constitution than himself, desired that their conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies incamped separately. When they came to deliberate about the proper measures to be taken with relation to the great war with which they were threatened, *Brutus* was for transporting all their forces over into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, and there making head against the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberless troops in one of those countries; but *Cassius* was of opinion, that they should first reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, that they might not leave two such formidable maritime powers unsubdued behind them; for both these nations had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours under-hand to the triumvirs. As for the numberless forces of the enemy, *their great number*, said *Cassius*, renders them less formidable;

*Brutus and
Cassius
meet at
Smyrna.*

they will find a powerful enemy to contend with in Greece, Macedon, or Thessaly, famine. Where will they find provisions for so great a multitude? Let us therefore turn our arms against their friends the Lycians and Rhodians, and in the mean time leave them to fight with want and famine^d.

Resolutions
taken at
their inter-
view.

Brutus readily came into the opinion of *Cassius*, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct after the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians*^e. It was therefore agreed, that, before they passed farther westward, *Brutus* should march against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* sail with his fleet against the *Rhodians*; but as *Brutus* had spent great sums in equipping a fleet, he desired *Cassius* to share with him the immense treasure he had amassed in *Asia*. This demand was taken ill by the friends of *Cassius*, who endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with the just request of *Brutus*, saying, That it was not reasonable the money which he had saved with so much parsimony, or got with so much envy, should be disposed of to enrich *Brutus*'s soldiers, and to make him popular. But *Cassius*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, generously gave him a third part of the great treasure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, *Cassius* marching against the *Rhodians*, and *Brutus* against the *Lycians*^f.

The Rho-
dians send
an embassy
to *Cassius*.

As the city of *Rhodes* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and had a powerful fleet at sea, *Cassius*, before he attempted to make a descent on the island, took care to exercise his mariners at *Mindus* a maritime city of *Caria*. Thither the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, over *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, and many others, and representing, that their nation was not easily to be conquered; that he might, in so dangerous an attempt, lose, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at sea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, &c. As they were going on, *Cassius* interrupted them: Since you have so great an opinion of your own valour, said he, I will soon give you an opportunity of exerting it. You have sent succours to *Dolabella*, and unless you assist me in the like manner, neither the numerous fleet you have at sea, nor the dread of your naval forces, shall deter me from in-

^d APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 626. LIV. l. cxxii. Vide Vol X. p. 529. ^e PLUT. in *Bruto*. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 625. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 346.

vading your island, and laying siege to your proud capital.

This answer terrified the wiser citizens, who were for complying with *Cassius's* demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, opposed all their measures; and two orators, *Alexander* and *Mnaseas*, by magnifying the strength of the nation, the number of their ships, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all proposals of an accom-

They refuse to submit.

modation; nay, the people, in an assembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magistrates, appointed *Alexander* commander in chief of the land forces, and *Mnaseas* of the fleet, who immediately began to make the necessary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the *Romans*, sent a second embassy to *Cassius*, employing for that purpose *Archelaus*, who had formerly taught him the *Greek* tongue in *Rhodes*, and for whom the *Roman* had on all occasions shewed great respect and veneration. *Archelaus* put him in mind of their antient friendship, of the alliance that was still subsisting between the republic of *Rhodes* and that of *Rome*, and of the education he had received in that city. *Cassius* answered, That if *Archelaus* had consented to

Cassius's speech to the Rhodians an envoy.

the hostilities of his countrymen against him, he had by that means renounced his friendship, and effaced all former obligations; but if he had advised them to embrace his interest, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them for the contempt they had shewn for him. As to their alliance with *Rome*, he said, that in virtue of that treaty with the republic, they were obliged to assist him against those who were using their utmost efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power in its room; that he demanded succours of them as prætor and proconsul appointed by the senate and the most honest part of the *Roman* people, and that, if they refused to acknowledge him in that character, or would not send him the succours he demanded in the name of the senate and *Roman* people, he could not look upon them otherwise than as enemies to *Rome*, and would treat them as such. *Archelaus* finding *Cassius* inflexible, and the reasons he alledged for making war upon the *Rhodians* unanswerable, took his leave, and returned to *Rhodes*, where he found *Alexander* and *Mnaseas* ready to put to sea with a fleet of thirty-three ships of war, and a great number of smaller vessels. These two commanders no sooner heard the *Roman* general's final answer, than they weighed anchor, and went in quest of the enemy's fleet, which they met off *Cnidos*, where they had formerly defeated the navy of *Mithridates the Great*. This they looked upon as a good omen, and

The Rhodians overcome in a sea fight.

The Rhodians defeated anew, and their town taken.

Cassius treats the Rhodians with severity.

therefore immediately attacked the *Roman* fleet, which was commanded by *Staius Murcus*, with incredible bravery and resolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the *Rhodian* mariners, and the nimbleness of their ships; but at length the *Rhodians* were put to flight, after having lost a great number of soldiers, as well as mariners, and five of their best ships, three whereof were taken, and two sunk. After this engagement, *Cassius*, who beheld it from a neighbouring mountain, marched his army to *Loryma*, a maritime city of *Caria*, situated over-against the island of *Rhodes*, and there, without loss of time, put his forces on board a great number of transports, which he had assembled before-hand, and ordered them to land in the island, and fortify themselves there, while he, with a fleet of eighty ships of war, invested the city of *Rhodes* by sea, in hopes of striking a terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodshed, to submit, and comply with his demands. With this view he continued some days inactive before the place; but was greatly surprised to see the enemy's fleet unexpectedly sail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this second engagement the *Rhodians* were defeated anew, with the loss of two galleys, and forced to take shelter under the walls of their city, which was immediately invested both by sea and land, and, after a short but most vigorous resistance, forced to surrender at discretion^s. *Appian* tells, that some of the rich citizens, to save their estates, betrayed the city to *Cassius*, after he had solemnly promised not to destroy it. The inhabitants seeing him master of the place, whether by force or treachery is uncertain, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their king and master. But *Cassius*, abhorring those titles, *I am neither your king nor master*, said he, *but the destroyer of a tyrant, who would have been your king and master*. He then caused a tribunal to be raised in the market-place, and seating himself on it, with a spear planted before him, as it was customary among the *Roman* generals, when they had taken a city by storm, he first forbade his soldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houses, or offer any sort of violence to the inhabitants. He then summoned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been most sanguine for war, and pronounced sentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty five more who had made their escape to perpetual banishment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and silver, whether belonging to the temples, to the pub-

^s APPIAN l. iv. p. 627 — 632. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 346. lic,

lic, or to private persons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening those with death who should conceal any part of their wealth, and promising rewards to such as should discover it, viz. a tenth to persons of a free condition, and liberty to slaves. At first some concealed their treasures, not thinking he would proceed with so much rigour; but when they saw three or four of the richest citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way part of their wealth, they desired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before *Cassius*, who by that means raised, at the expence of private persons, the sum of eight thousand talents, as we have related more at length in the history of *Rhodes* ^h. *Cassius*, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of *Rhodes*, returned to the continent, leaving *Lucius Varus* with a strong garison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which at his departure he laid on those refractory islanders. On the continent, he was informed, that *Cleopatra* had left *Egypt*, and was sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Upon this intelligence he sent *Statius Murcus* with sixty ships of war, and a legion on board, to cruize on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of *Tanarus*, in hopes of meeting there with *Cleopatra's* fleet; but the queen's navy was dispersed by a violent storm, and most of her ships dashed to pieces on the coast of *Africa*; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aside for the present all thoughts of sending any succours to the triumvirs. *Cassius*, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin *Brutus*, obliging all the provinces of *Asia*, as he passed through them, to pay, without the least abatement, ten years taxes ⁱ.

WHILE *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Rhodians*, *Brutus* was making war in *Lycia*, agreeable to the scheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hostilities, he sent to the *Lycians* to demand a supply of men and money; but one *Maucrates*, a popular man among them, persuaded them not to comply with *Brutus's* request, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, posted several bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent *Brutus* from entering the country. But the *Roman* general detached a party of horse against them; which, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed six hundred of them, drove the rest from

^h Vide Vol. VII. p. 363.
VLL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 70.

ⁱ APPIAN. & Dio. ibid. &

Brutus enters Lycia, after having defeated the inhabitants who opposed him.

The memorable siege of Xanthus.

their posts, and opened a passage into the country for the whole army *. *Dion* tells us, that the *Lycians*, who were a brave and warlike people, met *Brutus* on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the *Romans* who made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage †. However that be, *Brutus*, after this first skirmish or battle, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himself master of all their cities and villages, except *Xanthus* (F) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a design to stand a siege. *Brutus*, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and great magnanimity, being unwilling to shed the blood of those unhappy wretches, set all the prisoners he had taken free without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the *Lycians*, despising his humanity and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; so that *Brutus* was forced, to his great grief, to lay siege to the place, which, he foresaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people. *Xanthus* was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia*; its walls were of an extraordinary height and thickness, and surrounded with a ditch fifty foot deep, and broad in proportion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great distance, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged *Brutus* to send parties a great way off to fetch the necessary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but notwithstanding the many difficulties which he had to struggle with, and which he did not himself expect to surmount in many months, as *Appian* tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: so great was the eagerness and ardour of the soldiery, animated by the example of their general, who shared with them all the toils and dangers of so difficult an undertaking. The besieged made a most vigorous defence, and behaved in their sallies with unparalleled bravery; but were at-

* PLUT. in Bruto.

† DIO. l. xlvii. p. 347.

(F) *Xanthus* was, according to *Strabo* (49), the metropolis of all *Lycia*. The river, which watered it, is said by *Stephanus* to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder *Xanthus*, who was, according to some, an *Egyptian*, according to others, a native of *Crete*.

(49) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 981.

ways beaten with great loss, *Brutus* keeping the half of his army night and day under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the *Xanthians* began to think of making their escape; and accordingly some of them threw themselves into the river, which ran through the city, hoping to save themselves by swimming and diving under water; but they were taken in nets let down for that purpose, with little bells fastened to them, to give present notice when any of the unfortunate wretches were intangled in them; but the greater part, despairing to hold out any longer, resolved to make a general sally, and, forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. *Brutus*, suspecting their design, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the *Xanthians* supposing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, sallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulsed with great slaughter by the *Romans* who lay in wait for them. The next day about noon they made another sally, set fire to the engines of the aggressors, and retired in great haste within their walls. The *Romans* pursued them close, and entered the city, to the number of two thousand, with the besieged; but the port-cullis falling, either by a stratagem of the enemy, or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the *Romans* were crushed to pieces, and others shut in, without any possible means of retiring, or receiving the least assistance from their friends. In this desperate condition they resolved at least to sell their lives dear, and with this view marched in good order through showers of darts, which were discharged upon them from all parts, to a temple dedicated to *Sarpedon* king of *Lycia*, who was supposed to have been killed in the *Trojan* war. There they fortified themselves, and sustained a siege in the very heart of the city. In the mean time, *Brutus* and his men exerted their utmost efforts to relieve their fellow-soldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the *Xanthians* defending it with a bravery and resolution which surprised the *Romans* themselves. As they could neither move nor break down the port-cullis, which was trellised with iron-bars, they endeavoured to scale the walls, using for that purpose not scaling-ladders, (for the besieged had burnt them, together with the wooden towers when they first sallied out) but long ropes, to which they fastened iron hooks. These they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the besieged, by pushing the aggressors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their swords, rendered this attempt likewise unsuccessful. While *Brutus* was under the utmost concern for his men, who were,

to

The city taken.

to the number of two thousand, shut up in the city, a company of *Oenoandes* (G), who served under him and bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians*, climbing up a steep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themselves from thence into the city, and opening a postern to some *Romans* who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, and let in the rest of the *Roman* army. But, in the mean time, some sparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceness, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houses, the flame was in a trice spread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. *Brutus*, fearing the whole city should be destroyed, ordered his soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the *Xanthians*, seized with a kind of frenzy, which

The desperate resolution of the Xanthians.

Plutarch calls a violent desire of dying, strove to drive away the soldiers who came to their assistance; nay, they themselves, gathering together reeds, wood and other combustible matter, spread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. *Brutus*, seeing the flame blaze out in a most frightful manner, and extremely desirous of having an opportunity to shew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with such bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horseback, and riding round the walls, stretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would spare their own lives and save their town. But his intreaties were not regarded; the *Xanthians* were immovably determined not to outlive the loss of their liberty, and therefore repulsed with showers of arrows the *Romans*, whom the good-natured general sent to their assistance. Some of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their slaves, before the soldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran like wild beasts, on the enemy's swords, or threw themselves headlong from the top of the walls. Some children were seen offering their throats, or opening their

Instances of the fury and despair of the Xanthians.

(G) *Oenoanda*, or, as others write it, *Oeneanda*, was, according to *Pliny* and *Stephanus*, situated on the confines of *Cabalia*, a small province of *Lycia*. It was still in being in the sixth century of the christian æra, and is mentioned in the *notitia* of the empire of *Constantinople*, commonly ascribed to the grammarian *Hierocles*. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians* their neighbours, and therefore readily joined *Brutus* against them.

breasts

breasts to their fathers swords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given. How great is the power of education! The *Xanthians* had inspired their children, from their very infancy, with the most heroic sentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to slavery and subjection, often relating to them, how their forefathers had suffered themselves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than submit either to *Harpagus*, *Cyrus's* lieutenant, or to *Alexander* of *Macedon*, the famous conqueror of *Asia*; for they had in the *Persian* and *Macedonian* wars set fire to their city after the same manner, and destroyed themselves. When the city was almost wholly reduced to ashes, a woman was found, who had hanged herself with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. When this was related to *Brutus*, he burst into tears, and, declining to see so tragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any soldier who should save a *Xanthian*; but with all his care and good-nature he could only preserve one hundred and fifty, and those much against their wills ^m. *Appian* tells, that only some slaves were saved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted husbands to kill them; and adds, that *Brutus* found means to preserve some of the temples from so general a conflagration ⁿ.

FROM *Xanthus* *Brutus* led his army against *Patara* (H), another city of *Lycia*; but, being desirous to save the place and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them as he had done the *Xanthians*. With the deputies he sent the few prisoners he had taken at *Xanthus*, hoping, that they, by giving the *Patarense*s an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpose; the inhabitants seemed determin-

Brutus endeavours to gain the Patarense by gentle methods.

^m PLUT. in BRUTO. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 633 -- 635. ⁿ APPIAN. ibid.

(H) *Patara* stood on a peninsula, which *Stephanus* calls the *Lycian Chersonesus*. *Livy* (50) honours this city with the title of *caput gentis*, the metropolis of the nation. In our history of *Lycia* we have given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of *Apollo*, who was supposed to reside six months at *Patara*, and as many at *Delos*. (51).

(50) *Liv* l. xxxvii. c. 15.
ver. 14.

(51) Vide *Servium* in *Æneid*. 4.

ed to stand a siege, and undergo any miseries, rather than submit. This gave *Brutus* great uneasiness; he studied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the same frenzy, which had driven the *Xanthians* to destruction, might seize them. Notwithstanding the answer they sent him, which was, *That they chose rather to die like brave men, than purchase their lives at the expence of their liberty and reputation*, the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the rest of that day to reflect more seriously on their present circumstances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obstinacy, he set at liberty such of the *Xanthians* captives as were any ways allied to them, sending them into the city as a present from him to their relations; but the *Patarenses* still continued inflexible. *Brutus* therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had recourse to severity, and causing the *Xanthian* captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be sold to the best bidder under the very walls of *Patara*; but as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of those unfortunate wretches had been sold, he set the rest at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to slavery, who had fought so valiantly in defence of their liberty. While he was under the greatest concern imaginable for the *Patarenses*, whose obstinacy rendered all the measures abortive, which his good-nature could suggest for their preservation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their stubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in scouring the country, happened to meet some of the chief women of *Patara*, whom they took prisoners, and carried to *Brutus*, who immediately dismissed them all without ransom. These returning into the city, and there crying up the politeness, justice, and temperance of *Brutus*, prevailed upon their husbands and relations, who were all leading men, to submit to so good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. *Brutus* treated them with great humanity, pardoning even those who had been to the very last for standing a siege. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Roman* general exacted only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation, a very inconsiderable sum, if compared with that of eight thousand talents, which *Cassius* extorted from the *Rhodians*. *Appian* writes, that *Brutus*, after the example of *Cassius*, ordered the *Patarenses*, on pain of death, to bring to him all their gold and silver, promising rewards to such as should discover any hidden treasures. Upon this, a slave, belonging to a rich citizen, informed against his master, and discovered to a centurion, who was sent for that purpose, the place

And at
length suc-
ceeds.

Instances
of *Brutus*'s
good na-
ture, jus-
tice, &c.

place where he had buried the greatest part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately seized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before *Brutus*. The mother of the accused followed them, declaring with many tears, that she had hid the treasure without her son's knowledge, and consequently ought to be punished. On the other hand, the slave stood to his first information, maintaining, that his master, and not his mother, had transgressed the edict. *Brutus* heard both parties with great patience, and being in the end convinced, that the accusation of the slave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his master, he commended the tenderness and generosity of the mother, restored the whole sum to the son, and condemned the slave to be crucified. This judgment, which was immediately published all over *Lycia*, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them *.

AND now *Brutus*, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all *Lycia*, left that country, and entered *Ionian*, where he found the famous rhetorician *Theodotus*, who had the most contributed to the death of *Pompey the Great*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*. The unhappy wretch had fled out of *Egypt* on the arrival of *Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, and ever since that time sculked about in *Asia*, wandering from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. *Brutus* no sooner heard he was in *Ionian*, than he caused him to be seized, and sacrificed to the manes of the illustrious *Roman*, who, by his advice, had been inhumanly murdered, as he himself had the impudence to boast *. This memorable act of justice was greatly applauded by every honest *Roman*, and all the princes of *Asia*, who had a great veneration for the memory of *Pompey*. From *Ionian* *Brutus* marched into *Lydia*, and stopping at *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country, waited there for *Cassius*, who, after the reduction of *Rhodes*, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city. As *Cassius* drew near, *Brutus* went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and armies, was exceeding great on this occasion. The soldiery expressed their satisfaction in seeing each other again with joyful acclamations, and saluted both generals with the title of *imperator*. As several jealousies of each other and complaints had passed between the two generals, as soon as

Theodotus put to death by Brutus's order.

Brutus and Cassius meet at Sardis.

* DIO, l. xlvii. p. 347. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 635, 636. ° PLUT. in Pomp. & Bruto.

A private
dispute be-
tween the
two gene-
rals.

the usual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private apartment, with a design to settle all differences between them, before they entered upon any other business. What was the subject of their debate, we know not; but they disputed with great warmth, reproaching and accusing each other with hard words, and at last bursting out into tears. Their friends, who stood without, hearing them so loud and angry, began to be afraid, lest their quarrel should be attended with dangerous consequences; but yet they durst not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, *M. Favonius*, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himself more upon a sort of *Cynical* liberty of speaking what he pleased, than upon the dignity of a senator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the subject of the dispute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verse, which *Homer* puts in the mouth of *Nestor*; *Be ruled, for I am elder than you both*. This made *Cassius* laugh; but *Brutus*, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended *Cynic*, thrust him out, calling him *a dog*, in allusion to his sect, and *a counterfeit philosopher*. This, however, put an end to the dispute; *Cassius* provided a supper that night, and *Brutus* invited his friends to it. As they were sitting down, *Favonius* came in, and took the most honourable place, though *Brutus*, calling out aloud, told him, That he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company, and the entertainment was seasoned both with mirth and learned discourses P.

Brutus's
equity.

THE next day, *Brutus*, upon the accusation of the inhabitants of *Sardis*, publicly condemned and branded with infamy *Lucius Pella*, who had been formerly censor, and often employed by *Brutus* himself in offices of trust, for having embezzled the public money. This sentence offended *Cassius*, who but a few days before had absolved in public two of his own friends, and continued them in their offices, tho' accused of the same crime, contenting himself only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his sentiments on this head from *Brutus*, whom he accused in a friendly manner of too much rigour and severity, when gentleness and favour were more necessary, and would prove of greater service to their cause. In answer to this, *Brutus* put him in mind of the ides of *March*, the day on which they had killed *Cæsar*, who himself neither vexed nor oppressed man-

kind, but was the support of those who did. He desired him to consider, that if justice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of *Cæsar's* friends, than to give impunity to their own; for then, said he, we could have been accused of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injustice of others, we make ourselves liable to the same accusation, and share with them in the guilt. From this we may perceive, as *Plutarch* observes, what was the rule of all *Brutus's* actions ¹.

AND now the two republican generals, being masters of all the eastern provinces, from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*, after several consultations, resolved to march from *Sardis* to *Abydos*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, advance into *Macedon* against *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who, notwithstanding the *Antony* opposition they had met with from *Statius Murcus*, *Cassius's* and *Octavianus* ^{past} admiral, had transported their troops, without the loss of one single ship or man, to *Dyrrhachium*. From thence they detached *Decidius Saxa* and *Caius Norbanus*, with eight legions, to seize on the straights leading from *Thrace* into *Macedon*, in order to prevent *Brutus* and *Cassius* from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the necessary provisions for the support of their two armies. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, upon the first intelligence of these motions, left *Sardis*, and marched in all haste to *Abydos*, where they had appointed the *Lycian* fleet to meet them, and transport their forces out of *Asia* into *Europe*. It was on this march that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a ghost or spectre in his tent. This memorable story is thus related by *Plutarch* ², *Florus* ³, and *Appian* ⁴: *Brutus*, being used to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching, and allowed but a very small portion of time for sleep. *Plutarch* tells us, that he never slept in the day-time, as was customary among the *Romans*, and in the night then only when he had dispatched his affairs, and when, every one else being gone to rest, he had no body left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, and he very careful and solicitous about the event of it, used to lie down for a short while just after supper, and spend the rest of the night either in dispatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes used to wait on him for their orders. According to this custom, he was one night, before he passed out of *Asia*, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by

¹ PLUT. in Bruto.² Idem ibid.³ FLOR. l. iv. c. 7.⁴ APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665.

Cassius satisfies him with reasons from the Epicurean philosophy.

him, there being a general silence all over the camp, especially about his tent. As he was musing with himself and very thoughtful, he heard on a sudden an unusual noise at the door of his tent, which at the same time flew open. *Brutus*, casting his eye towards the place whence the noise came, saw a terrible and strange figure of a huge and frightful body coming towards him without speaking; but he undauntedly addressed the spectre, asking it, *What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what business dost thou come to us? I am*, said the ghost, *thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me again near Philippi.* *Brutus*, without betraying the least fear, answered boldly, *Well, I will see thee there:* upon which the apparition vanished. *Brutus* immediately called his servants, who all told him, that they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the rest of the night, and, as soon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Cassius*; who, as he had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, ascribed the vision wholly to the weakness of his senses and the force of imagination, which easily moves and varies them into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the same manner, as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any such thing as spirits or demons*, said he, *let us never believe it, much less that spirits can have human shape or voice, or any power over us; though I could earnestly wish it were so, that we might not only rely on the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but likewise on the assistance of those immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred as ours is* (I). This discourse satisfied *Brutus*, who was

(I) As *Cassius* had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, and had often disputed with *Brutus* concerning matters of this nature, he spoke to him thus, as *Plutarch* informs us: “It is the opinion of our sect, O *Brutus*, that all we feel or see is not real and true; but that our senses, being apt to receive all sorts of impressions, are very treacherous; and the imagination, which is more quick and subtil, moves and varies them into all manner of ideas, which have no real existence in nature, as readily as we imprint any form upon wax; so that it is easy for the soul of man, which has in itself both that which forms, and that which is formed, to vary it into what shapes it pleases. This is evident from the sudden changes of our dreams, in which the imagination, upon very slight principles, represents to us all sorts of passions of the soul, and appearances

was not under the least apprehension for himself, but very solicitous about the fate of his friends and country. Both generals pursued their march to *Abydos*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, took their rout through *Thrace*, with a design to dislodge *Saxa* and *Norbanus*, who had seized the passes between that country and *Macedon*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, on their march, two eagles flew to them, and, lighting upon the two foremost ensigns, continually attended the army, and were fed by the soldiers till they came to *Philippi*, where, the day before the battle, they disappeared. Upon their arrival in *Thrace*, they were joined by *Rhaseupolis*, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thousand horse, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There *Brutus* and *Cassius* thought it adviseable, before they attempted to force the passes, which were guarded by so numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a solemn sacrifice for the success of their arms, and put their soldiers in mind of the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies passed in review before the two gene-

*Brutus
and Cassius*

pass over

into Eu-

rope.

*They re-
view their
forces.*

“pearances of things; for it is the nature of the mind to be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our imagination and thought. But, besides all this, in our case the body, being tired and worn out with continual labours and cares, naturally works upon the mind, and keeps it in suspense and trouble; but that there should be any such thing as demons, or spirits, or, if there were, that they should have human shape, or voice, or power that can reach us, is altogether improbable; though, I confess, I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely upon our arms only, and our horses, and our navy, but might be likewise confident of the assistance of the gods in this our most sacred and honourable attempt (52).” ’Tis true, as *Cassius* observes, that our imagination, when heated, may impose upon us false objects, which we see with the same certainty as if they were real; but to say, that there are no such beings as spirits, who can appear to us, speak to us, and foretel future events, is carrying this principle too far. *Cassius*, after insinuating that the notion of spirits is false and groundless, makes it appear that it were to be wished there were such spirits; for, in that case, they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate, but happy events; an effectual way of removing *Brutus*’s apprehensions; for, by this way of reasoning, be there spirits, or be there not, the phantom which *Brutus* imagined to see was false, and a mere illusion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

And distribute large sums among the soldiers.

They get beyond the straits of Symbolon possessed by the enemy.

rals, and were found to consist of eighty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, counting *Romans* and auxiliaries. In the next place, a sacrifice was offered with the utmost solemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpose; having on their right hand the *Roman* senators and magistrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. *Cassius*, who was the elder man, took upon him to speak, and, after having enlarged on the justice of their cause, on the unheard-of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in *Italy*, on the miserable condition to which *Rome* was reduced, &c. he concluded with acquainting them, that *Brutus* and he had agreed to give immediately two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier, five thousand to each centurion, and double that sum to each tribune. This caused an universal joy in the army; nothing was heard but shouts of joy and loud acclamations, the soldiers and officers striving to outdo each other in protestations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the interest of their leaders, which, they said, was the same with that of their country. The money was immediately distributed, and, besides, considerable presents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; so that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of *Oricum*, which was bounded towards *Macedon* by the straits we have mentioned above. *Norbanus*, who was incamped there, upon the first notice of the enemy's march, dispatched an express to *Decidius*, who guarded the coast of the *Meliac* gulf, entreating him to make what haste he could to join him. The two bodies thus united, posted themselves so advantageously in the narrow passes, that it seemed impossible to dislodge them. Hereupon *Brutus*, being greatly at a loss what to do, advised with *Rhaseupolis*, who, as he was by birth a *Thracian*; and well acquainted with that country, told him, that there was another passage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in less than three days, and besides would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river *Arpeffus*, which was but one day's march from the city of *Philippi*, by ways unknown even to the wild beasts. The soldiers took courage, provided themselves with water; and, trusting entirely to the conduct of *Rhaseupolis*, set out on their march, *Bibulus*, son-in-law to *Brutus*, marching with the *Thracian* prince in the van, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* bringing up the rear. The hardships they underwent on their rout can hardly be expressed.

pressed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon *Rhacupolis*, suspecting him of treachery, when their scouts, discovering the river, signified their joy to the harrassed troops with loud shouts, which were answered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of *Norbanus* and *Saxa*, who thereupon abandoned their post, and retired in all haste to *Amphipolis*, for fear of being surrounded. At the same time they dispatched an express to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, acquainting them, that the enemy had passed the straits, and were advancing towards the frontiers of *Macedon*. Hereupon *Antony*, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of *Amphipolis* on the *Strymon*, which the triumvirs designed to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of *Dyrbachium*, and, by long marches, reached *Amphipolis*. His arrival was so sudden, and his march so expeditious, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not believe he was come, till they saw his van-guard advancing into the plains of *Philippi*. This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epistle which *St. Paul* afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly speaking, to *Thrace*, but is placed by most geographers in *Macedon*, pursuant to the division which obtained ever since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who, having reduced the country lying between the *Strymon*, the antient boundary of *Macedon*, and the *Nessus* or *Nestus* added it to his hereditary kingdom; whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of *Macedon*, and is called in the *Acts*, the first city of that part of *Macedon*, that is, of that part beyond the *Strymon*, which was added to antient *Macedon*¹. The city of *Philippi*, so called from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who fortified it against the incursions of the *Thracians*, was situated on a rising ground, which abounded with springs, and had on the north several hills covered with woods, on the south a marsh, which reached to the *Ægean* sea, on the east the straits we have mentioned above, which some writers call the straits of *Topiris*, others the straits of *Symbolon*; and on the west a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*. In this plain, at a small distance from the city, was a rising ground, and there *Brutus* intrenched himself, while *Cassius* took possession of a post equally advantageous, about three miles from *Brutus's* camp, and nearer the sea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, and built a strong wall, which covered the interval between the two intrenchments; so that they could not have wished for a more advantageous situation, hav-

Who abandoned that post.
Antony arrives with his troops in the plain of Philippi.

Brutus and Cassius post themselves advantageously in the same plain.

¹ *Acts*, c. xvi. ver. 12.

ing the plains of *Philippi* before them, the *Strymon* and the marsh on their left, the straits of *Topiris* on their right, and behind them the sea, by which means they could be easily supplied with all manner of provisions from *Asia* and *Sicily*, which island was in the hands of young *Pompey* w.

Antony was informed at *Amphipolis* of the advantageous situation of the enemy; but nevertheless having left in that city one legion, under the command of *Pinarius* he advanced boldly into the plain, and incamped in sight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of *Octavianus*, who came up ten days after, having been detained at *Dyrrhachium* by a fit of sickness, which seized him the same day he landed there. And now, the two most powerful armies *Rome* had ever raised being in sight of each other, the world stood with dread and terror, expecting the success of a general action, which, they foresaw, would soon ensue, and decide the fate of the *Roman* empire. The army of *Brutus* and *Cassius* consisted of nineteen legions, and twenty thousand horse, and that of the triumvirs of the same number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thousand horse; so that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the troops of *Brutus* far excelled those of the triumvirs in the richness of their apparel and arms, which were for the most part adorned with gold and silver; for though *Brutus*, in other things, had accustomed his soldiers to use all frugality and moderation, yet he thought that the riches, which they carried about them in their hands and on their bodies, would inspire them with courage, and make them more bold in action to preserve their arms, which were in a manner their estates. This was likewise the sentiment of *Cæsar* * and *Sertorius* †, though *Mithridates* and other great commanders have been of a different opinion. *Antony* lay incamped opposite to *Cassius*, and *Brutus* to *Octavianus*. The latter did nothing worth relating; but *Antony* was continually harassing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very soon to be straightened for want of provisions, having only *Macedon* and *Thrace* open to them, since *Pompey*, *Marcus*, and *Ahenobarbus* had, with their several navies, cut off all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. But, on the other hand, *Brutus* and *Cassius* received daily supplies from *Asia* and *Sicily*, and had amassed great stores of necessaries in the neighbouring city of *Neapolis*, and in the island of *Thasus*, whence they were conveyed without the

The trium-
virs begin
to be
straighten-
ed for
want of
provisions.

* PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 840.
Cæsar, c. 67.

† PLUT. in Sertorio.

* SUET. in

least

least danger to their respective camps. *Antony* indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the sea, by opening a passage through the marsh, which lay between them and the shore, and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his design; but *Cassius* no sooner saw, to his great surprize, castles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than setting all hands to work, he drew a line cross the marsh, from his camp quite to the sea, and, fortifying it with towers and castles at proper distances, maintained, in spite of *Antony's* utmost efforts, a free and open communication with the sea and the cities on the coast. In the mean time, *Thrace* and *Macedon* being quite exhausted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more straightened for want of necessaries, with which those countries could no longer supply them. This made *Antony* extremely desirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the sad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worse, carefully avoided. Had they continued in this resolution, the triumvirs must either have marched back to *Dyrrhachium*, and from thence returned to *Italy*, or attempted to force their strong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but *Brutus* soon changed his mind, and in a council of war, which consisted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement, that so he might either restore *Rome* to her former liberty, or else deliver from their misery so many nations, who were harrassed with the expences, troubles, and dangers of the war. *Cassius*, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, enlarged on the bad posture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of provisions, on the extremities to which they must be soon reduced: *Their forces*, said he, *must moulder away of themselves: if we can but restrain for a while that unseasonable ardour which transports us, we shall see the enemy fly before us, and leave us in possession of their camp and baggage, without striking a blow. But whither can they fly? Macedon and Thessaly are drained of provisions; the seas are beset with our fleets; so that a battle is their only resource, which, indeed, as they are somewhat superior to us in the number of men, may retrieve their affairs, and deliver them from the miseries of their present condition.* *Brutus* yielded to these unanswerable reasons, and both generals kept close in their intrenchments, despising the bravadoes of *Antony*, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but, in the mean time, the undiscerning soldiery began to complain, and at-

Brutus inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of Cassius.

*A general
engage-
ment a-
greed to by
most of the
officers.*

cribe to cowardice the prudent measures of their generals; nay, they deserted in troops to the enemy, which, together with the advantages the light-horse of the republican generals had gained in several skirmishes, inclined *Brutus* again to venture an engagement. *Cassius* still opposed it, for the reasons we have alledged above (K); but most of the officers, fearing a general desertion, changed their opinions to that of *Brutus*; so that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which *Cassius* himself yielded at last, after having solemnly declared, that he was still of a contrary opinion. Besides *Cassius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, by name *Atellius*, was still for putting off the engagement, and spinning out the war till the next winter. *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage he promised himself from such a delay! If I gain nothing else*, answered *Atellius*, *yet I shall live so much the longer*. This answer offended *Cassius* and all the officers who were present; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. *Brutus* that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful and full of hope, diverting his guests with learned discourses till he went to rest. *Cassius* supped privately with a few of his most intimate friends, and, during the repast, appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his temper and custom. *Valerius Messala*, a young nobleman of great wit and learning who supped with him, tells us, that as *Cassius* rose from the table, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close in token of his goodwill and affection, *Bear witness for me*, *Messala*, said he to him in *Greek*, *that I am forced, in the same manner as*

(K) Some writers say, he was also deterred from fighting by the following omens: at the time of lustration, one of *Cassius*'s officers presenting him with a garland, which he was to wear at the sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward. Some time before, at a certain solemn procession, the person who carried, according to custom, a golden image of victory before *Cassius*, stumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp, and several swarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were seen in a place within the trenches, which the soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the camp, to remove the superstition which began to prevail among the soldiery (44). These pretended prodigies, which a man of common sense would now despise, are said to have terrified and confounded *Cassius* himself, in spite of his *Epicurean* philosophy; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the insufficiency of philosophy, as to the strengthening our minds against the least terrors and apprehensions.

(44) *Plut. ibid.*

Pompey

Pompey the Great was before me, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of one battle; yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken bad measures. These, Messala says, were the last words Cassius spoke before he withdrew ² (L).

THE next morning by break of day, a scarlet coat of armour, among the Romans the signal of battle, was exposed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themselves in a readiness to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle space between the two camps. Cassius, desirous to know what Brutus intended to do in case *What* fortune should prove their enemy, addressed him at their first *sed in the* meeting thus: *The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now interview* overcome our enemies, and pass the rest of our days together in *between* repose and prosperity; but since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult *Brutus and* for us to see one another again, if the success of the battle *Cassius before the* should not answer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to save yourself by flight, or to die? Brutus answered, *When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in affairs, I condemned Cato for laying violent hands on himself, thinking it irreligious in itself, and unworthy of a man to quit the post in which providence has placed him, and not to take and*

² PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 652, 653.

(L) Plutarch tells us, That, in taking his leave, he invited him to sup with him the next night, being his birth day. The ambiguous manner in which the Greek writer expresses himself, leaves it a doubt, whether Cassius invited Messala, or Messala Cassius; whether it was the birth day of Cassius, or of Messala. Mad. Dacier has made choice of the latter construction; for Cassius, says she, pensive and gloomy as he was, must have been but little disposed to make an invitation for the next night. It must therefore have been Messala who did it on account of his birth-day, as the custom was among friends on the like occasion. But this learned lady seems here to have forgot what she must have read in Appian, who tells us in express terms, that Cassius was killed on the very day he was born (45); so that it was the birth day of Cassius, and not of Messala. Neither was Cassius so gloomy and pensive as Mad. Dacier imagines; he was only grieved to see himself obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himself sure of victory without running any risques.

(45) Appian. l. iv. p. 655.

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bear

bear patiently whatever the gods are pleased to send him. But my present situation has made me alter my opinion; so that if providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved to make no further attempts nor preparations for war but to die contented with my fortune; for I sacrificed my life to the service of my country on the ides of March, in recompence for which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour^a. At these words *Cassius* smiled, and tenderly embracing him, *With these noble sentiments*, said he, let us advance boldly against the enemy; for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do. After this they consulted with their friends about the order of battle. *Brutus* desired of *Cassius*, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, tho' it was thought a post more fit for *Cassius*, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, *Cassius* placed *Messala* in the same wing, at the head of his best legions, ordering him to assist and support *Brutus*. While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, *Brutus* retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend *Atticus*, telling him, *That his affairs were in the best state he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of Rome, or die, and be himself free from slavery*. In the same letter he blamed the conduct of *Antony*, who, when he might have been ranked among the *Bruti*, the *Cassii*, and the *Catos*, had joined *Octavianus*, adding, that if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would soon fall out and quarrel with one another^b; which happened accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

*Brutus's
letter to
Atticus
before the
battle.*

THE two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. *Antony* commanded the right wing, and *Octavianus* the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his physician, by name *Artorius*, had the preceding night. He dreamt that he saw a vision, which directed *Octavianus* to be removed out of the camp. The vision was immediately obeyed, and he conveyed away very seasonably. This *Octavianus* himself tells us in his memoirs quoted by *Plutarch*, which *Dion* seems not to have consulted, since he writes, that *Octavianus* was in the action, but, like a sick person, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former in-

*Octavia-
nus retires
before the
battle.*

^a PLUT. *ibid.* APPIAN. l. iv. p. 653, 655. DIO. l. xlvii.

^b PLUT. *ibid.*

disposition.

disposition. *Brutus*, before he began the charge, sent to all the commanders tickets with the parole or word of battle, which, according to some, was *liberty*, according to others, *Apollo*, and rid through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers to behave with their usual bravery. They were so animated by his speech, that few of them had patience to stay for the word of command to charge; but, before it could be given, rushed with loud shouts upon the enemy. This caused a great confusion in the army, the legions being scattered and separated from one another. *Messala*, at the head of his legions, instead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compass about, and having put some of the ranks in *Octavianus's* rear in disorder, and killed a small number of his men, fell upon his camp, and entering it sword in hand, made a dreadful havock of those he found there, and cut off among the rest two thousand *Lacedæmonians*, who were newly come to the assistance of *Octavianus*. He himself had but just before been conveyed away, upon the persuasion of *Artorius*, as we have related above; but the soldiers pierced the litter, in which he used to be carried on account of his indisposition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was spread, and for some time believed, that he was slain. In the mean time, *Brutus*, charging the enemy in front, easily put them to flight, as they were in great consternation for the loss of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the spot, and pursued the fugitives with great slaughter, the plain being, to a great distance, strewed with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing intirely defeated by the brave *Brutus*, who, as *Octavianus* was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worst of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by some of his soldiers, who presenting themselves to him, told him, that they had killed *Octavianus*, shewed him their swords all bloody, and described his age and person^c. But the coward was safe enough, either in *Antony's* camp, or lurking in the mire of the neighbouring marsh^d. *Brutus* took a great many of the enemy's ensigns, and three eagles.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the pursuit, left the wing, which *Cassius* commanded, naked and separated from the rest of the army. Hereupon *Antony*, who well knew how to take advantage of this oversight, charged the enemy in front, and at the same time detached some legions with orders to cross

*Brutus's
men charge
without
orders.*

*Defeat the
enemy's
left wing,
and seize
their camp.*

*The co-
wardice of
Octavia-
nus.*

^c Idem ibid. FLOR. l. 4. c. 7. VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 70.

^d Suet. in Octav. PLIN. l. vii. c. 45.

The left wing commanded by Cassius defeated, and his camp taken.

the marsh, and fall upon their flank which was left open and unguarded. The first shock was terrible; *Antony*, according to some writers, retired into the marsh to avoid the fury of it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with an unparalleled bravery and resolution. *Antony's* men, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, could make no impression upon *Cassius's* front; but, in the mean time, the detached legions, having opened a passage through the marsh, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. The run-aways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men pursued them, and, finding it ill-guarded, made themselves easily masters of it. This occasioned so general a consternation in the rest of the army, who were still maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that first the cavalry, and afterwards the foot began to make their escape, and fly towards the sea. *Cassius* on this occasion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned several times to the charge at the head of his guards and a few men he could rally, and snatching an ensign out of the hand of the standard-bearer, who fled, carried it himself; but being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band or guards, he was forced to retire with a small number of attendants to a rising ground near the city of *Philippi* *.

Brutus marches to the assistance of Cassius.

IN the mean time, *Brutus*, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of *Octavianus's* camp, when casting his eyes upon that of *Cassius*, he was surprised that he could not spy any tents standing there, not even the general's, which used to appear at a great distance above the rest. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and discerning sight, acquainted him, that they distinguished a great many arms shining about his tent, and silver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to those who had been left to guard the camp. On the other side, there did not appear so many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of so many legions. However, *Brutus*, suspecting *Cassius's* misfortune, left a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, called back his troops from the pursuit, and marched with all possible expedition to the relief of his colleague, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, discovered nothing, as he was short-sighted, except the destruction of his camp, and even that in a confused manner; but those

* PLUT. *ibid.*

who were with him, acquainted him, that they saw a great body of horse moving towards him. As *Cassius* knew nothing of the victory and march of *Brutus*, he took them to be a party of the enemy sent in pursuit of him. However, he ordered out *Titinius*, one of his most intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As soon as *Brutus's* horse saw him, those who were his more familiar acquaintance, shouting for joy, and alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him, while the rest who knew him to be one of *Cassius's* chief favourites, rid round him, as it were in triumph, asking him, *What news of his general?* *Cassius* observing this, and believing the horsemen, who dismounted to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him prisoner, cried out, *Alas! to preserve the remains of a miserable life, I have exposed my best friend to be taken by the enemy before my face.* Having thus spoke, *Cassius's* death. he retired into a tent with *Pindarus*, one of his freed-men, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*. We have no good account of what passed there; but *Cassius's* head was found lying severed from his body, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards, whence some suspected he had killed his master without his command. *Livy*† and *Plutarch*‡, in the life of *Cæsar*, tell us, that *Cassius* dispatched himself with the same dagger with which he had killed *Cæsar*; but all other historians, nay, *Plutarch* himself in the lives of *Brutus* and *Antony*, agree in the circumstances of his death, which we have related. A few minutes after *Cassius's* death, his attendants perceived who the horsemen were, and saw *Titinius*, crowned with garlands in token of *Brutus's* victory, making what haste he could towards them with the cavalry: but their joy was soon turned into the deepest melancholy and affliction. *Titinius* especially was inconsolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate mistake and death of his general. He burst into tears, and crying out, *My long stay has been the occasion of his death*, he drew his sword and killed himself upon the body of his friend. *Brutus*, upon the first advice of the defeat of *Cassius*, flew to his assistance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then shedding many tears over his body, he called him *the last of the Romans*, Brutus's concern for, and elogium upon, *Cassius*. meaning thereby, that *Rome* would never produce another man equal to him. He caused his body to be privately conveyed to the island of *Thasus*, lest the celebrating of his

* Idem ibid. APPIAN. p. 655. VELL. PATERC. l. vii. c. 70. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 354. VAL MAX. l. vi. c. 8. † LIV. l. cxxiv. ‡ PLUT. in Cæs. prope finem.

His character.

funeral within the camp might dishearten the troops, and occasion some disorder. He then assembled the soldiers of the deceased general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the losses they had sustained, promised to each man two thousand drachmas. *Cassius* was generally esteemed one of the best commanders of his age, and had given signal proofs of an extraordinary courage and consummate knowledge of the military art, in *Crassus's* unhappy expedition against the *Parthians*. He was to the very last against engaging the triumvirs, and would, in all probability, if he had lived, brought over *Brutus* to his opinion; which could not but prove fatal to the enemy, who were already reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and must in a short time have inevitably perished with famine. The good opinion which *Brutus* entertained of his honesty and virtue, and the elogium, with which he honoured him after his death, are a sufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections, with which the mercenary flatterers of the *Cæsars* have endeavoured to blacken his reputation, and asperse his memory. It was indeed commonly said, as *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus* hated the tyrannical power, and *Cassius* only the tyrant, on account of some private grudge (M); but

(M) *Cassius* pretended to have received many injuries from *Cæsar*. Among the rest he complained of his having taken some lions from him; for when *Cassius* was designed for ædile, he had caused many lions to be taken, and conducted to *Megara*, in order to make use of them in the shows, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But *Cæsar* finding them in *Megara*, when that city was taken by *Pulsus Calenus*, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of *Pompey*, seized them for himself. This, some writers say, was what chiefly stirred up *Cassius* against *Cæsar*; but *Plutarch* clears him from this imputation, as we have observed in the text. *Cassius* bore a private grudge to *Cæsar* on another account: he and *Brutus* stood both for the *prætura urbana*, or the prætorship of the city; and *Cæsar* is said to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretensions, with a view to foment some small differences that had arisen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before *Cæsar*, *Brutus* had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppose to the many gallant actions, which *Cassius* had performed in his youth against the *Parthians*. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, said, in deliberating about the matter among his friends, *Cassius* indeed pleads with most justice; but *Brutus* must have the first prætorship. Accordingly the prætorship of the city was given to *Brutus*, and another to *Cassius*; but the gaining of this did not so much oblige him, as he was incensed.

but that writer, though no friend to *Cassius* (N), clears him from this charge, and tells us, that from his infancy he bore an irreconcilable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us the following instance : when he was but a boy, and went to the same school with *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he rose up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations of *Faustus* complained of this affront to *Pompey*, who thereupon summoned the two boys to appear before him ; but young *Cassius* was so far from yielding to the remonstrances of *Pompey*, or giving any satisfaction to *Faustus*, that he threatened to strike him again, even in *Pompey's* presence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was somewhat inclined to covetousness, naturally passionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults ? *Cassius* in the main meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, have saved his country from utter ruin.

Brutus, now the sole commander of two numerous armies, thought it adviseable to withdraw his troops from the camp of *Octavianus*, which he had taken. *Antony* likewise, when informed of the total overthrow of his colleague, abandoned

The two armies re- turn to their former posts.

for the loss of the other (46). *Cassius*, who was of a harsh and passionate temper, was, no doubt, fired against *Cæsar* on account of these private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in some degree to the resolution he afterwards took ; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as *Plutarch* himself owns, his natural rancour and hatred against the whole race of tyrants (47).

(N) *Plutarch* was highly prejudiced against *Cassius*, as must evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruses his works. This prejudice was probably owing to the severity with which the republican general used the *Rhodians*, a Greek nation. *Cassius* having taken *Rhodes*, says *Plutarch*, behaved himself there with great cruelty. But with his leave, we cannot look upon the punishment of fifty mutiniers as an instance of cruelty. As he took the city by storm, he might, after the example of other Roman generals, put all the inhabitants whom he found in arms to the sword, but he contented himself with punishing fifty of the ringleaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to him by right of war ; but, as *Plutarch* was a Greek, the love of his country has, on several occasions, got the better of his philosophy ; a proof that no man, however philosophical, can boast an intire exemption from prejudices.

(46) *Plut. ibid.*(47) *Idem ibid.*

Antony
and Octa-
vianus,
upon the
news of
the death
of Cassius,
endeavour
in vain to
draw Bru-
tus to a se-
cond bat-
tle.

doned *Cassius's* camp, which he did not think himself in a condition to defend against the victorious troops of *Brutus*; so that both armies returned to their former posts. *Brutus* was under the utmost concern for the loss of *Cassius*, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand; the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of *Cassius*, were quite out of heart, having lost above sixteen thousand of their best legionaries: whereas on the enemy's side there were not slain eight thousand men, reckoning even the sutlers and servants of the army. Besides, provisions were become very scarce in their camp, without any possible means of receiving new supplies, either by sea or land. These melancholy reflections had almost reduced them to despair, when a servant of *Cassius*, by name *Demetrius*, coming in the evening to *Antony*, gave him an account of the tragical end of *Cassius*, and at the same time delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his master's dead body, and his sword still bloody. *Antony*, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his colleague; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring *Brutus* to a battle, before his men recovered themselves from the terror and consternation, which, they were well apprised, the defeat and death of *Cassius* must have occasioned; but *Brutus* having his own camp filled with prisoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of *Cassius* in great disorder, the soldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a secret envy and indignation against those who had conquered, kept close in his intrenchments, and despised the enemy's bravadoes. As his troops, elated with their late victory, shewed a great eagerness to venture a second engagement, he assembled the soldiers of both armies, and, after having commended their valour, and slightly reproved his own men for falling upon the enemy in disorder, without waiting either for the word, or the command of their general, he enlarged on the deplorable state to which the enemy was reduced, and assured them, that if they could but restrain their ardor for a while, they would have the pleasure of seeing the armies of *Antony* and *Octavianus* either perish with famine, or, by a shameful flight, abandon *Greece* and *Macedon*. But to hazard a second battle, said he, is to put ourselves in the power of fortune, when we are sure of victory by continuing inactive in our camp. After this he caused a thousand drachmas to be given to each soldier of both camps, and dismissed them highly satisfied with the generosity of their leader, to whose orders they promised an intire obedience and submission, whether

ther he thought proper to engage the enemy, or continue in a state of inaction ^b.

IN the mean time, provisions growing daily more scarce in the enemy's camp, *Antony* and *Octavianus*, finding they could not bring *Brutus* to a battle, were greatly at a loss what measures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet which they expected hourly from *Italy*, having on board great store of provisions, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of *Mars*, a prætorian cohort, and a considerable body of cavalry; but while they were comforting themselves with the hopes of the speedy arrival of this powerful supply, news was brought them, that their fleet, under the command of *Cneius Domitius Calvinus*, had been intirely defeated, and most of their ships, with the soldiers on board, either sunk or taken by *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Lucius Staius Murcus*, the two admirals of the adverse party. Some of their ships indeed found means to save themselves among the rocks of the *Adriatic* sea; but being there blocked up by the enemy, both the soldiers and mariners, after having consumed all their provisions, were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of their ships, which they boiled with the pitch and grease they had prepared for the careening of their vessels. This victory was gained by the admirals of the republic the same day in which the battle of *Philippi* was fought; and the news of so great an overthrow, which soon reached the triumvirs, so disheartened them, that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite desperate, being not only straitened for want of necessities, but without any prospect or possible means of procuring new supplies. Besides, as they were incamped in a low ground, surrounded with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as it usually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, distempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand *Brutus* had sufficient provisions to support his army for a long time, was very advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and inaccessible to the enemy; and, as he was absolute master of the sea, he could receive whatever he stood in need of from *Asia*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. The triumvirs, finding themselves in this desperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke *Brutus's* men, and make them mutiny against their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after

The triumvirs fleet destroyed by Brutus's admirals.

The bad situation of the triumvirs affairs.

^a PLUT. in *Bruto*. APPIAN. p. 656. DIO. p. 355.

day, and marched in battle-array up to the very gates of the enemy's camp ; but *Brutus*, who knew that their boldness and courage proceeded from despair, kept within his intrenchments, not doubting, but he should soon see them moulder away, and, by a shameful flight, abandon both *Greece* and *Macedon* to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means bring *Brutus* to a battle, detached two legions to take possession of a rising ground, which tho' close to *Cassius's* camp, *Brutus* had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About six hundred paces from thence, towards the sea, they posted ten legions, and two more at a small distance from them, with a design to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets. On the other hand, *Brutus* caused several works to be carried on from his camp quite to the shore, and by that means kept, in spite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the sea ; but as several skirmishes happened between the soldiers of the opposite parties, who covered their workmen, in which *Brutus's* men had all the advantage, they were so elated with this success, that they began to mutiny, and, assembling in crouds, ask their general, *What cowardice he had lately observed in them, that they must be thus, like prisoners, kept within their intrenchments, and not suffered demand to make use of their arms, and exert that courage, which had be led out but a few days before proved so fatal to the enemy, who now against the insulted them?* *Brutus* endeavoured to satisfy them, and restrain their unseasonable ardor, by representing to them the desperate posture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy situation of their own ; but all to no purpose, tho' the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmost extremity, and a considerable body of *German* troops, to avoid starving in their camp, had deserted, and given the mutiniers a full account of the miseries, which the want of provisions occasioned in the enemy's army ; yet, by an unaccountable obstinacy and perverseness, they still persisted in demanding to be led out against the enemy, whom they desired to conquer not by famine, but valour ; nay, because the prudent general refused to comply with their request, several *Romans*, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy. Among the latter were *Amyntas*, commander in chief of the *Galatians* sent by the old king *Deiotarus*, and *Rhaseupolis*, who had proved so serviceable to *Brutus* and *Cassius* on their march through *Thrace*. Some writers indeed say, that *Rhaseupolis* did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded. Be that as it will, this desertion gave *Brutus* great concern, which was increased by the disorders that happened

Brutus's troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out against the enemy.

happened daily in *Cassius's* camp, whose soldiers, become headstrong and intractable since the death of their general, refused to obey the officer whom *Brutus* had put in his room. In these circumstances *Brutus* yielded at last to the importunity of his soldiers, and resolved to put an end to his own cares and those of the *Roman* world, by a general and decisive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet; but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after, that is, till the very evening before the fight. This some writers ascribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers, but *Plutarch* to providence, which, as the state of *Rome*, says he, now necessarily required a monarchy, prevented *Brutus* from receiving notice of his good success, that it might remove the only man who was able to resist the person whom destiny had appointed to be the sole governor of the *Roman* state (O). However that be, the evening before the battle, when it was too late for *Brutus* to alter his measures, one *Caius Clodius*, a deserter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice of the loss of their fleet, and for that reason were in such haste to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay, *Brutus* would not so much as admit him to his presence, taking it for granted, that he had invented the news to please him, and bring himself into favour¹.

Brutus yields to the importunity of the soldiery.

¹ PLUT. *ibid.*

(O) For the empire, says *Mad. Dacier*, was no longer able to support itself. It was necessary for it to come under the dominion of a single person. So long as there were so many competitors on foot, so many pretenders either to the empire or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhaustible source of civil war and dissension; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than *Brutus*. *Brutus* therefore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, strongly proves the truth of *Plato's* sentiments, who maintains, that of all governments monarchy is the most perfect; but then the monarch must govern according to law. So far we agree with *Mad. Dacier*. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to restrain him? Is mankind to depend for security and happiness upon uncertain inclinations? This surely is wide of the opinion of so wise a philosopher as *Plato*, who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean by monarchy a power without controul.

AND

AND now *Brutus*, determined to put the whole to the issue of a general action, found himself obliged to use violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, tho' necessary, may seem 'not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken in the late battle a great number of prisoners, partly slaves and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well spare. As *Antony* therefore and *Octavianus* had ordered all their prisoners, without distinction, to be inhumanly massacred, *Brutus*, having reason to suspect that the slaves he had taken were tampering with his soldiers, commanded them all to be slain. Though they deserved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet the flatterers of the *Cæsars* have, with great partiality and injustice, made long descants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen and *Roman* citizens. Of these he openly dismissed great numbers, telling them, *That with the enemy they were captives and slaves; but with him freemen and citizens of Rome.* Others he concealed himself, and helped to escape privately, perceiving that some of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their destruction. Among the captives was one *Volumnius* a mimic, and *Sacculio* a buffoon, who, by their unseasonable jests, of which *Brutus* took no manner of notice, provoked some of the chief officers of his army. These brought them before their general, and accused them of not being able, even in their present situation, to refrain from their abusive jests and scurrilous language. *Brutus*, having his mind taken up with other affairs, returned no answer to the accusation; but *Messala Corvinus* was of opinion, that they should be whipt publicly upon a scaffold, and, after that ignominious punishment, be sent back naked to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which, he thought, would reflect no small dishonour on those two generals, who were not ashamed to chuse such scoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this some who were present laughed; but *Publius Casca*, who gave the first wound to *Cæsar*, *It does not become us*, said he with a serious air, *to be thus merry after the loss of Cassius.* And as for you, O *Brutus*, you will shew what respect you bear to the memory of your fellow-commander, by punishing or pardoning those who cannot forbear scoffing and speaking abusively of him. Why then, *Casca*, replied *Brutus*, do you tell me of this, and not do yourself what you think proper? This answer was taken for his consent to the death of those unhappy wretches, who were accordingly carried away and slain *.

Brutus puts the captive slaves to death, and sets most of the freemen at liberty.

Volumnius and Sacculio, two mimics taken prisoners.

And put to death.

* PLUT. *ibid.*

Brutus, having got rid of most of his prisoners, assembled Brutus pro- his soldiers the day before the battle, and, in order to rouse mises his their courage, promised them the pillage of *Thessalonica* and soldiers the *Lacedæmon*, two cities which had sided with the triumvirs. Spoil of two Greek ci- This, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, is the only inexcusable fault ties. which *Brutus* was ever guilty of; for, if in the end *Antony* and *Octavianus*, says that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their soldiers in possession of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only design and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of *Brutus* on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable, especially after the death of *Cassius*, who was generally accused of putting *Brutus* upon several actions, not entirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But after all, *Plutarch* entertained so great an opinion of *Brutus's* virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himself to believe, that he made this promise of his own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers, according to whose advice he both did and said many things, contrary to the bent of his own inclination, especially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Cassius's* soldiers into better order, who were become bold and insolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had suffered themselves to be shamefully overcome¹.

Brutus, having encouraged his men with promises of ample rewards after the victory, and made the necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at *Philippi*, is said to have appeared to him again, in the same shape as it had done before, but to have vanished gain to in an instant, without one single word being uttered on either Brutus. side; but *Publius Volumnius*, a man given to the study of philosophy, who was then in *Brutus's* camp, and wrote an account of several other prodigies, which he supposed to have happened before this great battle (P), makes no mention of this appa-

¹ Idem, ibid.

(P) The first standard, that is, the standard belonging to the first legion, was covered with a swarm of bees. A kind of sweat, in the

Brutus's
speech to his
soldiers be-
fore the
battle.

apparition ^m. Be that as it will, *Brutus*, without taking the least notice of this or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm resolution of restoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He chose his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a small distance from his camp, that he might have a safe retreat, in case of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, *Fellow-soldiers*, said he, *you have desired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have gained a complete victory, by continuing inactive within your intrenchments ; but this kind of victory you despised, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery ; you are for purchasing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to summon all that boldness, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your first victory, and to answer the trust which I have reposed in your valour. Whether Rome is to enjoy an uninterrupted happiness and liberty, or be condemned to eternal slavery and endless calamities, this day will decide. As for Antony and Octavianus, they could scarce believe their own eyes, when they first observed a coat of arms, the usual signal of battle, exposed on Brutus's tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected resolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle ; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famished lions, as Appian expresses it, against their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promised to each soldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them at the same time in most lively colours the inexpressible miseries and calamities, which they must unavoidably endure, if overcome. You have but two things to chuse, said they, to conquer, or perish by the most miserable of all deaths, famine. Having*

^m PLUT. in Brut. & Cæs. prope finem. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668.

the nature of oil, and having the smell of roses, issued from the arm of a centurion, which, tho' often wiped and dried, yet continued sweating. The first man, whom *Brutus's* troops met at the opening the gate of the camp to march into the plain, was an *Æthiopian*, or negro, whom they cut in pieces, interpreting that circumstance as an unlucky omen. When the two armies were advanced within reach of each other, two eagles, appearing in the air, fought in the space between the armies, the soldiers on both sides being silent and intent on the fight, till that, which was on the side of *Brutus*, yielded and fled &c. (48).

(48) *Plut. ibid.*

thus

thus spoke, they ordered their men to advance with a slow pace against the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in presence of each other, *Brutus* had the mortification to see a brave knight, by name *Cumulatus*, whom he highly esteemed for his valour, abandon his post, and, riding close by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon *Brutus*, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, caused the signal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by *Octavianus*, with such intrepidity, vigor, and resolution, that all gave way before him. As *Octavianus's* cavalry was put into the utmost disorder at the very first onset, *Brutus's* horse broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a most dreadful havock of the legionaries. But while the brave *Brutus* was thus signalising himself in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of *Cassius*, men no-ways equal to that charge, was hard pressed by *Antony*. *Cassius's* cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were posted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be compassed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but as this weakened them, they were at the first onset broken and disordered by the close battalions of *Antony*. The plain was in an instant covered with the runaways scattered up and down, some of them making towards the camp, others flying to the seaside, but most of them repairing to the right wing to take shelter among the victorious troops of *Brutus*. *Antony* did not pursue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly against *Brutus*, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury. That brave commander performed on this occasion all that could be expected from an expert general and valiant soldier, giving proofs in the greatest danger of a courage and conduct, which well deserved to be crowned with victory; but *Cassius's* troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crowding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, where-ever they came, despair and confusion, turned the scale in favour of the enemy, after *Brutus* had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparalleled bravery, against all the forces of their united armies. His lines were at length broke and put into disorder, notwithstanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted several times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, *Cassius's* men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the rest of the army. *Brutus* stood his ground with the few men he could

The second battle of Philippi.

Brutus defeats the enemy's left wing.

But his left is defeated by Antony.

Which occasions the defeat of the whole army.

Brutus's gallant behaviour.

The contrivance of Lucilius to save Brutus.

rally ; but, being surrounded on all sides and overpowered by the numerous forces of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his most inveterate enemies. And on this occasion it was, that most of *Brutus's* best officers were killed in endeavouring to save their general, who, with their assistance, breaking through the enemy's battalions that surrounded them, withdrew, when abandoned by his men, from the field of battle. Among the few who attended him was one *Lucilius Lucinus*, an intimate friend of his, who observing a body of *Thracian* horse, under the command of *Rhascus*, the brother of *Rhaseupolis*, taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but making directly towards *Brutus*, resolved to stop them, and save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting *Brutus* with his design, he halted, till the *Thracians* came up and surrounded him. Then he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and, begging quarter, desired they would carry him to *Antony*, pretending that he feared *Octavianus*, but durst trust him. The *Thracians*, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully happy, immediately detached some of their own body to acquaint *Antony* with their good fortune ; and in the mean time giving over the pursuit, returned to the field of battle with their prisoner. The report being spread in an instant all over the army, that *Brutus* was taken, and that the *Thracians* were bringing him alive to *Antony*, both soldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to see him. Some pitied his misfortune, others accused him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, for suffering himself, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for *Antony*, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loss in what manner he should receive, and how he should treat, his illustrious captive : but he was soon delivered from his uneasiness ; for as the *Thracians* drew near, he knew the prisoner, who had passed himself upon the *Thracians* for *Brutus*, and now addressing the triumvir with a generous confidence ; *Be assured Antony*, said he, *that no enemy either has, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive. Forbid it ye gods, that fortune should ever prevail so much above virtue ! But let him be found dead or alive, he will certainly be found in such a state as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myself up to save him, and am now ready to suffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding or expecting any quarter.* *Antony*, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generosity of *Lucilius*, turned to the *Thracians*, now sensible of, and enraged at, their disappointment, and addressed

addressed them thus : *I perceive, my fellow-soldiers, that you are concerned, and full of resentment, for having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius ; but be assured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you sought for ; you were in search of an enemy, and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loss how I should have used Brutus, if you had brought him to me alive ; but of this I am sure, that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius our friend than our enemy.* Having thus spoke, he embraced *Lucilius*, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of *Lucilius*, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the interest of his friend and benefactor * After this, both *Antony* and *Octavianus* marched with their victorious legions in pursuit of the enemy's broken and dispersed forces, making a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and strewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of *Brutus's* officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly nor give ground ; but died sword in hand in the posts assigned them. Among these were *Marcus*, the son of the great *Cato* ; *L. Cassius*, nephew to the deceased general ; *C. Flavius*, one of *Brutus's* best friends ; *Marcus*, the son of *Lucullus* who conquered *Mithridates the great* ; *Demetrius*, *Apollonides*, and several other commanders of great distinction. Young *Cato* distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner ; for after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned several times to the charge with the few forces he could rally, overthrew all who opposed him, and declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at last upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he sacrificed to the manes of his father and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very surprising in a man of young *Cato's* character ; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time, led an idle, indolent, and debauched life ; but the glory he acquired by his death has recommended him to posterity, as a worthy son of so great a father ⁿ.

The glorious death of young Cato.

As for *Brutus*, the contrivance of *Lucilius* gave him an opportunity of passing a little brook, encompassed with rocks, and shaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he stopped in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a small number of his friends and officers. There, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which *Volumnius*, who attended him, forgot, but

What happened to Brutus after the loss of the battle.

* PLUT. *ibid.*ⁿ PLUT. *ibid.* & in *Catone*.

remembered the other, which was the following out of the *Medea* of *Euripides* ; Punish, great Jove, the author of these ills ; by which it was thought he meant *Antony*, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of *Actium*, he was reduced to the necessity of laying violent hands on himself. Afterwards *Brutus* named severally all his friends, who had been slain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep sigh, especially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labeo*, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other master of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his followers, who was very thirsty, and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, ran to the brook, and brought him some water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noise being heard from the other side of the rivulet, *Volumnius*, taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus's* armour-bearer with him, went out to discover what had occasioned it. They both returned soon after ; but finding no water asked what was become of it ; *It is all drank*, replied *Brutus* smiling ; *but you shall have some more fetched immediately*. But he, who had brought the first water, being sent again, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerously wounded. *Brutus*, understanding by this that he was invested, exhorted those who were with him to make some attempt to get to their camp before day-light ; for he conjectured, that he had not lost many of his men, and that those who had escaped had taken refuge there. *Statilius* undertook to pass through the enemy, and go by himself to the camp, promising, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and return immediately. *Statilius* got safe to the camp, and held up the torch, which gave *Brutus* some hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of *Statilius*, saying, *If Statilius be alive, he will come back* ; but he was slain on his return by the enemy. At length *Brutus*, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whispered something in the ear to one of his domestics, by name *Clytus*, who returned him no answer, but burst into tears. Hereupon *Brutus*, taking aside *Dardanus* his armour-bearer, had some discourse with him in private, and afterwards addressed himself to *Volumnius* in *Greek*, conjuring him, by their common studies and antient friendship, to draw his sword and put an end to his life. *Volumnius*, and after him several others, answered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert *Brutus* from the thoughts of laying violent hands on himself, starting up, *There is no staying here any longer*, said he ; *we must all fly*. Yes, answered *Brutus*, *we must fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands*. Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a chearful

cheerful countenance, *That it was an infinite satisfaction to His last* him to find, that none of his friends had proved false to him; words to that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for his his friends. country's sake; that as for himself, he thought he was much more happy than those who had conquered, not only in regard of what was passed, but even in his present condition, since he should enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve (Q). Having thus spoke, he beseeched his friends to provide for their own safety, telling them, That he hoped Antony and Octavianus, satisfied with his death, would pursue their revenge no farther. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among these was an Epirote, by name Strato, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they studied rhetoric together. To him Brutus had recourse, conjuring him, by their antient friendship, to give him the last proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office which the others had declined. As Strato could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, Brutus called one of his slaves; and then the faithful Epirote, crying out, *Forbid, ye gods, it should ever be said, that Brutus died by the hand of a slave for want of a friend*, covered his eyes with his left arm, and presented the point of his sword to Brutus, who threw himself upon it with such violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired *The death immediately* °. Some historians relate the circumstances of of Brutus. his death otherwise, and tell us, that taking his sword by the Year of hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran the flood, himself through, without the assistance of his faithful friend 2962. Strato. But all authors agree in this, that Messala, having Before some time after made his peace with Cæsar Octavianus, pre- Christ, 37. Of Rome, 711. sented Strato to him, saying with tears in his eyes, *This, O*

° PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. l. cxxiv. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 74. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(Q) Some writers tell us, that when Brutus in the morning saw no way of escaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a solid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or at best a slave of fortune* (49). But Volumnius, who was present, and from whose memoirs Plutarch copied the particulars of his death which we have related, makes no mention of such a speech, no ways suitable to the character of Brutus.

(49) Flor. l. iv. c. 7. Dio. l. xlvii. *sub finem.* Vide Plut. *de superst. init.*

Cæsar,

Cæsar, is the man who paid the last friendly office to my beloved Brutus.

His character.

THUS fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age (R), and with him fell the liberty of *Rome* and of the *Roman* people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could discern no fault (S) ; in whom the virtues of humanity were eminent ; in whom a constant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (T) formed the principal and

(R) *Brutus* died, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age ; but to the authority of *Velleius* we prefer that of *Cicero*, who tells us, that *Brutus* was born ten years after *Hortensius* appeared first at the bar ; and that celebrated orator made his first public essay of eloquence in the consulate of *Lucius Crassus* and *Quintus Scævola*, in the year of *Rome* 658 ; so that *Brutus* was born in the year of the city 668, and consequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711, in the forty-third year of his age (49)

(S) *Those who were most his enemies*, says *Plutarch* (50), *on account of his conspiracy against Cæsar, if in that whole affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer it wholly to Brutus, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of Cassius, Brutus's most intimate and familiar friend ; but not at all like him in honesty and virtue*. Upon which words *Madam Dacier* comments thus : *It appears from this passage, that even in the days of Plutarch, there were some remaining, who hated the memory of Brutus, for the share he had in the murder of Cæsar ; and I am of opinion, that the same hatred continues, and will do so to the end of the world*. Among slaves, she ought to have added, and persons brought up in slavish principles, who are taught to look upon the disarming of a tyrant, and the saving of their country from havock and oppression, as an heinous crime ; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, loved and revered by all, who have any spark of zeal for the welfare of their country and the good of mankind.

(T) The public good was, as *Plutarch* observes, the only end and standard, which he proposed for his hatred and friendship. This of an enemy made him a friend to *Pompey*, and of a friend made him an enemy to *Cæsar*. When *Cæsar* and *Pompey* took up arms against each other, it was generally believed that he would have taken *Cæsar's* side : for his father not long before had been put to death by *Pompey* : but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public to his private resentment, and judging *Pompey's* to be the better cause, took part with him, tho' formerly he used not so much as to salute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father.

(49) *Cic. in Bruto.*

(50) *Plut. in Bruto.*

and most distinguishable part of his character, and the uninterrupted business of his life, ever in view, ever pursued, but from the inherent equity of his mind, for he was, as his historian well observes, by nature exactly framed for virtue (U), without

But afterwards, looking upon him as the general of his country, he lifted himself under his command, and set sail to *Sicily*, in quality of lieutenant to *Sestius*, whom *Pompey* had appointed governor of that island; but finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were incamped near one another and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he hastened into *Macedon* to share in the danger. *Pompey* was so surprised at his arrival, and at the same time so pleased, that rising from his tribunal, in the sight of all his guards, he saluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefest men of his party. Thus *Brutus* embraced the party even of his father's murderer, because he thought it more just than that of *Cæsar*, and considered *Pompey* as the head of the state, of which *Cæsar* was the declared enemy. The same consideration of the public good, which reconciled him to *Pompey*, estranged him from *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to sacrifice his highest obligations, as well as his greatest injuries, to the welfare of his country?

(U) “ *Brutus*, says the author of his life, for the sake of his
 “ virtue, was esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, ad-
 “ mired by all good men, and hated by none, no, not even by his
 “ enemies; for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, great
 “ magnanimity, insensible of the passions of anger, pleasure or co-
 “ vetousness; steady and inflexible in his opinion, and zealous for
 “ whatever he thought just and honest. That which gained him
 “ the greatest credit and reputation among the people was, their
 “ inviolable opinion of his uprightness and integrity in all his un-
 “ dertakings; whereas no man ever imagined, that *Pompey*, even
 “ *Pompey the Great* himself, if he had overcome *Cæsar*, would have
 “ submitted his power to the laws, but would have retained the so-
 “ vereign authority in his own hands, under the specious name of
 “ consul or dictator, or some other mild and more popular title,
 “ with which he would have soothed the people. As for *Cassius*,
 “ a man inclined to passion, and carried often by his covetous hu-
 “ mour beyond the bounds of justice, they well knew, that he
 “ endured all these hardships rather to obtain dominion to himself,
 “ than liberty to the people. As to the former disturbers of the
 “ peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is
 “ manifest, that they, having set their country as a stake for him
 “ who should win, did almost own, in express terms, that they
 “ fought for empire. But even the enemies of *Brutus* cannot lay
 “ this accusation to his charge; nay, many have heard *Antony*
 “ himself

without one breach of that never to be omitted distinction of *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpose to illustrate this transcendent rectitude of his mind, by instancing his refusal, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the fairest cause, when, after the death of *Cæsar*, he addressed himself to the *Roman* people. It cannot be supposed, that *Brutus*, who had long been famed for eloquence (W), could be ignorant of speaking to the

“ himself say, That *Brutus* was the only man who conspired against
 “ *Cæsar* out of a sense of the glory of the action, but that all
 “ the rest rose up against the man, and not the tyrant, from their
 “ own private malice and envy (51).” In this passage *Plutarch* does justice to *Brutus*’s virtue; but at the same time betrays his prejudice against *Cassius*, the motives of which we have assigned elsewhere (52). What a high opinion *Cicero* had of *Brutus*’s virtue, the orator sufficiently declares in the following words: *Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero, idque etiam si mihi cum illo nihil fuisset, facerem propter ejus singularem incredibilemque virtutem.*

(W) *Plutarch* tells us in his life, that in *Latin* he was a good speaker, and had, by constant exercise, attained a sufficient excellence in making public orations and pleading causes; but that in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the sententious and short *Laconic* way of speaking, especially in his epistles, a collection of which has been published by *Aldus* in *Greek*, and by *Ranutius Florentius* in *Latin*. *Plutarch* instances three of them, the first whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the *Pergamenses*, or inhabitants of *Pergamus*, thus: *I hear you have given Dolabella money; if you gave it willingly, you must own you have injured me; if unwillingly, skew it by giving willingly to me.* The second inscribed in the *Greek* copy to the *Bithynians*, in the *Latin* to the *Galatians*, and in *Plutarch* to the *Samians*, is couched in the following terms: *Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow; what do you think will be the end?* The third was to the *Rhodians*, thus: *The Xanthians suspecting my kindness, have made their country their grave of despair. The Patarnenses, who have submitted to me, have lost nothing of their former liberty. It is in your power to chuse the opinions of the Patarnenses, or the fortune of the Xanthians* (53). This epistle is likewise exhibited by *Velleius Paterculus*, but in a more diffused style (54). The speech which *Brutus* made before *Cæsar* at *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in behalf of *Deiotarus* king of *Galatia*, is commended by *Cicero* (55), and the author of the dialogue on the *Latin* orators, which is commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*. Tho’

(51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Vide supra. not. (N).* (53) *Plut. ibid.* (54) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 70.* (55) *Cic. in oratore.*



the passions of men, an art too successfully made use of by *Antony* on the same occasion. Such then was the integrity of

the king was charged with crimes of a high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of *Brutus* was so prevalent, that he preserved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he spoke on this occasion, gave rise to that memorable saying of *Cæsar* concerning him, as *Cicero* relates it in the first letter of his fourth book to *Atticus*: *De quo quidem ille ad quem divertit, Cæsarem solitum dicere, Magni refert hic quid velit, sed quidquid volt, valde volt. Idque eum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Nicææ diceret, valde eum vehementer & libere dicere.* And truly the natural firmness of his mind, as his historian observes (56), when once set on work by the motives of right reason, and the principles of honesty, which way soever it turned itself moved with great vigour and impetuosity, and generally effected its designs.

Brutus was, as we have observed above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the concise and grave style (57), he judged *Cicero*'s eloquence to want strength (58); and *Cicero* on the other hand thought his style negligent and unconnected (59). *Brutus*'s style had another fault; it was often crouded with verses. *Versus bi fere excidunt*, says *Quintilian*, *quos Brutus ipso componendæ ductus studio sæpiissime facit* (60). *Cicero* acknowledges, that *Brutus* very freely found fault with his taste in point of style (61); but nevertheless that orator was highly pleased with the harangue which *Brutus* made on the death of *Cæsar*; *Est autem oratio*, says he, speaking of this piece, after he had perused it with great attention, *scripta elegantissime, sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra* (62).

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philosopher. Of all the sects of the *Greek* philosophers, there was not one of which he had not been a hearer, and in which he had not made some proficiency; but he chiefly esteemed the *Platonists*, and applied himself wholly to the study of the ancient academy (63). He was likewise well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote several books, viz. one *de officiis*, cited by *Charisius* and *Priscian*, without all doubt the same which *Seneca* calls *περί καθήκοντος* (64); another *de virtute*, mentioned by *Cicero* (65) and *Seneca* (66); and a third *de patientia*, quoted by *Diomedes*. He abridged the *Roman* history of *Fannius* (67), and that of *Antipater* (68); but whether he finished the abridgment of *Polybius*'s history which he

- (56) *Plut. ibid.* (57) *Quintil. l. xii. c. 10.* (58) *Vide dialog. de causis corr. eloq.* (59) *Auctor de causis corr. eloq.*
 (60) *Quintil. l. ix. c. 4.* (61) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 20.*
 (62) *Idem ibid. l. xv. epist. 1.* (63) *Plut. in Bruto.* (64) *Seneca epist. 95.* (65) *Cic. Tuscul. 1. & de finibus 1.* (66) *Senec. consol. ad Helviam, c. 9.* (67) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xii. epist. 5.*
 (68) *Idem ibid. l. xiii. epist. 8.*

of *Brutus's* mind, that he could not stoop to employ any indecent means even in the pursuit of virtue. The death of *Cæsar* was undoubtedly justifiable under the government which then prevailed in *Rome* (X), notwithstanding all the dirt that has been thrown at this transaction by the mean and grovelling abettors of arbitrary power. We may see what the *Romans*, and *Tully*, the least adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a passage in one of his letters to his friend

had undertaken, we know not; for *Plutarch* (69) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of *Pharsalia*, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, *Brutus* spent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewise composed a panegyric on *Cato* which *Cæsar* did not think extraordinary well penned (70).

(X) By the laws of *Rome*, the dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of *Cæsar* was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *cum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur*. The only reason that can be alledged against killing *Cæsar* is, that the state was irretrievable, and an usurper become a necessary evil. This argument *Seneca* urges against the enterprise of *Brutus* and his followers (71). But *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the senate, that is, the greatest and wisest men in *Rome*, judged otherwise, and who was better qualified to judge? Nay, liberty was for some time actually restored; why it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties, and to the treachery of *Octavianus*, who, after he was emperor, thought it possible to resettle the old free state, and proposed once or twice to resign. *Drusus*, his wife's son, was of the same opinion, and declared his resolution to effect it. *Cæsar* himself might, by his dictatorial power, have suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her first principles. This would have been true glory, the only right use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it; but, instead of this, he continued more and more to debauch the people, and trample upon the most sacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jest to him; he treated the very name with contempt; *nihil esse rempublicam; appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie* (72). He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning his usurped power; he had nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his lust; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, spreto patriæ more*; nay he would have his very words to go for laws, *debere homines pro legibus habere quæ dicat* (73). He was therefore lawfully slain, tho' not by the forms of law, which his usurped power had rendered impossible. *Abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimaretur*, says *Suetonius* (74).

(69) *Plut. ubi supra.* (70) *Cic. ad Attic.* (71) *Senec. de benefc. l. ii. c. 25.* (72) *Suet in Cæs.* (73) *Idem ibid.* (74) *Idem ibid. Atticus;*

Atticus, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he says, *But notwithstanding the cloud that hangs over us, I console myself in the ides of March. Our heroes have done every thing within their power, and with a resolution by which they have acquired immortal glory.* Nor was the putting the destroyer of their constitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the Roman history (Y). And as
to

(Y) Nor in *Brutus's* family; for his mother *Servilia* was of the family of *Servilius Ahala*, who slew *Spurius Manlius*, as we have related elsewhere, for stirring the people up to a rebellion, and aspiring at the sovereign power. The famous dictator *Quintus Cincinnatus*, whose general of the horse he was, commended the zeal of *Servilius*, and approved of the action (75). Whether *Brutus* was descended from the celebrated *Junius Brutus*, who expelled *Tarquin the Proud*, is uncertain. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* maintains, not out of any prejudice to *Brutus*, that he was not descended from him. This, says he, is the opinion of those historians, who have examined the affairs of the Romans with the greatest exactness (76). *Dion* positively affirms, that none of the race of *Junius Brutus* was left after the execution of his two sons (77). On the other hand, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Junius Brutus* had a great many children by a sister of the *Vitellii* (78); and adds, upon the authority of the Philosopher *Possidonium*, that two indeed of *Brutus's* sons, who had attained to man's estate were, by their father's order put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus*. The same philosopher writes, that in his time there were several famous persons of the family of *M. Brutus*, and of his own acquaintance, who very much resembled the statue of *Junius Brutus* (79). *Cicero* likewise in his *Philippics* speaks of our *Brutus* as descended from *L. Brutus*: *L. Brutus was the man, says he, who both himself freed the commonwealth from the sovereignty of kings, and has now, almost five hundred years after, propagated descendants, famed for the like virtue and the like achievement* (80). And elsewhere (81); *if leaders were wanting to free our country, I would stir up the Brutus's, who both daily behold the image of L. Brutus, and one of them that of Ahala also. Should these men therefore, descended from such ancestors, ask counsel of strangers, rather than of their own family, abroad rather than at home?* But after all, *Cicero* who speaks here as an orator, and not as an historian, is not a proper evidence to invalidate the testimony of *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, and *Dion*. An orator little cares whether such facts be certain or not; it is enough for him, if the facts he relates be believed by the greater part of the people. Nothing can be with any certainty

(75) *Plut. ibid.* & *Liv. l. iv.* (76) *Dio. Hal. l. v.* (77) *Dio. l. xliv.* (78) *Plut. in Valerio* (79) *Plut. in Bruto.*
(80) *Cic. Philip. 1.* (81) *Idem Philip. 2.*

to the method they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action; for who more proper to compass such an event, than a number of senators distinguished by their attachment to liberty? or what place could be more justly fixed on for the tyrant of *Rome* to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he possessed in violation of the laws of his country? We often see the love of one's country the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by passion, acrimony of temper, vanity, resentment, a lust of power, or any other inducement; nor were all those, who joined in that glorious cause, altogether free from such suspicions; for an uniform, steady, constant attachment to the public good was to be met with in *Brutus* alone. Men generally differ from themselves as much as from one another; *Brutus* was always the same. If we have dwelt too long in considering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character and his inviolable attachment to the public cause may plead our excuse. We are not only indebted to history for the enlargement of our minds, but likewise for the improvement of our moral virtues; and to an *Englishman* the foremost of the rank is the pursuit of liberty. Who then more properly can become the object of our contemplation than *Brutus*, the genius of liberty?

The generosity of Antony, and cowardly spite of Octavianus.

LET us now return to the plains of *Philippi*. *Antony*, being informed the next day of the death of *Brutus*, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle of a great value over it, and charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illustrious deceased. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. *Octavianus*, who had not greatness of soul enough for such generous humanity, could not forbear shewing a cowardly spite to the dead body of *Brutus*, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He caused the head of that excellent person to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to *Rome*, and there lay it ignominiously at the feet of *Cæsar's* statue^P; but in the passage from *Dyrrhachium*, a violent storm arising, it

^P PLUT. in Anton. & Brut. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668. SUET. in Octavio, c. 13.

determined on this head; but all things well considered, we are inclined to prefer the authority of *Dion* and of *Dionysius*, a most accurate writer, to that of *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

was

was, probably out of superstition, thrown into the sea ⁹. The rest of the body was burnt by *Antony's* orders, and the ashes conveyed in an urn to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* mother. As for *Porcia* his wife, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Nicolaus* the *Peripatetic* philosopher, tell us, that, being resolved not to outlive her husband, but so narrowly watched by her friends, *The death of Porcia.* that she could neither make use of poison or a dagger, she snatched some burning coals out of the fire, and, shutting them close in her mouth, stifled herself, and expired in the arms of the women who watched her ^r. But we have a great deal of reason to look upon this account as fabulous, since *Plutarch* assures us ^t, that, in his time, was still extant a letter of *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of *Porcia*, and complained of them for suffering her to die of melancholy; so that the history of the live-coals, which has been the subject of a fine epigram ^t, is no better than a fable.

THE death of *Brutus* was no sooner known in his camp, *Many of Brutus's men submit to the conquerors.* than those who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thousand men, submitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the island of *Thasus*, and from thence escaped into *Asia*. *Antony* and *Octavius* found in *Brutus's* camp great store of arms and provisions, and immense sums of money, which enabled them to satisfy immediately some of their veterans, whom they disbanded soon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to usurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs established, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was still held by *Sextus*, the son of *Pompey the Great*; but the opposition they met with from him was not very considerable, as we shall see in the following chapter.

⁹ DIO. l. xlvii. p. 356.

ibid.

^r PLUT. in Bruto.

^t Idem,

^t Vide MART. l. i. epig. 43.

C H A P. XVI.

The history of Rome, from the death of Brutus and Cassius to the perfect settling of the empire by Octavianus.

The triumvirs punish their enemies.

THE first days after the battle were spent by the triumvirs, in punishing such of their enemies, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Antony*, after having reproached *Hortensius* with the death of his brother *Caius*, of whom we have spoken above, caused him to be slain on his tomb. He likewise put *Varro*, an illustrious senator, to death, who had on all occasions betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was, in his power, with his debauched and scandalous life, which, he said, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Augustus*, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himself in his tent. *Quintilius Varus*, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be exposed to the insults of a merciless enemy. *Octavianus* on this occasion betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*, which some of his flatterers endeavour to excuse, by ascribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but to the long and tedious indisposition, which had soured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he shewed as much cruelty and insolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it. We have seen above what cowardly spite he shewed to the body of his deceased enemy, which *Antony* treated with great respect and tenderness. The mean soul of *Octavianus* was not capable of such generous humanity :

The cruelty of Octavianus.

nity: he insulted every illustrious captive with bitter words and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earnestly begged as a particular favour, that he would suffer his body to be buried after his death, he answered, that *the ravens would soon regulate that matter*. When a father implored mercy for his son, and the son for the father, he commanded, with an excess of cruelty hardly to be met with in the history of the most barbarous nations, the father and son to fight for their lives; this barbarous fight he beheld, beheld unconcerned the son to stab his father, and then himself for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and son to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himself voluntarily up to execution to save his son, who, disdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, stabbed himself in the presence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining prisoners reason, when they were brought before *Antony* and him, loaded with chains, to salute the former with the honourable title of emperor, and the latter with bitter invectives, curses and reproaches? Among these were the famous *M. Favonius*, who with the sword at his throat reproached the merciless *Octavianus*, with all the freedom of a *Cynic* philosopher w (Z).

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illustrious citizens, who on that fatal day fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper measures for the establishing of their authority, and the utter suppression of those who still stood up in defence of their antient laws and liberties. For *Pompey* was still in possession of *Sicily*; *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus's* admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coasts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian sea*; *Cassius Par-*

*The repub-
lican party
still pow-
erful.*

w Vide *Suet. in Julio*, & *Dio. l. xlvii.*

(Z) *M. Favonius* had been always very intimate with *Brutus*, but nevertheless by him left out of the conspiracy for the following reason. As *Brutus* was discoursing one day with him and *Statilius*, who was by sect an *Epicurean*, and proposing some questions to be disputed, with a design to discover their sentiments, *Favonius* declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Though he had no share in the death of *Cæsar*, nor approved of the action, yet he joined *Brutus*, served him with the utmost fidelity to the last, and died with a constancy worthy of a *Roman* senator and philosopher (81).

(81) *Plut. in Bruto.*

mensis

menfis (A), one of the conspirators, having been left in *Asia* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with a considerable fleet and a competent number of forces, to keep the eastern provinces in awe, upon the news of *Brutus's* overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty *Rhodian* ships, which he manned with *Romans*, and being joined by *Clodius*, governor of *Rhodes*, at the head of three thousand men, by *Lepidus* governor of *Crete* with the garison which *Brutus* had left there, by *Clodius*, *Torulus*, young *Cicero*, and many other persons of distinction, who had fled into *Asia*, he gave no small umbrage to the triumvirs. In a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that *Antony* should march into the east and settle those provinces, and that *Octavianus* should lead the old troops into *Italy*, put them there in possession of the lands which had been promised them, and to force young *Pompey* out of a retreat, which served for an asylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they disbanded all their veterans, except eight thousand, after having satisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in *Brutus's* camp. Of the remaining forces *Octavianus*

(A) *Cassius Parmensis* was one of the conspirators, but some time after the battle of *Philippi* he joined *Antony*, and served under him at the battle of *Actium*. Upon his defeat he retired to *Atbini*, where he was murdered by *Octavianus's* orders. He was a native of *Parma*, and thence called *Parmensis*. As that city stood within the bounds of antient *Hetruria*, which extended, as *Cluverius* shews, to the banks of the *Po*, no wonder that *Horace* calls him an *Hetruscan* (82). He was in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great versifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left such a vast heap of writings behind him, that it was pleasantly said he wanted no other materials for his funeral pile.

Hetrusci

*Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni
Ingenium, capsis quem, fama est, esse librisque
Ambustum propriis* ————— (83).

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was assassinated, is said to have found a tragedy among his papers, intitled *Thyestes*, which he published as his own. It is at least certain, that *Quintilius*, having put him to death, seized all his writings, among which were several tragedies, he having a particular talent at that sort of composition. The verses upon *Orpheus*, which *Achilles Tatius* published under his name, are by the best judges thought to be of a later date.

(82) *Horat. 1. Sermon. satyr. 10.* (83) *Idem ibid.*

took with him into *Italy* four legions, and four thousand horse; *Antony* keeping with him six legions, and ten thousand horse. It was also agreed, that *Octavianus* should yield two of his legions to his colleague, and receive two others in their stead belonging to *Antony*, which had been left in *Italy* under the command of *Calenus*, one of *Antony's* lieutenants*. Though the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were, by this time, reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vast sums to pay five thousand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principal motive of *Antony's* expedition into *Asia*, whither he carried with him for his guard four thousand veterans, besides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, though the time of their service was expired, to attend him in quality of volunteers, the like number remaining with *Octavianus* in the same quality and post†.

AND now the two conquerors parted, *Octavianus* taking *Antony* his rout towards *Dyrrbachium*, in order to return to *Italy*, and *Octavianus* and *Antony* marching into *Greece*, with a design to pass over from thence into *Asia*. *Octavianus* arrived in a few days march at *Dyrrbachium*, where we shall leave him for a while to follow *Antony* in his memorable, but to him fatal expedition into the east. After so remarkable a victory, which was entirely owing to him (for *Octavianus* was not present in the first engagement, and in the second was driven out of the field by the brave *Brutus*), he must needs visit *Greece*, as being the country where flattery was managed with most delicacy. There laying aside all majesty, he took pleasure in assisting, like a private citizen, at the disputes of the philosophers in the schools and academies of *Athens*, in seeing the public sports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the *Greeks*. As he was fond of being styled the *Lover of Greece*, but above all the *Lover of Athens*, he administered justice there with a great deal of equity, and made very considerable presents to the city, though he was himself in great want of money, his military chest being almost quite drained by the vast sums he and his colleague had distributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left *Attica* he caused an exact survey to be made of the temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he designed to repair it; but he dropt that project on his arrival in *Asia*, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving *Lucius Censorinus*, one of his lieutenants, to govern *Greece* in

*The oblig-
ing beha-
viour of
Antony to
the Greeks*

* APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 672, 673. DIO. l. xlviii. p. 358. † APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. l. cxxv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. PLUT. in *Antonio*. DIO. *ibid.* p. 357, 358.

In Asia he his absence. In Asia all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who should make him the most magnificent present, or appear most charming in his eyes. This croud of sovereigns, who daily attended his levee, and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleased him so much as the reception he met with at *Ephesus*. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they used to wear when they solemnized the feasts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys dressed like *satyrs* and *fauns*. Nothing was to be seen throughout the town but spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys while they stiled *Antony* in their songs, *Bacchus the Gracious* and *the Gentle*; and so indeed he was to some, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all those of *Brutus's* party, who surrendered themselves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conspirators, and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he stripped several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the estates of men yet living, and in perfect health, making *Antony*, to whom they alone had access, believe they were dead. Thus one of his cooks, having dressed him a supper to his taste, begged, and obtained as his reward, the fine house of a wealthy citizen of *Magnesia*. But as the chief business, which had brought him into Asia, was the raising of the necessary sums for the satisfying of the victorious legions, he summoned the deputies of all the subjects and allies of *Rome* in those parts to meet at *Ephesus*; and there, after having reproached them with assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius*, notwithstanding the kindness *Caesar* had shewn them, he acquainted them with the great promises he and his colleague had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thousand men and upwards, and then concluded thus: You may judge of the sums we want from the number of our soldiers, and the promises we have made them. This has obliged my colleague to go into Italy, where he has taken upon him to reward them with lands and houses, from which he will be obliged to drive out the ancient proprietors. But as for you, I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances, or drive you from your temples and sepulchres of your forefathers. As you would needs run the

His behaviour towards the Asiatics.

His speech to the deputies of the Asiatic cities.

fortune of our enemies in war; now that the gods have been pleased to grant the victory, not according to your wishes, but their own justice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes, and inflict upon you some exemplary punishment. But as the laws of humanity will not always allow the punishments to be proportionable to the crimes, instead of other penalties we shall content ourselves with a sum of money, the same you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only punishment we intend to inflict upon you, which we should very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very pressing. At these words the deputies threw themselves at *Antony's* feet, remonstrating with tears in their eyes, that their assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not be laid to their charge as a crime, since they had been forced to it by such cruel usage, as made them rather objects of pity than punishment; and that as to the sums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raise them, since *Brutus* and *Cassius* had stript them, not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As *Antony* continued inflexible, *Hybreas*, an orator and agent for some of the *Asiatic* cities, rising up, Since you are determined, said he, to double our taxes, pray take care that our summers and autumns be doubled too; otherwise we shall never be able to satisfy your demands. This liberty of speech did not displease *Antony* (B), who, as *Plutarch* tells us, was
as

(B) The same *Hybreas* some time after told *Antony*, when he required more money; *Asia* has already furnished two hundred thousand talents for your service; if the money did not come to your hands, call those to an account who levied it; but if it did, and you have already spent that sum, we are all undone. These words, says *Plutarch*, touched *Antony* to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature easily imposed upon, but because he reposed too great confidence in the integrity of those he employed. He was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of apprehension; but as soon as he was made sensible of his faults, he was much troubled, and ready to ask pardon of those he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was pleased to rally others. This freedom had, as *Plutarch* observes, its inconvenience; for he imagined, that those friends, who used so much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any business of consequence, not perceiving, that these subtle parasites disguised their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any
D d 2 difficulty,

as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was delighted in rallying others. The deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two^a: so that all the princes, kings, and free states of *Asia*, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their subjects for the payment of this sum, which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which *Cassius* had loaded them, almost to a state of beggary^a. After this *Antony* took a progress through the provinces of *Asia*, giving every-where extraordinary demonstrations of generosity and good-nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, brother to *Cassius*, and several others of the adverse party, who, upon the fame of his clemency, flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to those who had any hand in the death of *Cæsar*. The *Xanthians* he freed from all tribute, and persuaded them to rebuild their city. To the *Rhodians*, whom *Cassius* had treated with great severity, he gave the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Naxos*, and *Myndus*. The inhabitants of *Tarsus* and *Laddicea* he likewise exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the *Athenians*, to whom he granted the islands of *Ægina*, *Teos*, *Cea*, *Sciathus*, and *Peperethus*^b: so that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thousand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of *Asia*, properly so called, of *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Myfia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Palestine*. As he wanted ready money to pay his soldiers, while the tax was raising, he sent all his horse to *Palmyra*, or *Tadmor*, to take the plunder of that rich city instead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the design, removed, before their arrival, their families and effects to the other side of the *Euphrates*; so that the triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the *Palmyrenians* returned to their habitations, but, being exasperated by this cruel usage, put themselves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which gave occasion to the second *Parthian* war^c.

^a PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. v. p. 673, 674. ^a APPIAN. ibid. ^b Idem, ibid. p. 675. ^c APPIAN. ibid.

difficulty, they contrived matters so as not to seem to yield to him out of complaisance, but because his understanding was superior to theirs (84).

Antony arriving in *Cilicia*, dispatched from thence *Dellius* ^{He sum-} into *Egypt*, to summon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and ^{mons Cle-} give him an account of her conduct during the war. For ^{opatra to} though she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant ^{give an} in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which the triumvirs ^{account of} had taken much amiss, considering what she owed to the ^{her conduct} memory of *Cæsar*. *Dellius*, who was sent on this message, was a famous historian and a man of great wit and learning, but of no principles, being one of those who have always a base compliance for the inclinations of their masters (C). As he was well acquainted with *Antony's* temper, after a short conversation with the queen, he easily judged with what sentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, address, and sprightly conversation would inspire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in person into *Cilicia*, assuring her, that *Antony*, who was a brave and amorous soldier, would receive her with all the respect due to persons of her high station, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of *Dellius*; but her chief dependence was in her own beauty; and indeed never had beauty been signalised by more illustrious conquests: she had captivated the heart of *Julius Cæsar*, of *Pompey's* eldest son, and formerly of *Antony* himself, when he served under *Gabinus*, governor of *Syria*; and this when she was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas she was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inspired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in *Antony's* heart was, the quickness of her wit; for though there were some at *Rome* who ri-

Her charms

(C) *Quintus Dellius* wrote in *Greek* an account of *Antony's* unsuccessful expedition against the *Parthians*, in which he attended him and had a chief command. He was one of *Horace's* most intimate friends, who addressed to him the third ode of his second book, containing the soundest principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy. He was a man of great wit and learning, but of a very bad character. *Messala Corvinus* used to call him *desultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, the vaulter of the civil wars. For he left *Dolabella* to side with *Cassius*, then quitted *Cassius* to join *Antony*, and at last abandoned *Antony* to take party with *Octavianus*. During his stay at the court of *Egypt*, the fair queen captivated his heart, and is said not to have been displeased with the addresses of a man of his fine genius. In the time of *Seneca* several letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (85).

(8) Vide *Senec. l. i. de clementia c. 10.* & *M. Senec. suas. 1. Strabo, l. xi.* & *Lips ad 1. Annal. Tacit.*

valled

valled her in beauty, none was to compare to her in the agreeableness of her conversation, and in a certain natural grace and sweetness, which appeared in every thing she said or did, and made a deep impression on all who heard her. In short, the charms of her conversation were irresistible, and the very tone of her voice so harmonious, that no instrument was capable of a greater variety of sounds, and of equally soothing the ears of the hearers. Besides, she expressed herself with so much ease, and in so many different languages, that she was looked upon by all as a prodigy. The most barbarous nations heard her with astonishment answer their ambassadors without an interpreter. She understood, besides many others, the *Æthiopian*, the *Troglodite*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, *Syrian*, *Median*, and *Parthian* tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, considering, that most of the kings, her predecessors, had not been able to learn the *Egyptian* tongue, and several of them had forgot the *Macedonian*, their original language^d. The confidence she placed in these extraordinary accomplishments encouraged her more than the words of *Delilius*, or her own beauty, to appear before *Antony*. She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vast sums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the *Egyptian* kings. Many were the letters she received from *Antony*, hastening her coming; but she seemed to make no account of his orders. At length she set out, and arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, she embarked on a small galley, and appeared before *Antony* at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, in the fantastical manner which we have described at length in our history of *Egypt*^e. The triumvir was so taken with the charms of her person, the quickness of her wit, and the agreeableness of her conversation, that from the first day he conceived a passion for her, which occasioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the same man, but wholly taken up with the thoughts of the beautiful *Cleopatra*, he neglected all other business, and followed her into *Egypt*, spending there the whole ensuing winter with her in a most scandalous conversation, well suited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character.

*She arrives
at Tarsus
in Cilicia.*

*And capti-
vates An-
tony.*

WHILE *Antony* was thus wallowing in pleasures with his beloved *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, his colleague was wholly taken up

^d PLUT. in Anton. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. APPIAN. l. v. p. 673. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 371. ^e Vide Hist. Universal. Vol. IX. p. 156. ^f PLUT. APPIAN. DIO, ibid. Vide. Hist. Universal. ubi supra.

in settling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promised lands *Octavi-*
among the veterans. Having imbarqued his troops at *Dyruba-* ^{anus great-}
chium, he crossed the *Adriatic* gulf, without meeting with any ^{ly indispos-}
of the enemy's fleets, and landed at *Brundisium*; where he ^{ed.}
was taken so ill, that his physicians gave him over, and the
news of his death was immediately spread all over *Italy*, and
differently received according to the different inclinations of
the people. Most of the senators looked upon this report as
one of his usual tricks to discover their intentions and real
sentiments; and therefore by a decree of the senate prayers
and sacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery,
which soon followed by the favour of his native air and the
vigor of his youth. As soon as he was in a condition to bear
the fatigues of the journey, he set out for *Rome*, where he
was received with loud acclamations, especially by the popu-
lace. Some time before his arrival the fasces had been trans-
ferred from *Lepidus*, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, to *L. Anto-*
ninus, the brother of the triumvir, and *P. Servilius Vatia*
Isauricus; but *Fulvia*, *Antony's* wife, a woman of a manly ^{Jealousies}
spirit and an unbounded ambition, had gained the ascendant ^{at Rome}
over the new consuls, and governed *Rome* with an absolute ^{between}
sway. This *Octavianus* could not bear; and hence the mutu- ^{him and}
al jealousies and distrust between her and the young triumvir, ^{Fulvia.}
which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of *Italy*.
Octavianus met with many, almost insurmountable, difficul-
ties in the distribution of the promised lands. As the public
treasury was quite exhausted, he could not content the soldi-
ery without giving up to them the several towns which he had
promised them by way of reward after the victory; and this
he was well apprised would provoke the people. Most of the
inhabitants of those unhappy towns flocked daily in great mul-
titudes to *Rome*: vast numbers of women with children in
their arms, whose tender years and innocence moved even
the triumvir's friends to compassion, daily filled the temples
and public places with their cries and lamentations. The peo-
ple on this occasion talked with a great deal of freedom and
boldness; *This war*, said they, *has been undertaken not for the*
public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who,
since they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the
charges, and not satisfy their soldiers at the expence of so many
distressed families. *Octavianus* heard and patiently bore these
complaints, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself. Un-
willing to give occasion to fresh disturbances, he borrowed
what money he could; but finding he could not raise the suf-
ficient sums to satisfy his soldiers, he broke through all diffi-
culties, and, pursuant to his first design, allotted them the
lands

The prince
of the La-
tin poets in
great dan-
ger.

lands for their inheritance, which he had promised in the beginning of the war. *Cremona* a city greatly attached to the interest of *Brutus*, suffered most in this iniquitous distribution; and *Mantua*, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable soldiery, had more than her share in these misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have perished on this occasion, by the hand of a centurion, named *Arrius*, who pursued him with his drawn sword, for daring to dispute with him the possession of his small estate on the banks of the *Mincius*; and would have deprived the world of the greatest poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily escaped the fury of the enraged centurion by swimming cross the river. This very adventure seems to have most of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that divine and inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents being known to *Mecenas* and *Asinius Pollio*, he obtained by their interest the restitution of his farm, which is the subject of that excellent eclogue, the first of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

Octavi-
anus meets
with great
difficulties
in the dis-
tribution of
the lands.

Octavianus himself was exposed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the soldiery and people being equally exasperated against him. Few of the veterans were satisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; *Antony's* soldiers taxed *Octavianus* with partiality, as if he assigned the best lands to his own men and the worst to them. *Fulvia* did not fail to improve these discontents; and being seconded by the consul *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, whom she easily gained over to her interest, she left nothing unattempted to fire both the soldiers and people against one, who, she well saw, was engrossing all the power to himself. And indeed she was attended therein with good success, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private soldier having taken place among the knights at a public show, *Octavianus* ordered an officer to drive him from thence; hereupon a report being spread, by the triumvir's enemies, that the soldier had been assassinated by his orders, as soon as the sports were over, they all crowded round him, demanding with threatnings to see their comrade. *Octavianus* caused him immediately to be sought for and brought before them; when the soldier declared, that he had not received the least hurt or ill usage: the mutinous troops were not easily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incensed against him for depriving them of so specious a pretence to murder their general. The other accident shews still more plainly, to what a degree *Fulvia* and *Lucius* had estran-

ged the minds of the soldiery from their general. He had appointed a day for his soldiers to meet in the field of *Mars*, in order to proceed to the distribution of the lands. The legionaries assembled accordingly at the time agreed on, but *Octavianus* not coming so soon as they expected, they began to mutiny, and speak of their general with great disrespect; upon which *Nonnius*, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for the indecency of their carriage. But the insolent soldiery first rallied the zealous officer as a mercenary sycophant, and then insulted him in a most outrageous manner; insomuch, that he was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and throw himself, finding no other means to escape, into the *Tiber*, where he was drowned. The mutineers drew the body out of the river, and exposed it on the way which led to the field of *Mars*, that *Octavianus* might see it, and learn what might be his own fate, if he provoked their resentment. *Octavianus*, though acquainted with this disorder, went, contrary to the advice of his friends, to the field of *Mars*, and, only turning away his eyes from the dead body as he passed by it, appeared in the midst of the assembly with an affected calmness and tranquillity. He artfully pretended to believe, that *Nonnius* had been killed in a quarrel by some private enemy; and, after having exhorted his soldiers not to carry their resentment another time to such extremities, without taking any further notice of such a notorious breach of the military laws, he proceeded to the distribution of the lands, extending his liberality even to those who had lost their lives in the battle of *Philippi*, on whose wives and children he bestowed that portion, which would have fallen to their lot. This false and iniquitous generosity, for he gave nothing of his own, but only what he had with the utmost injustice taken from the lawful owners, had so good an effect on the minds of the undiscerning multitude, that they demanded the authors of *Nonnius's* death might be brought to condign punishment. The crafty general answered, that they would be sufficiently punished by the reproaches of their own conscience, and the remorse which ever attends wicked actions.

Octavianus, having thus regained the affections of his soldiers, and being no longer able to bear the haughty and impetuous behaviour of *Fulvia*, divorced her daughter *Clodia*, after having solemnly declared upon oath, that for him she was still a virgin. This was touching the proud *Fulvia*, in the most sensible part: she resolved thenceforth to keep no mea-

APPIAN. DIO, *ibid.*

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tures with *Octavianus*, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had served under her husband, to take arms against his ungrateful colleague, who, though he had no ways contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to engross the whole power to himself, and exclude *Antony*, to whose valour the victory was entirely owing, from any share in the administration. She appeared in all the assemblies of the people with the children she had by *Antony*, and there made bitter complaints of the cruel usage she pretended they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderness of a father, to have protected them against the insults of their enemies. *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, joined her, giving out every-where, that *Octavianus* had nothing else in view but to enslave *Italy*, deprive his colleague of all power, and make both the senate and people of *Rome* subservient to his will. He pretended to act by the direction of, and in concert with, his brother, whose chief and main concern, he said, was to preserve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious *Octavianus*. This disagreement between the young triumvir on one side, and *Lucius* and *Fulvia* on the other, gave rise to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties.

The republic
rent anew into
two factions.

The veterans, who had served under *Antony*, and such of the *Italians*, as had been driven from their antient inheritances, sided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*. The friends of the late dictator, and those legionaries, who were satisfied with the lands fallen to their share, took party with *Octavianus*: so that all *Italy* was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of *Rome*, where horrible disorders and cruel murders were daily committed, by the insolent populace and ungovernable soldiery of the two opposite factions. To complete the misfortunes of *Rome* and *Italy*, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever since the beginning of the civil war, the seas being beset with the enemy's fleets, and *Sextus Pompeius* holding *Sicily*, whence the continent, and especially the capital, was supplied with corn. In this distress *Octavianus* would fain have made up matters with *Fulvia* in an amicable manner; but she would hearken only to the dictates of her own resentment and the insinuations of *Manius*, her husband's agent, who assured her, that nothing but a war could force *Antony* from the arms of *Cleopatra*, and bring him into *Italy*. *Fulvia* followed the pernicious advice of *Manius*, and, abandoning *Rome*, retired to *Præneste*, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her sex, she appeared with an helmet on her head and a sword by her side,

Fulvia re-
tires from
Rome and
forms a
camp at
Præneste.

side, assembled some legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. *Octavianus*, fearing young *Pompey* might take advantage of the misunderstanding between him and *Fulvia*, sent a deputation to the camp of *Præneste*, exhorting the female general and her brother-in-law, who, tho' consul, served in a manner as her subaltern, to lay aside all animosities, and act in concert against their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the senatorial order and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on *Lucius* to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable *Fulvia* and by *Manius*, whom *Antony* had appointed to manage his affairs in *Rome*, during his absence. He in a studied speech accused *Octavianus* of unfair dealing with respect to *Antony*, as if he designed to engross the whole power of the triumvirate to himself, and reduce his colleague to the state of a private man, tho' the victory they had gained in the plains of *Philippi* was entirely owing to his valour: *And what other view, said he, can the ambitious youth have in rewarding, as he has done, with lands and speech a-possessions thirty-four legions instead of twenty-eight? His only gainst Oc-tavianus. aim is to form a strong party for himself, at the expence of innumerable unhappy wretches, who have been driven from their inheritances to make room for his private friends and partisans, who had no share in the late war, and consequently no claim to rewards of any kind: for their sake he has over-run and plundered all Italy, not sparing even the temples of the gods. He is now raising troops under pretence of making war upon Pompey; but it is manifest, he has something else in view, which ought to give us umbrage, since, in the present situation of affairs, that expedition cannot so much as be thought of for want of provisions and shipping. His real purpose is, without all doubt, to make himself formidable, and usurp a tyrannical power, not only over the people and senate, but even over his colleagues. If therefore he is sincerely disposed to peace, let him disband his troops, give an account of the immense sums which have passed through his hands, and for the future act in concert with those who have nothing in view but the public good.*

Octavianus, upon the report of his deputies, finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewise *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. In the mean time, several manifestoes and declarations were published by the opposite parties, *Both parties prepare for war.*

^h APPIAN. *ibid.* Dio. l. *xlvi.* p. 359 360. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. SUE. in *Octav.* c. 62.

and some very sharp letters passed between *Lucius* and *Octavianus*. The latter, seeing many of the veterans take party with his enemies, dispatched an express to *Salvidienus*, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in *Spain*, ordering him to hasten into *Italy* with the six legions under his command. *Salvidienus*, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repassed the *Alps*, and advanced with incredible expedition into *Cisalpine Gaul* to join *Octavianus*, who had left the capital and was assembling his forces in that province. *Caius Asinius Pollio* and *Publius Ventidius*, two of *Lucius's* lieutenants, who were incamped at the foot of the *Alps*, followed *Salvidienus*, harrassing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great straits. At the same time, *Lucius*, having assembled a considerable body of troops, advanced to meet *Salvidienus* and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means, *Octavianus's* lieutenant must inevitably have been cut off with all his men, had not *Vipsanius Agrippa* with a choice body of veterans come seasonably to his relief, and, posting himself between him and *Lucius*, attacked the city of *Sutrium*. As the inhabitants of that place had signified their attachment to the interest of *Lucius*, he flew to their assistance, which gave *Salvidienus* an opportunity of joining *Agrippa*, and seizing with him, after he had taken *Sutrium* by assault, all the passes and defiles leading to the two camps of *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. *Lucius*, after having attempted in vain to open himself a way sword in hand, resolved to retire into the city of *Perusia*, and wait there, as in a place of safety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, following him close, invested the place, before he had time to reflect on the danger, to which he exposed himself and his troops. *Octavianus* was no sooner informed of the bad situation of *Lucius*, than he flew to *Perusia*, and in concert with his two lieutenants carried on the siege with great vigour; but as he found it impossible to take by assault so strong a place, garisoned by a whole army, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view surrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty six furlongs in compass. From his camp he drew lines quite to the *Tiber*, which he strengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal distances, that is about sixty foot from one another. These towers he filled with archers, slingers, and all sorts of engines to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. *Lucius*, on his side, was continually harrassing the workmen and the legions that covered them

Salvidienus, one of Octavianus's lieutenants, refused out of danger by Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius besieged in Perugia.

with brisk sallies, in which his men, who were for the most part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of these sallies *Octavianus* himself narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, *Fulvia* detached from her camp at *Præneste* *L. Munatius Plancus* with a numerous body of chosen troops, ordering him to join *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raise the siege. *Plancus*, in spite of *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, whom *Octavianus* detached against him, joined *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and together with them advanced as far as *Fulginium*, within a hundred and sixty furlongs of *Perusia*. *Lucius* was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to signify to him by fires in the night and other signals. He did not in the least doubt, but they would exert their utmost endeavours, and make some great push for his relief. And such indeed was their design; but *Plancus*, after having viewed the advantageous situation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place without exposing their troops, for which they were responsible to *Antony*, to the greatest dangers. His opinion prevailed, and as none of them approved of *Lucius's* conduct, who had thus rashly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general and his troops in the utmost despair. As the besieged were already reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, they made a desperate sally, but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparalleled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. *Lucius* being determined to hold out to the last, took an inventory of all the provisions in the place, which he daily measured out sparingly to the soldiers and inhabitants of free condition, but allowed none to the slaves and servants of the army, though he kept them at the same time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, lest they should acquaint the enemy with the miserable condition to which the garison was reduced. This was sentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a most cruel death; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in history! The unhappy wretches, reduced to this desperate condition, wandered about the works in quest of herbs, grass, and roots, some of them even feeding upon their own ordure and the flesh of their dead companions. At length the soldiers themselves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of *Lucius* to make a general sally, chusing rather to die, like brave men sword in hand, than to live under the miseries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend

*Lucius's
generals
deterr'd of
relieving
him.*

*The cruelty
of Lucius
towards
the slaves.*

The garrison reduced to great straits, make a desperate sally.

Their gallant behaviour.

pend upon but their own valour, and that in their present circumstances they must either conquer or die. They resolved therefore to make a desperate push, and sally out by break of day, to avoid the disorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having first provided a great number of spades, hooks, scaling ladders, and all sorts of necessary tools to break down the wall, with which *Octavianus* had inclosed the city, as soon as day began to appear, they rushed out like famished tigers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an instant, plucked up the palisades, and began to undermine the wall, while the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpose, and filled with archers and dart-men, discharged showers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. *Octavianus's* soldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggressors, their machines playing incessantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. But though many of them fell, the rest, not so much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazing resolution, and climbing up the wall, in spite of all opposition, drove the enemy from their posts. The dispute continued many hours with an obstinacy and fury hardly to be expressed, and *Lucius's* men, though they fought with all the disadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but *Octavianus's* troops being far more numerous, and constantly relieved with fresh supplies, the besieged weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite spent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. These gallant men, though stunned with their fall, still strove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and gestures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length *Lucius*, surprised at such extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only served to destroy them, commanded a retreat to be sounded. Hereupon *Octavianus's* men gave loud shouts of joy, striking, according to the custom of the Romans, when they had gained a victory, their swords against their bucklers. Thus those brave men looked upon as an insult, and therefore getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without tears, that *Lucius* prevailed upon them to retreat. *Octavianus* that night doubled his guards, and disposed several bodies of troops on the ramparts in such manner, that they could easily relieve each

each other in case of a sudden attack, which he apprehended.

Lucius, finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity without any hopes of relief, resolved at length to capitulate, and by that means save the lives of so many brave men. Accordingly he dispatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with *Octavianus* in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this answer to their proposals, that he willingly pardoned all those who had served under *Antony* against the murderers of his father, but as for the others, he insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. Thus he spoke to the deputies in common, but afterwards taking *Furnius*, one of them, aside, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who out of hatred to him had been the occasion of all these disorders. Upon the report of the deputies many illustrious Romans, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of *Octavianus*, with whose cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted *Lucius* to insist on the safety of all, and not to surrender upon any other terms. *Lucius* touched with compassion for so many brave men, whom he well knew *Octavianus*, if it were left to him, would sacrifice to his revenge resolved to go out in person, and putting himself into the young conqueror's hands, interceded for his unhappy followers. *Octavianus* received him with great marks of esteem and affection, and promised, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they surrendered without further resistance, and put him in possession of the city. *Lucius*, depending on *Octavianus*'s promise, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of *Perusia*, who had shewn an inviolable attachment to *Lucius*, he ordered those who composed the senate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains, and sentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement and the promise he had made. Some of those unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the same answer, *Moriendum est, you must all die*. Accordingly, they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders carried in chains to an altar raised to *Julius Cæsar*, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on

Lucius resolves to capitulate.

Goes in person to treat with Octavianus.

The barbarous cruelty of Octavianus.

APPIAN. DIO. *ibid.*

the

Perusia reduced to ashes.

Lucius's generals dispersed.

Tiberius Claudius Nero maintains the party of Lucius in Campania.

the ides of *March*, the anniversary of his death. With them were sacrificed by the barbarous tyrant, *Caius Flavius, Clodius Bithynicus*, and *Canutius*, three illustrious senators of *Rome*, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city itself he delivered up to the lust and plunder of his soldiers; but one *Cestius*, surnamed *Macedonicus* from his having served a long time in *Macedon*, not caring to outlive the ruin of his country and the miseries of his fellow-citizens, by setting fire to his own house, occasioned the total destruction of that antient and once powerful city. For, a high wind arising, the flames spread from house to house, and burnt with such violence, that in a very short time the whole city was laid in ashes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the *war of Perusia*. As for *Pollio, Ventidius, Plancus*, and the other commanders of *Antony*, though they had still thirteen legions and fifteen hundred horse, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for succours from *Antony*; but *Octavianus* pursuing them, *Asinius Pollio* went on board the fleet commanded by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Brutus's* admiral, carrying with him seven legions. *Plancus*, being pursued close by *Agrippa*, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join *Fulvia* at *Præneste*. The legions went over to *Agrippa*, but *Plancus* together with *Fulvia* fled from *Præneste* to *Puteoli*, and from thence to *Brundisium*, where they both imbarqued and passed over into *Macedon*. The other commanders made their escape into *Sicily*, where they were kindly received by *Sextus Pompeius*, who, had he not been of a slothful and indolent temper, might have improved these divisions to his advantage, and with great ease made himself master of all *Italy*. For *Staius Murcus*, falling out with *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions and twenty four ships, carrying with him immense sums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of *Asia*. Besides, he had received a strong reinforcement from *Cephalenia*, consisting of veterans who had escaped from the battle of *Philippi*. But the indolent *Pompey*, though in condition to invade *Italy* and crush the party of the triumvirs there, contented himself with ravaging the coasts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general^k.

AND now the other officers, who had served under *Lucius*, being driven with their forces out of *Italy*, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, at the head of a few veterans and a great number of

^k APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 672, & seq. VELL. PATERCUL: l. ii. c. 72—77. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 362—368.

slaves,

slaves, whom he had drawn together by promising them their liberty, undertook to maintain the interest, and support the ruined party, of *Lucius*, in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. *Tiberius* was descended from one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*, and had been honoured with great employments by *Julius Cæsar*, who had a particular esteem for him. He had been his quæstor, and commanded his fleet in the war of *Alexandria*, when he distinguished himself on many occasions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor, and raised to the high station of pontifex maximus. But notwithstanding all the favours he had received at *Cæsar*'s hands, after his death he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conspirators, but exhorted the consuls to reward them, as the deliverers of their country and the avengers of their oppressed liberty. He had by a timely flight avoided the fury of the proscription, and, siding with *Lucius* at the beginning of this war, had shut himself up with him in the city of *Perusia*, whence he found means to make his escape into *Campania*, where he raised the army we mentioned above. But his raw and undisciplined troops being frightened at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious army, they immediately dispersed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. *Tiberius* thus deserted by his forces, fled in disguise with his wife *Livia* and his son *Tiberius*, not yet two years old, to the sea-side, hoping he should find there some vessel to convey him over to *Sicily*. *Livia* was the daughter of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*, who was killed in the battle of *Philippi*, fighting for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Livius* was descended from the *Claudian* family, whence he had the name of *Claudianus*; but his branch had been long since adopted into the *Livian* family. The only person of distinction, who followed *Tiberius* and *Livia* in their flight, was *Caius Velleius*, the grand-father of the famous historian *Velleius Paterculus*, who had served with great reputation in the armies of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. But his great age and infirmities not suffering him to attend them over into *Sicily*, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the merciless *Octavianus*, he put an end to his life with his own sword, and by that means prevented the vengeance of the bloody tyrant. As for *Tiberius* and *Livia*, *Octavianus* pursued them close; but they, after having escaped a thousand dangers, attended only by one domestic, found a small boat, which conveyed them over into *Sicily*. And here we cannot help reflecting with *Velleius Paterculus* on the strange turns of fortune, which ought to teach us, that as to future events our fears are often as ground-

Being abandoned by his troops retires with his wife *Livia* into *Sicily*.

The end of
the war of
Perusia
Year after
the Flood,
2004.
Before
Christ, 35.
Of Rome,
713.

less as our hopes. *Livia* was flying from an enemy, whose affections she was one day to gain and maintain to the hour of his death ; and the infant she carried in her arms was to succeed *Octavianus*, and after him rule the *Roman* empire with an absolute sway. *Tiberius's* troops being dispersed, and he fled, *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feasts were celebrated for several days together, and it was enacted by a decree of the senate and people, that *whenever any general should for the future merit a triumph, Octavianus should have a share in his honour* ¹.

WHILE *Cæsar Octavianus* was making war in *Italy* with *Lucius*, and settling his affairs there with all the skill and address of an able politician, *Antony* was passing his time ingloriously at *Alexandria*, thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of those pleasures and diversions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the relish of them by the charms of novelty (D). But, in the mean time, all *Syria* and

¹ APPIAN. DIO. VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid*

(D) The poets have not given to *Omphale*, queen of *Lydia*, a greater ascendant over *Hercules*, than history gives to the fair *Egyptian* queen over *Antony*. Like a second *Hercules*, from a rough soldier and formidable conqueror, he became the slave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing stock not of *Egypt* only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the *Roman* name. Out of complaisance to his admired idol, he exchanged the *Roman* for the *Greek* dress, piquing himself upon appearing among the effeminate *Asiatics*, who composed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aside all other business, he was solely intent on pleasing and diverting *Cleopatra*, who never left him night nor day ; she played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when he thought fit to exercise the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diversion than their improvement, she was always by him. Nothing was talked of at court but feasts, shows, revels, &c. Mirth, jollity, and pleasures, had banished all business, all serious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the *inimitable life*. They treated one another by turns, on which occasion their expences were beyond all measure. *Plutarch* gives us two instances of *Antony's* extravagance, which he learned of his grandfather *Lamprias*, who had them from one *Philotas*, a physician of *Amphyssa*. *Philotas*, being acquainted with one of *Antony's* cooks, was invited by him to see what sumptuous preparations he was making for supper. Coming into the kitchen, he was surpris'd at the prodigious variety of the most scarce and expensive things ; but nothing struck him so much as the sight

and *Palestine* being grievously oppressed with the taxes that were imposed upon them, the *Aradians* killed those who were

fight of eight wild boars roasting intire; Surely, said he, You have a great number of guests; but the cook, laughing at his simplicity, There are not above twelve guests, replied he; but every dish must be served up just roasted to a turn, and if any thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is spoilt; for, added he, may be Antony will sup just now, may be not this hour, may be not these two hours, because he may perhaps have a mind to spend some time in drinking, or talking; so that not one but many suppers must be had in readiness, it not being easy to guess at his hour. The same *Philotas* related, that being afterwards in the service of Antony's eldest son by *Fulvia*, and admitted with other domestics of a better rank to his table, when the young man did not dine with his father, it happened, that another physician, full of argument and noise, disturbed and tired the company with the impertinence of his talk. *Philotas*, no longer able to bear the empiric, put this sophistical syllogism to him; There is some kind of fever, wherein cold water is good; every one who has a fever has some kind of fever; therefore cold water is good for all those who have fevers. This sophism quite silenced the quack; at which young Antony was so pleased, that addressing himself to *Philotas*, and pointing to a side-board covered with rich plate, *Philotas*, said he, all that is yours. *Philotas* thanked him for his good will, but could not conceive that the young man had a power of disposing of things to that value. He therefore went home without so much as thinking of the present. But he was very much surprised, when soon after his departure he saw all the plate brought home to his house by slaves followed by an officer of young Antony, who desired him to put his mark upon them. *Philotas* excused himself, fearing to accept from a young man a present of so great a value. But the officer, who brought it, What ails the man? said he, don't you know that he, who makes you this present, is Antony's son, who could very well spare it, were it all gold? But if you will be advised by me I would counsel you to accept of the value in money; for among the plate there may be some pieces of antiquity, or the work of some famous master, for which Antony may have a particular esteem.

But to return to *Cleopatra*; she was daily contriving new diversions for Antony's entertainment; and the most inconsiderable trifles, when managed by her, received such an air as made them agreeable diversions. They often rambled about the streets in the night, hand in hand, *Cleopatra* dressed like an ordinary woman, and Antony like a slave, and in that disguise entering the public houses mixed with the mob. *Cleopatra* took great delight in these expeditions, as they gave her room to display her wit and humour in retorting the coarse raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which she did with an unparalleled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and sometimes with blows. This kind

The Par-
thians o-
ver ran
Syria, and
gain great
advanta-
ges over
Antony's
lieutenants
there.

were sent to gather them ; and, thereupon, joining the *Palmyrenians* and several petty princes of *Syria*, called in the *Parthians*, which put the whole country into the utmost confusion. For the *Parthians* on this invitation passing the *Euphrates* under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's son, and *Labienus* a Roman general (E), overcame in a pitched battle *Saxa*, Antony's lieutenant in *Syria*, and forced him to take refuge in *Cilicia*. After this victory the two generals divided their army : *Labienus* with one part of it pursued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he slew him, defeated his army, over-ran all *Asia Minor*, and, forcing Antony's lieutenants to make their escape into the islands, brought all places under him as far as the *Hellepont* and the *Ægean* sea. At the same time, *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice* as far as *Tyre*, which city alone held out against him, the remains of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him *. An account

* DIO. APPIAN. *ibid.* & in *Parthicis*. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. Epit. LIV. l. cxxvii. PLUT. in *Anton.* JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xiv. c. 23.

of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen and a Roman magistrate, a general and a conqueror, who was at this time forty and upwards, seemed very strange to the graver and better sort of people ; but the populace were highly pleased with their frolics, saying of Antony, that they had great obligations to him, for shewing them his comical countenance, and reserving his tragical one for the Romans. Of Antony's other follies, especially of the pleasant adventure that happened to him, while he was angling with *Cleopatra*, we have spoke in our history of *Ægypt* (86).

(E) This *Labienus* was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his most intimate friends ; but afterwards going over to *Pompey*, he became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda* (87). His son, pursuing the same interest, was sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, in quality of ambassador to the *Parthian* king to solicit his assistance for that war ; and was at the *Parthian* court, when the battle happened ; by the ill success of which being discouraged from returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king *Orodes* to undertake this war, he was sent with *Pacorus*, the king's son, to command under him (88).

(86) Vol. IX. p. 158.

(87) *Cæs. comment.* & *Plut. in*

Cæs. (88) *Dio. l. xlviii. p. 371. Flor. l. iv. c. 9. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 78.*

of these successes was brought to *Antony* at *Alexandria*, and at the same time news of the ill state of his affairs in *Italy*, and of the unsuccessful war which his brother *Lucius* had waged there with *Octavianus*. Hereupon recovering, as it were, from a drunken fit, he resolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith against the *Parthians*. With this view having got together two hundred ships, he sailed to *Tyre*; but finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the same time most lamentable letters from *Fulvia*, he changed his mind, and resolved to postpone the war with the *Parthians*, and sail directly to *Italy*. Accordingly, he left *Tyre*, after having reinforced the garison of that place; and, sailing by the islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*, whom he highly blamed as the chief cause of the late disorders. In this city he received certain advice, that *Octavianus* had made himself master of *Transalpine Gaul*, and forced the son of *Calenus*; after the death of his father, to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As *Transalpine Gaul* had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of *Philippi*, yielded to *Antony*, he looked upon such a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to sea without loss of time, set sail for *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sicyon*. This neglect and scorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for she died in that city soon after her husband's departure. *Antony* in crossing the *Ionian* sea was met by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, who, instead of opposing him, came on board his galley, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by *Asinius Pollio*, who had fled from *Italy*, as we have related above, after the surrender of *Perusia*, and taken refuge on board *Domitius's* fleet (F). The two fleets thus joined

Antony resolves to return to Italy.

The death of Fulvia.

came

(F) *Appian* tells us, that *Antony*, meeting *Domitius* in the *Ionian* sea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in person against him with five galleys only. *Plancus*, who was then with *Antony*, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that *Domitius*, who had a fleet much more powerful than his, would neither submit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. *Antony*, without hearkening to his reasons, advanced boldly, and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who stood on the prow of his galley, cried out to *Domitius* to strike his flag to the triumvir, who was of a higher rank than he. At these words the republican admiral, as if he had been thunder-struck, submitted to the summons, and

Antony came to an anchor on the coast of *Epirus*, and from thence arrives in Italy, and lays siege to Brundisium. In this city *Octavianus* had five legions, which shut the gates against Antony, refusing admittance, not to him, they said, but to *Domitius*, who was *Octavianus*'s declared enemy. Upon this refusal Antony immediately blocked up the place, and at the same time dispatched one of his officers to *Pompey* in *Sicily*, inviting that general to join interest with him against *Octavianus*, and invade Italy. *Pompey* came readily into the proposal, made a descent, took several cities on the coast, while Antony pursued the siege of *Brundisium* with great vigour. Hereupon *Octavianus*, having drawn together his legions, and detached *Agrippa* with a considerable body against *Pompey*, marched with the rest to the relief of the besieged city. But his veterans refusing to draw their swords against Antony, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which at length was brought about by the interposition and management of *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and the famous *Mæcenas* (G). This dangerous

Octavianus and Antony come to an agreement.

luted Antony as his general, and, coming on board his galley, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by *Appian*; but we have chose to follow *Velleius*, who tells us with more appearance of truth, that *Pollio* had before-hand engaged *Domitius* to take party with Antony, by which signal piece of service he acquitted himself of the many obligations he owed him. To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event, Antony caused a medal to be struck, or rather a piece of money to be coined, which is still to be seen, with the triumvir's head, and on the reverse the prow of a ship with the names of the two generals.

G) *Caius Cilnius Mæcenas*, well known from the verses of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was descended from the antient kings of *He-truria*, but contented himself with the degree of a Roman knight. The *Cilnian* family was, according to *Livy* (89), one of the most illustrious of *He-truria*. As for the surname of *Mæcenas*, it was probably borrowed from some place belonging to the family; at least *Varro* tells us, that all the *Latin* names ending in *as* denote some place. *Pliny* speaks of the wines of *Mæcenatium*, and ranks them among the best of Italy: *Cæsenatia vina*, says he, & *Mæcenatia* (90). This illustrious Roman was a man of great politeness and generosity, which towards men of letters knew no bounds, whence those, who ever since his time have set up for encouragers of learning, have in all ages been honoured with his name. *Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*, says *Martial*. But *Mæcenas* was not only a generous patron to the learned; he was

(89) *Liv. l. x.*

(90) *Plin. l. xiv. c. 6.*

himself

gerous breach being made up, and all past offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the soldiers of the two armies, to make the friendship of their generals more lasting, desired it might be cemented with the ties of blood, and proposed a match between *Antony* and *Octavianus's* sister *Octavia*, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. *Octavianus* had a great veneration and tenderness for his sister; and to do her justice, none of her sex ever had a better claim to the esteem and veneration of mankind. For tho' she excelled all the women of her age, *Cleopatra* herself not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her person were far inferior to those of her mind. Though the queen of *Egypt* had so large a share in *Antony's* heart, yet the match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with unexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance. After this the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after mutual embraces and promises of lasting friendship, they came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof *Codropolis* (H), a town of *Illyricum*, was to be the boundary of

They divide the Roman their dominions.

himself thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleasures. *Ingeniosus vir ille fuit, says Seneca of him (91), magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, imo castrasset*; and elsewhere (92), *Habuit Mæcenas grande & virile ingenium, nisi ipse illud discinxisset*. After the battle of *Philippi* he interceded with *Octavianus* in favour of *Horace*, and obtained his pardon, though he had served under *Brutus* in quality of legionary tribune. He protected *Virgil*, and by his interest got his farm restored to him, which *Octavianus's* soldiers had seized. He was one of *Augustus's* chief favourites, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. He was a man of great penetration and address in managing the most difficult affairs; but liked his pleasures too much to engage in business, when he could decline it without disgusting his master, the gaining of whose favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, especially *Juvenal* and *Seneca*, reproach him, and not undeservedly, with luxury, indolence, and effemina-cy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, *Meibomius* has wrote an intire volume under the title of *Mæcenas*, to which we refer our readers.

(H) This city is called by *Appian* *Scodra*, the situation whereof agrees with that of *Codropolis*. *Scodra*, now known to the *Turks* by the name of *Escodar*, and to the *Italians* by that of *Scutari*, was antiently the capital of the country of the *Labea-*

(91) *Senec. epist. 19.* (92) *Idem, epist. 92.*

Antony
marries
Octavia,
Octavianus's sister

their dominions; all from that place westward was allotted to *Octavianus*, and all eastward to *Antony*: so that the former had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, and the latter all the eastern provinces quite to the *Euphrates*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, who had been sent by *Octavianus* with six legions into that province some time before the arrival of *Antony*. It was agreed, that *Antony* should make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavianus* upon *Pompey*, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions. *Italy* was left common to both the triumvirs for the raising of forces wherewithal to carry on these wars. To these conditions *Antony* added, that *Octavianus* should pardon *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and likewise all those who had borne arms against him in the war of *Perusia*. The two generals thus reconciled marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Antony* and the incomparable *Octavia* was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, *Antony*, to give *Octavianus* an undeniable proof of the sincerity of his intentions, discovered to him, that *Salvidienus* (1), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops and his service, when *Octavianus* sent him into *Spain*, and that he had repeated the same offer at *Brundisium*. Hereupon *Octavianus* accused him

us, a people of *Illyricum*, and is at present the chief city of *Albania*. It stands on the river *Drilo*, now the *Drino*, about sixty miles east of *Ragusa*. This city, which was the bulwark of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*, and looked upon as one of the best fortified and most inaccessible cities in the world, is often mentioned by *Livy*, and the other *Roman* writers who give an account of the war between the republic and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. *Florus* was certainly mistaken, when he placed *Scodra* in *Macedon*, and styled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(1) *Salvidienus* was the son of a poor peasant, and spent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly employed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if all in a flame. This he looked upon as a prognostic of some extraordinary good fortune, and therefore soon after lifted himself in the army, where by his valour he rose to the highest posts. He attended *Cæsar* in most of his wars, and as he had on all occasions distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, the dictator had named him one of the consuls, who were to govern the republic in his absence, though *Salvidienus* had not yet been admitted into the senate. Upon the dictator's death, he out of gratitude sided with his son *Octavianus*, and had a great share in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking *Octavianus* did not reward him according to his deserts, he offered his service to *Antony*, who, by basely betraying him, was the occasion of his death.

of treachery before the senate, who declared him an enemy to the people of *Rome*, sentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the discovery of the treason. At the same time, *Manius*, of whom we have spoke above, was by *Antony's* orders put to death, as having been the chief author of the late disturbances ^m.

IN the mean time, *Pompey*, who was master at sea, keeping all the ports of *Italy* blocked up with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, especially of corn, which was become so dear, that the people were ready to starve. Hereupon *Antony* pressed his colleague either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him by a vigorous war to recall his fleets, and leave the sea open for trade and navigation. *Octavianus* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Antony's* approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*, the one of four drachmas and a half for every slave, the other on all legacies. This so provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they rose in opposition to these edicts, assaulted *Octavianus* in the forum, and would have torn him to pieces, had not *Antony* hastened to his assistance with a body of troops, which was incamped at the gates of the city. The rabble was soon dispersed, and several of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*; but, as the famine still continued, the populace, notwithstanding the punishment of a few, grew daily more outrageous. *Antony* therefore, fearing a general insurrection, wrote to *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was then in *Sicily* with *Pompey* his son-in-law, inviting him to *Rome* to treat there of an accommodation between *Octavianus*, *Pompey*, and himself. *Pompey* was overjoyed at this proposal, as was also *Staius Murcus*; but *Menas*, whom some writers call *Menodorus*, one of *Pompey's* enfranchised slaves, and a sea-officer of great experience and bravery, not only opposed it, but with groundless insinuations intirely estranged *Pompey* from *Murcus*, who pressed him with great earnestness to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and restore *Italy* to its former tranquillity. Hereupon *Murcus* retired to *Syracuse*, where he was murdered by some slaves, whom *Pompey* afterwards caused to be executed to clear himself from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that *Menas* had put him to death by *Pompey's* orders. But, notwithstanding *Menas's*

*Rome in
great dis-
tress for
want of
corn.*

*The people
rise.*

*The trium-
virs agree
to come to
an accom-
modation
with Pom-*

^m PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. cxxvii. DIO. l. xlviii. p. 375.

An inter-
view be-
tween the trium-
virs and
Pompey.

Pompey's
demands.

The arti-
cles of ac-
commoda-
tion be-
tween the
triumvirs
and Pom-
pey.

opposition, *Pompey* allowed *Libo* to go to *Rome*, in compliance with *Antony's* invitation, where he persuaded *Octavianus* and *Antony* to come to an interview with *Pompey*, that they might, in person, and face to face, discuss their pretensions, and put an end to their differences. To this *Pompey* consented at the earnest request of his officers, and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount *Misenus*, where he and *Libo* in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpose, exposed their mutual claims and pretensions. *Pompey* demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate instead of *Lepidus*, whose authority declined daily. This demand seemed very reasonable to *Pompey*, but quite otherwise to *Antony* and *Octavianus*; so that, after a warm and long dispute, they parted without coming to any resolution. *Pompey*, who knew he had it in his power to reduce *Rome* and all *Italy* to the utmost extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms against the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference and returning to *Sicily*. But *Libo* advised him to stay and continue the negotiations, at least by deputies, which he did accordingly. The second day he dropped his pretension to a place in the triumvirate, but proposed the following preliminaries: 1. That those, who had been concerned in the death of *Cæsar*, should only be banished, and be at liberty to chuse for their exile what place they pleased. 2. That such, as had been proscribed on any other account whatsoever, should be allowed to return to *Rome*. 3. That the latter should be restored to the possession of their lands and fortunes. *Antony* and *Octavianus* absolutely rejected the two first articles, and only consented that those, who were not in the number of the conspirators, should be allowed to purchase their estates. Most part of those who were about *Pompey*, tired with so long and destructive a war, and dreading the fate of *Murcus*, declared, that they were willing to return to *Rome*, even upon the conditions proposed by the triumvirs; which so displeased *Pompey*, that in the transport of his passion he tore his robe, calling those who submitted to such shameful conditions, vile traitors and cowardly deserters. *Menas*, said he, *is the only true friend I have in the world; Menas alone has given me wholesome and disinterested advice*. However, at the earnest intreaties of his mother *Mutia*, of *Julia*, *Antony's* mother, and of *Libo*, his father-in-law, he consented to a second interview, in which, after three days debates, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties. “1. That *Pompey* should be left in possession of *Sicily*, “*Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the adjacent islands, and should “over and above have *Peloponnesus* yielded up to him. 2. “That

" That he should have the privilege of demanding the con-
 " sulate, though absent, and of discharging that office by
 " any of his friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maxi-
 " mus should be conferred upon him, and seventy thousand
 " great sesterces restored to him out of his father's confiscated
 " estate. 4. That such as had taken refuge with him meer-
 " ly out of fear, should be allowed to return and enjoy their
 " whole estates; and that the proscribed persons, who were
 " not guilty of *Cæsar's* death, should have only the fourth
 " part of their estates restored to them. 5. That trade and
 " navigation should be free; that *Pompey* should withdraw
 " his troops from *Italy*; that he should suffer no inroads or
 " descents to be made upon the coasts, nor build more ships.
 " 6. That he should not for the future receive the slaves
 " who fled to him; that those who had bore arms under him
 " should be declared free, and that his legionaries, when the
 " time of their service was expired, should have their share
 " in the division of lands with those of *Antony* and *Octavia-*
 " *nus*. 7. That he should immediately send to *Rome* the
 " corn he had retained, oblige the *Sicilians* to pay annually
 " what corn was due to the republic out of their island, and
 " clear the seas of all pirates." This treaty was signed by
 the three chiefs, and sent to *Rome* to be deposited there in the
 hands of the vestalsⁿ. They then agreed to treat each other
 in token of their sincere reconciliation; and it fell to *Pom-*
pey's lot to make the first entertainment. *Antony* asked him
 where he designed to receive them? In *Carinis*, answered
Pompey pleasantly: for the word *carinæ* in *Latin* signifies
ships, and was likewise the name of a ward or part of the city,
 where *Pompey the Great* had a stately palace, which *Antony*
 had seized. *Antony* understood the raillery, but was not very
 quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertain-
 ment, *Pompey*, having brought his galley near the shore, and
 made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two
 guests with great civility and politeness. And here *Octavia-*
nus seemed to have forgot his usual wariness and circumspec-
 tion; and this entertainment would have cost both him and
 his colleague dear, had not *Pompey* been endowed with a truly
 great and generous soul. For while they were at table, and
Pompey and *Cæsar*, growing warm with wine, began to rally
Antony upon his amours and fondness for the fair *Egyptian*
 queen, *Menas* approaching *Pompey*, You have now a fair op-
 portunity, he whispered him in the ear, of revenging the
 death of your father and brother, and making yourself master of

The trium-
virs and
Pompey
treat each
other.

Pompey's
generosity.

ⁿ APPIAN. DIO. PLUT. *ibid.*

G g 2

the

the whole Roman empire ; 'tis but cutting the cable, leave the rest to me. The blow was sure, and the temptation violent, Pompey's fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces ashore. However, the generous Roman scorn- ing to purchase the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a short pause, *Menas*, said he, *may forfeit his word and reputation, but that is not becoming the son of Pompey.* 'Tis a great pity we have the characters of illustrious men only from historians, who, either out of fear or flattery, cry down the enemies of the princes, whose favour they courted. *Velleius Paterculus*, who wrote in the time of *Augustus*, and has in his history miserably perverted truth, or utterly suppressed it, paints *Pompey* in the worst colours. But the greatness of mind which he displayed on this occasion against his own interest, is sufficient to bely that mercenary scycophant, and the other flatterers of the *Cæsars*, who ought to have had some regard to his memory in consideration of this generous action, which, in spite of all their disguises, and false representations, will recommend his name to the latest posterity. *Plutarch* relates this matter somewhat differently ; for according to him *Pompey* returned this answer to the proposal of *Menas* ; *This you might have done without imparting it to me ; but now let us make the best of our present condition, for I cannot prevail upon my self to violate my faith once given.* From this answer it appears, that so great an advantage, joined to the pleasure of revenge, was a kind of surprise upon his generosity ; but it served only to make it break out with greater lustre in rejecting a perfidious action, what profit soever might accrue from it °. *Antony* and *Octavianus* treated *Pompey* in their turns with great demonstrations of seeming friendship ; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, *Pompey*, who was sincere, proposed a match between his daughter and *M. Marcellus*, the son of *Octavia* by her former husband ; which *Octavianus* consenting to, they both entered into the usual engagements, *Pompey* for his daughter, and *Octavianus* for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous *M. Marcellus*, whom *Octavianus* had appointed his heir in case he had no issue male of his own, and whose virtues are so highly commended by the prince of the *Latin* poets P. Before the three chiefs parted, they nam- ed consuls for the four following years, viz. *Antony* and *Li- bo* for the first, *Octavianus* and *Pompey* for the second, *Domiti- us* and *Sesius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Cæsar* for the

Pompey's
daughter
betrothed
to M.
Marcellus
Octavia-
nus's ne-
phew.

° APPIAN. *ibid.* PLUT. in Antonio.
l. vi. v. 868, & seq.

P Vide VIRG. *Æneid.*
fourth.

fourth. The consuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *C. Asinius Pollio*, who had succeeded *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus*; but before their year expired, others, namely *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *P. Canidius Crassus*, on what account we know not, were substituted in their room⁹.

AND now all differences being composed, and for a while an end put to the civil wars, *Pompey*, taking his leave of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, returned to *Sicily*, and the other two to *Rome*, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to see themselves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of *Italy*. The joy of the people was doubled upon the return of many illustrious citizens, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into *Octavianus*'s hands after the surrender of *Perusia*. Among these were *L. Aruntius*, *M. Junius Silanus*, *C. Sentius Saturninus*, *M. Titius*, *M. Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *M. Cicero*, the son of the orator, and many other citizens of great distinction; who after having assured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments, returned to their native country, where they were received with those marks of esteem and affection which were due to their merit. The praises of *Pompey*, who had the glory of saving so many worthy men, and restoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true Roman. And now *Antony* and *Octavianus*, after a short stay at *Rome* (K), took leave of each other, and quitting the capital, set

⁹ DIO. l. xlix.

(K) While *Antony* and *Octavianus* staid together at *Rome* after the conclusion of the peace, they frequently diverted themselves with drawing lots, playing at dice, &c. when *Antony* was constantly the loser. As this gave him a great deal of uneasiness, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an *Egyptian*, who was with him, and was deemed very skillful in the calculation of nativities, told him, that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by that of *Octavianus*; he therefore advised him to keep himself at a distance from that young man: For your genius, says he, dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when absent from him, but in the presence of his unmanly and dejected. This, no doubt, the impostor said to make his court to *Cleopatra*, by forcing *Antony* to leave *Rome*, and return to *Egypt*; wherein he succeeded; for *Antony*, who put great confidence in the skill of the *Egyptian* astrologer, left *Rome* soon after (93).

(93) *Plut. in Anton.*

out,

The pro-
scribed ci-
zens re-
turn to
Rome.
Octavia-
nus march-
es into
Transal-
pine Gaul

Antony
passes the
winter at
Athens in
idleness.

Punishes
the Athe-
nians for
their flat-
tery.

out, the former for *Greece*, and the latter for *Gaul*. Some nations beyond the *Alps* having attempted to shake off the yoke, *Octavianus*, to whose share *Gaul* was fallen, marched against them in person, and having easily reduced them, repassed the *Alps*, and stopped in *Hetruria*. As for *Antony*, he dispatched *Ventidius* into *Asia* to put a stop to the inroads of the *Parthians*, but went himself no farther than *Athens*, where he spent the winter with his new wife *Octavia*, in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and childish diversions, as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Laying aside the ensigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exercises in the *Grecian* habit, like a private citizen of *Athens*. He often visited the academy, and the *Lyceum*, spending sometimes whole days in hearing the disputes and conferences of the philosophers. While he thus led an idle life at *Athens*, *Ventidius* his lieutenant was signalizing himself in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on against the *Parthians*. We have given elsewhere ^r a distinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that warlike nation by the brave *Ventidius*, and therefore shall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the same transactions. When news was brought to *Antony* of the signal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the *Greeks* of any rank, exhibited sports and shows, and presided at them in person as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleased with the title of *Bacchus*, which divinity he took upon him to personate in a procession he made upon the joyful tidings of the success of his arms in the east. During these public rejoicings the *Greeks* set no bounds to their flattery; they fell prostrate before the pretended *Bacchus*, beseeching him to marry *Minerva* the tutelar deity of their city. *Antony*, displeased with this gross flattery, consented to the match, but asked a thousand talents for the portion of the goddess. Your father *Jupiter*, answered one of the *Athenians*, required no fortune with your mother *Semele*. 'Tis true, replied *Antony*; but *Jupiter* was rich, and I want money. *Antony* would abate nothing of the sum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themselves, according to their custom, with satires and lampoons, of which his amours with *Cleopatra* were the chief subject. But he laughed at their jests, and took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortify them the more, gravely represented to him, that he acted therein against the

^r Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 531, & seq.

Roman laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion ^r.

IN the mean time news was brought to *Antony* of a second victory gained by *Ventidius* over the *Parthians*, for which he made great rejoycings; but being informed at the same time, that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations with a design to invade *Syria* anew, and thinking it no ways consistent with his reputation to continue idle at *Athens*, and suffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he assembled his troops early in the spring, and reassumed with the marks of his dignity all the majesty of a *Roman* general. When his army was ready to march, he made himself a garland of the olive-tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and filled a vessel with the water of the *lepsydra* to carry along with him (L). At length he left *Athens* after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the east. But before he got thither, *Ventidius* gained a third victory far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of *Craesus*, and redeemed the honour of the *Roman* name, which had suffered much ever since the battle of *Carrhae*: for *Pacorus* himself, with above twenty thousand of his best men, was slain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our history of the *Parthians*^r. Had *Ventidius* pursued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*; but not thinking it prudent to push his good fortune any further, for fear of giving *Antony* umbrage, he turned his arms against those who had revolted in *Syria* and *Phœnice* during the late war. Pursuant to this design, when *Antony* arrived, he was besieging *Samofata*, the capital of *Comagene*, whither *Antiochus*, king of that country, had retired. *Antony* on his coming thither dismissed this brave commander, and sent him to *Rome* to demand of the senate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a subaltern, whose glory eclipsed that of his general. *Antiochus* from the begin-

*Resolves
to march
into the
east.*

*His lieute-
nant Ven-
tidius
gains great
advantages
over the
Parthians.*

^r PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. ibid. & DIO. ibid.
Hist. Univerf. Vol. X. p. 533.

^r Vide

(L) This was a fountain in the citadel of *Athens*, and was called *Clepsydra*, as being sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty, like those vessels which were antiently in use among the *Greeks*, and also the *Egyptians*, to measure time by the running out of the water. *Antony* imagined that this water would not a little contribute to the success of his arms.

Antony
besieges Sa-
mosata.

He returns
to Athens.

New dis-
putes be-
tween
Pompey
and Octa-
vianus.

Rome re-
duced a
gain to
great
straits.

ning of the siege had offered to *Ventidius* a thousand talents for his pardon, and promised an intire obedience and submission to all *Antony's* commands. But as *Antony* was then on his march, *Ventidius* ordered him to send his proposals to him; which he did accordingly; but *Antony* rejecting them, the besieged dreading his resentment, defended the place with such vigour and intrepidity, that the *Roman* general began to repent his not accepting the first offer, and was in the end glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred talents, that he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he feared he should be forced to do in a shameful manner, his soldiers being highly displeased with his dismissing *Ventidius*, under whose conduct they had gained so many signal victories^u. After this, *Antony*, having appointed *Sosius* his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Palestina*, left the army under his command, and returned to *Octavia* at *Athens*.

IN the mean time new disputes arising between *Pompey* and *Octavianus*, the latter was wholly intent on making the necessary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to invade *Sicily*. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition; and that animosity between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey the Great*, which had laid waste the *Roman* world, was still subsisting in the minds of their children. The apparent subject of their quarrel was *Peloponnesus*, which had been yielded to *Pompey*, as we have observed above in virtue of the treaty. *Octavianus* pretended that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that *Pompey* ought to be responsible for them. On the other hand *Pompey* maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to ensue, *Pompey* caused his old galleys to be refitted, and several new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plausible pretence for *Octavianus* to invade *Sicily*. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and assembled what ships he could on the coasts of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* seas. *Pompey*, informed of these preparations, blocked up the ports of *Italy* anew, and in a short time reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and seemed disposed to rise, if their grievances were not soon redressed. *A fine peace indeed!*

^u PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. in Parthic. DIO. l. xlix. p. 405.

said they, *what have we gained by it but to have four tyrants instead of three?* But *Octavianus*, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war both by sea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the discontented populace. He wrote to *Antony*, desiring him to leave *Athens* for a while, and pass over into *Italy*, that they might confer together about the most proper measures for the crushing of *Pompey*, their common rival. He likewise acquainted *Lepidus* with his design, who was then in *Africa*, which had fallen to his share in the last division of the *Roman* dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all possible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade *Sicily* at the same time. *Antony* in compliance with his request came to *Brundisium*, but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to *Athens*; whether out of some distrust he had of *Octavianus*, or because he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (M). Whatever his reasons were, he reimbarqued and returned to *Athens*, leaving a letter for *Octavianus*, wherein he exhorted him to stand to the conditions of the last treaty. As for *Lepidus*, who was a man of a lazy and indolent disposition, he spent the whole summer in making preparations, and did not leave *Africa* till the following year; so that the whole burden of the war fell upon *Octavianus*, whose boundless ambition would allow him no rest, till he had got rid of so powerful a rival, and made himself master of the wealthy island he possessed. However, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no small relief in the agreeable conversation of *Livia*, with whose charms and refined wit he was so taken, that in the end he divorced his own wife *Scribonia* (N), and married her, though

Octavianus falls in love with Livia and marries her.

(M) One of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left intire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of *Brundisium* told him, that at break of day they had seen a wolf come out of his tent.

(N) *Scribonia* was the sister of *Scribonius Libo* father-in-law to *Pompey*. *Octavianus* married her with a political view, which was to divert *Pompey* by that alliance from siding with *Antony*, who seemed inclined to espouse the quarrel of his brother *Lucius*, and his wife *Fulvia*. *Libo* with *Saturninus* and some other senators had already attempted to conclude a league between *Antony* and *Pompey*. *Octavianus* therefore, to gain *Libo*, who had a great ascendant over his son-in-law, married his sister, and had by her the famous *Julia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. But as in that marriage he had consulted his interest,

Menas
Pompey's
freedman
goes over
to Octavi-
anus.

A new
breach be-
tween Oc-
tavianus
and Pom-
pey.

though then big with child, her husband *Claudius Tiberius Nero* not daring to withstand the inclinations of so powerful a lover. *Livia* had one son by *Tiberius*, who bore his father's name, and was, three months after her marriage with *Octavianus*, brought to bed of another, named *Drusus*. But of these two children, and their mother *Livia*, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. The charms of *Livia*, however powerful, were not able to divert *Octavianus* from the pursuit of his ambitious views. He continued with the same ardor his warlike preparations, recalled the legions he had left in *Transalpine Gaul*, and assembled a great number of vessels in the ports of *Hetruria*, and at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic* sea. But as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of *Pompey*, he must have put off his *Sicilian* expedition till the return of *Antony*, and the arrival of *Lepidus*, had he not been favoured by fortune beyond his expectation. For *Menas*, the famous freedman of *Pompey*, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his freedmen killed by the senators who were about him, revolted to *Octavianus*, and joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which he commanded, delivered up to him the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, over which he had been placed by his indulgent master. *Octavianus* received the traitor with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the privilege of wearing a gold ring, and sitting among the *Roman* knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This *Pompey* looked upon as a declaration of war, and therefore immediately sent out *Menecrates*, another freedman, and a mortal enemy to *Menas*, with a numerous squadron, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, which he did accordingly; but being met on his return by a squadron of *Octavianus's* fleet, commanded by *C. Calvisius*, and his antient rival *Menas*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Menecrates* and *Menas* distinguished themselves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, animating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity, and therefore, regardless of all dangers, fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. At length, after a long and most obstinate dispute between the two rivals, *Menecrates* being dangerously wounded, *Menas* boarded his

terest, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry *Livia*, who was accounted the most agreeable woman of her age.

galley

galley, and made himself master of it. Hereupon *Menecrates*, chusing rather to die, than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himself into the sea, and perished in the waves. Upon his death *Demochares*, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, attacked *Calvisius's* Octavianus's fleet defeated by Pompey's. squadron so warmly, that he forced him to give way, took several of his galleys, sunk others, and drove the rest against the rocks near the shore, where most of them were dashed to pieces; so that *Calvisius* escaped by the favour of the night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with *Menas* in the bay of *Cumæ* ^w.

Octavianus, who was then at *Tarentum*, where he had assembled a numerous fleet, upon the first news of this engagement, resolved to pass the straits of *Messana*, and join *Calvisius* and *Menas*, for whom he was in great pain. But being attacked in that narrow passage by *Pompey* and *Demochares*, who was returned to *Messana*, most of his ships were either sunk, or dashed to pieces against the rocks. *Octavianus* himself gained the shore with the utmost difficulty, where he narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, who having landed and surrounded him, thought themselves sure of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country saved him; for being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, by by-ways he reached the top of it, and there with a few attendants lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another. A slave of *Æmilius Paulus*, whose father had been proscribed by *Octavianus*, seeing the triumvir without his usual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old master; and therefore accosting him with a dagger, attempted to stab him; but missing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants ^x. While *Octavianus* lay concealed on the top of the mountain, far from all danger, *Cornificius*, who commanded under him, still maintained the combat with great bravery; and having sunk *Demochares's* ship, continued fighting notwithstanding the great loss he had sustained, till sun-set, when *Calvisius* and *Menas* appearing unexpectedly with their squadrons, *Pompey* thought it adviseable to sound a retreat. The next morning *Octavianus* from the top of his mountain had the mortification to see most of his vessels stranded upon the coast, some of them half burnt, others still in a flame,

^w APPIAN, DIO, *ibid.*
xlviii.

^x APPIAN. l. v. DIO. l.

Octavianus's fleet
shipwrecked.

and the sea to a great distance covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was to see the enemy's fleet advancing full sail against *Menas* and *Calvisius*, who were no ways in a condition to withstand them. However, they drew up, but as they were ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and the sea began to run very high. Hereupon *Pompey* retired into the port of *Messana*; but *Octavianus*'s ships were for the most part either sunk with all the men on board, or dashed to pieces against the rocks and the shore. As the storm lasted all night, *Octavianus*, to avoid so dismal a sight, went early next morning to *Vibonium*, or *Vibo*, a city of *Brutium*, whence he sent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great care the coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* should attempt an invasion. But he was so far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that by an unpardonable negligence he suffered the poor remains of his shattered fleet to retire unmolested to *Vibonium* *.

Antony
arrives in
Italy.

AND now *Octavianus*, finding himself without ships or money, and at the same time the people at *Rome* being ready to rise for want of corn, he dispatched *Mæcenas* to *Antony*, soliciting his assistance against their common enemy. *Antony*, who was then in *Syria*, as we read in *Dio*, or at *Athens*, as *Appian* has it, promised to assist his colleague to the utmost of his power; and accordingly, having with all possible diligence assembled his fleet, he sailed for *Italy* with three hundred ships. But in the mean time *Octavianus*, receiving news of a complete victory gained by *Agrippa* over the revolted *Gauls*, he began to think that he stood no more in need of *Antony*'s assistance, and would willingly have dispensed with his civility. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore under various pretences would fain have declined going to meet him. These proceedings highly displeased *Antony*, who had for a long time been jealous of his colleague. However, as he designed to exchange with *Octavianus* part of his fleet, which would be of no use to him in his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at *Tarentum*, though he had been refused admittance at *Brundisium*. At length he began to grow very uneasy, and to complain of *Octavianus* in most bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon *Octavia*, who had attended him from *Greece*, tho' then big with child, prevailed upon him to send her to her brother, not doubting, but she should easily clear up all their jealousies and suspicions. As she was on her jour-

Misunder-
standing
between
him and
Octavia-
nus.

* APPIAN. DIO. &c. ibid.

ney to Rome, she met her brother, and had a conference with him in the presence of his two friends *Mæcenæ* and *Agrippa*, whom she was willing to have for witnesses of what passed between them. After she had with great prudence and address answered the complaints of her brother against her husband, she conjured both him and his two favourites with tears in her eyes, to consider her circumstances, and not suffer her, instead of the most fortunate of women, to become the most miserable; for at present, said she, the eyes of the whole Roman people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties, which bind me to two of the greatest men in the world, being wife to the one, and sister to the other. If rash counsels prevail, and war ensues, I shall be miserable without redress; for on what side soever victory falls I shall be sure to be the loser. *Octavianus*, softened by the intreaties of a sister, whom he loved with the greatest tenderness, consented to an interview with *Antony*, for which a place was chosen between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* upon a river bearing the name of the latter. *Antony* came thither the first, and as soon as he saw *Octavianus* advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other side the river. *Octavianus*, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the same, so that the two boats met in the midst of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly contest on which side they should land. *Antony* was for landing on *Octavianus's* side, and *Octavianus* on *Antony's*; but *Octavianus* at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his sister, who was returned to *Tarentum*. They walked together to the town, where *Octavianus* spent the night without any other guards about his person, but those of *Antony*, who likewise went the next day without guards, and passed the night in *Octavianus's* camp. All little differences be-

Octavia brings her brother and husband to an interview.

Their differences made up.

greed, that *Octavianus* should give *Antony* two of his legions to be employed against the *Parthians*, and that *Antony* in return should leave with him an hundred armed galleys. *Appian* says, that *Antony* yielded to *Octavianus* an hundred and fifty ships, and *Octavianus* to *Antony* twenty thousand men. Besides this, *Octavia* obtained of her husband twenty small ships, or, as *Appian* has it, ten triremes, for her brother, and of her brother a thousand foot for her husband. That their friendship and union might be more lasting, *Octavianus* betrothed his daughter *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to *Antyllus*, *Antony's* son; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without consulting either the senate

senate or people. After this *Antony* departed once more for *Syria*. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, whence, that she might not be exposed to the dangers of that expedition, he sent her back into *Italy*, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his children both by her and his former wife *Fulvia* to the care of *Octavianus*¹. It is not unlikely, that *Antony* had already proposed returning to *Egypt*, and therefore was glad to get rid of *Octavia*, that she might not disturb him in the enjoyment of his beloved *Cleopatra*.

Octavianus makes great preparations for war against Pompey.

Octavianus, upon the departure of his colleague, began to make vast preparations both by sea and land for his intended expedition against *Pompey*. He appointed *Agrippa* commander in chief of his navy, and that brave officer in a few months assembled with indefatigable industry a fleet able to cope with *Pompey's*. And now both the sea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, *Octavianus* resolved to invade the island in three different places at the same time: *Lepidus*, whom he had sent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum* on the south of the island; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the east side at cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavianus* himself on the western coast at cape *Pelorum*. As for *Agrippa*, he was with a numerous squadron to cruise off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coast of the island, where *Pompey* was said to have assembled all his naval forces. *Menas* had already, out of his natural levity, abandoned the party of *Octavianus* and returned to *Pompey* with his squadron, not thinking himself considered, as he deserved, by his new master. *Calvisius*, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, he having incurred the displeasure of *Octavianus*, for suffering himself to be over-reached by *Menas*, when he deserted to *Pompey*. And now all things being ready, *Octavianus's* fleets, though in different ports, set sail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of *July*, both that day and month being sacred to the memory of *Julius Cæsar*. But they had scarce put to sea, when a violent storm arising, defeated all *Octavianus's* measures. *Statilius Taurus*, foreseeing it, returned to *Tarentum* with the hundred and two ships he commanded; but the squadrons of *Octavianus*, *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, suffered much, that especially of *Octavianus*, who on this occasion lost six of the ships, which *Octavia* had given him, twenty six others, and a great num-

Menas abandons Octavianus, and returns to Pompey.

Octavianus's fleet shipwrecked a second time.

¹ PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. p. 726, 727. DIO. l. xlviii. p. 390-391.

ber of light vessels, called by the *Latins Liburnicæ*. His own ship with much ado made the bay of *Velia*, where, as in all dangers he had a particular care of his own person, he went on shore, leaving his friends and mariners to struggle all night with the winds and waves. When he reached the shore, and found himself out of danger, rage succeeded fear, and transported him to such a degree, that he could not forbear venting it upon *Neptune* himself, crying out, *I shall conquer at length ; yes, I shall conquer, Neptune, in spite of thee.* *Lepidus*, who was come from *Africa* with twelve legions, and five thousand *Numidian* horse, on board eighty ships of war and a thousand transports, after having lost some of his vessels, landed at *Lilybæum* in spite of the opposition he met with from *Plennius*, whom *Pompey* had posted there with some legions and a great number of slingers and archers. All the other squadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could. *Pompey*, looking upon these repeated shipwrecks in summer, when the sea is commonly calm, as visible tokens of the favour and protection of *Neptune*, returned him solemn thanks for his assistance, and was so elated with this unexpected success, as to style himself *the son of Neptune*. On the other hand, *Octavianus* thinking himself ill used by that deity, never forgave him ; but caused his statue several years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated. But his chief care at present was, to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the disturbances which the news of this disaster might raise in *Rome*. Thither he dispatched *Mæcenas*, who with his usual address soon calmed the minds of the people. At the same time, he went in person to *Octavia* : the several ports, where his ships had taken shelter, and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to sea again before the end of the summer. In this second attempt he was attended with better success than in the former ; for *Messala Corvinus* landed safe with three legions, and encamped near *Taurominium* at a small distance from *Lepidus* ; several other legions were set ashore, without meeting with any considerable opposition in other places of the island, and *Statilius Taurus* made himself master of cape *Scylaceum* on the continent, which *Pompey* had seized. But on the other hand *Papias* one of *Pompey's* admirals, falling in with a squadron, which was conveying four legions to *Lepidus*, attacked the transports, took some of them, sunk others, and obliged the rest to return to *Africa*. In this encounter two of *Lepidus's* legions were either taken, drowned, or cut in pieces. In the mean time, *Octavianus*, who

One of
Pompey's
squadrons
defeated by
Agrippa.

Pompey
defeats a
squadron
commanded
by Octavi-
anus, who
is in great
danger.

who was then with his fleet in the port of *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* islands, observing all the coast of *Sicily* on that side lined with *Pompey*'s forces, left the command of the fleet to *Agrippa*, and returned to *Vibonium* to hasten the departure of the rest of his ships. Upon his departure, *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of signalizing his valour, made himself master of *Hiera*, one of the *Æolian* islands, a place of the utmost importance. From thence he steered his course towards *Mylæ*, with a design to surprise *Demochares*, who had in that port a fleet of forty sail under his command. But being informed that *Papias* was advancing to the relief of *Demochares*, he thought it adviseable first to engage the former; which he did accordingly, and gained a complete victory, *Papias*, who behaved on this occasion with unparalleled bravery, having lost thirty galleys, and *Agrippa* only five. Upon the news of this victory, *Octavianus*, who was then at *Scylaceum*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, imbarqued the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Taurominium*, with a design to besiege that place. But, in the mean time, *Pompey* appearing unexpectedly on the coast with his fleet, both *Octavianus* and his troops were struck with such terror, that *Pompey* might have easily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far spent, instead of attacking them without loss of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there spent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp. Next morning by break of day *Octavianus*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, *L. Cornificius*, *Titinius*, and *Carcius*, and went on board his fleet. But flying from one danger, he fell into another; for *Pompey*, not thinking it adviseable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and soon convinced his rival, that if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. *Octavianus*'s fleet was put to flight at the first onset, several of his ships were taken, and the rest, a small number only excepted, either sunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the shore, such of *Octavianus*'s men as could swim took refuge in the camp of *Cornificius*, but the rest were for the most part either drowned or taken. As for *Octavianus* himself, he made his escape in a boat, and leaving his troops ashore to shift for themselves, made *Abala*, a city on the coast of *Italy*, being attended only by one domestic. As he was quite spent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open shore, and fell into so sound a sleep, that he was carried without waking by some officers, who

who knew him, to a camp, which *Messala* had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coast (O). His first care after he awaked was, to provide for the safety of the troops he had left in *Sicily* under the command of *Cornificius*. With this view he immediately dispatched a messenger to *Agrippa*, enjoining him to send forthwith a strong body of legionaries under the command of *Laronius* to their assistance. And indeed *Cornificius* was reduced to the utmost extremity. He could receive no provisions by sea, which was beset by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by *Pompey's* Numidian cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what rout to take. At length he resolved to march towards *Mylæ*, which *Agrippa* had seized, but was so harraised all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to despair, and give themselves up for lost. *Cornificius* with his words and example supported their drooping courage, till they found themselves shut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called the fiery brook. As the ground was here covered all over with dust and ashes thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any springs or rivulets, they must inevitably have perished with thirst, or surrendered at discretion, had not the succours sent by *Agrippa*, coming very seasonably, disengaged them from the desperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the Roman legions, the Numidians retired, leaving *Cornificius* to pursue his march without the least disturbance. That general was so pleased with his retreat, that on his return to *Rome*, when he happened to sup at his friends houses, he always came home mounted, as it were, in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made use of that warlike animal in his retreat ².

In the mean time, *Octavianus* returning to *Sicily*, had joined *Agrippa* in the neighbourhood of *Tyndaris*, where he was incamped with twenty one legions, two thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards *Messana*, with a design to besiege that place,

² LIV. l. cxxix. VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. c. 79. SUET. in Octavio. APPIAN. l. v. DIO. l. xlix. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

(O) An accident is said to have happened to him here, which, however, frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at last. A large fish leaping out of the sea, fell at his feet; and this the augurs, who were always consulted on such occasions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the sea, by this tribute and submission, had acknowledged his power.

Messana
invested by
Octavianus
and
Lepidus.

A general
action at
sea be-
tween
Pompey
and the two
triumvirs.

hoping thereby to draw *Pompey* to a battle, who had lodged all his military stores, provisions, and treasures, in that city. As they approached the place, *Lepidus*, whom *Octavianus* had acquainted with his design, joined them with all his sea and land forces. This triumvir, ever since his first landing in the island, had given *Octavianus* just reasons to suspect his intentions. He took indeed, upon his arrival, some small places on the coast, and besieged *Plennius* in *Lilybæum*; but afterwards acting only defensively, he suffered *Octavianus* to carry on the war by himself, without offering him the least assistance, as if he had maintained a private correspondence with *Pompey*. However, upon motives, which he discovered soon after, he approved of *Octavianus*'s plan, and came to join him with all his forces before *Messana*, which city was closely invested both by sea and land. *Pompey*, having assembled into one body all the troops he had dispersed up and down the island, posted himself at a small distance from *Octavianus*'s camp, and at the same time drew together his several squadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After several motions and slight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces, *Pompey* challenged *Octavianus* to put an end to their differences by a sea fight with three hundred ships on a side. This proposal was no-ways agreeable to *Octavianus*, who had not hitherto been attended with any great success by sea. However, depending upon the valour and experience of *Agrippa* on one side, and on the other suspecting the fidelity of *Lepidus*, who had according to some twelve, according to others twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day was appointed for the decisive action. Great preparations were made on both sides for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties. When the day agreed on, and impatiently wished for, by the two generals, came, both fleets appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between *Myle* and *Naulocus*; upon which the two armies ran to the shore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great measure depended. The signal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is peculiar to men, who are more animated by private hatred and party-rage, as happens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conquest. *Agrippa* behaved with his usual bravery, and *Pompey*, knowing all lay at stake, distinguished himself from the beginning of the action to the end in a very eminent manner. Never was victory disputed with more obstinacy,

the

the soldiers as well as officers of both parties fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible resolution and intrepidity. The sea was covered to a great distance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but shouts of the soldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men perishing in the waves. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length all yielding to the valour and superior conduct of *Agrippa*, *Pompey's* fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate Roman obliged, in spite of his utmost efforts, to own himself conquered. Of his numerous fleet only seventeen vessels escaped, the rest being taken, burnt, or sunk^a. *Demochares*, one of his admirals was taken prisoner, but laid violent hands on himself to avoid the disgrace of being led in triumph. *Apollonius*, his other admiral, yielded up himself and his galley to *Agrippa* in the very beginning of the action. What became of *Papias*, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great trust, we know not, none of the antients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. As for *Menas*, he had long before the battle with his usual inconstancy and perfidiousness abandoned *Pompey* the second time, and gone over with his squadron to *Octavianus*, who received him, rather to weaken the enemy's party, than to strengthen his own; for knowing he was not a man to be trusted, he gave him no command, and displaced all the officers of the squadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whose courage and experience were worthy of a more noble mind, retired, if we believe *Horace*, with great wealth, and served afterwards in the post of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was intirely owing to *Agrippa*; for *Octavianus*, if *Antony* is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia, but in a great fright lay down in his galley with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beside himself, and continued in that posture, till *Agrippa* had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that at the time of the engagement he was overcome with so profound a sleep, that his friends with much ado waked him to give the word, and the signal for the charge. Be that as it will, it would seem very strange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army should say, by way of excuse for not discharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was asleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. *Octavianus*, however, did, in some degree, justice to

Pompey
intirely de-
feated.
Year after
the flood,
2968.
Before
Christ, 31.
Of Rome,
717

Octavia-
nus re-
proached
with
cowardice,

^a LIV. VELL. PATERCUL. SUET. APPIAN. DIO.
QROS. ibid. FLOR. l. iv. c. 18.

Pompey's
flight.

Messana
and all Si-
cily submit
to the con-
queror.

Misunder-
standing
between
Octavia-
nus and
Lepidus.

the valour of *Agrippa*, honouring him with a blue standard, and a rostral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower work represented the beaks of galleys. He deserved indeed a more substantial reward, having utterly destroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loss of three ships only of his own; but we shall soon see him raised to the greatest honours of the state, and distinguished by *Octavianus*, when absolute master of *Rome*, above all the subjects of the *Roman* empire. As for the unhappy *Pompey*, instead of repairing to his land-forces, and encouraging them with his presence, he left them at the discretion of the conqueror, and taking on board his daughter and some of his friends who were in *Messana*, together with the treasures he had lodged in that city, he passed the straits in the night, and steered his course towards *Asia* with seventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. His design was to throw himself upon the mercy of *Antony*, whose mother *Julia* he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when she abandoned *Rome*, during the war of *Perusia*. Upon his retreat, *Tisienus Gallus*, one of his lieutenants, immediately submitted to the conqueror with all the forces under his command. As for *Plennius*, who commanded eight legions in *Lilybæum*, upon the first news of *Pompey's* defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to *Messana*, and threw himself into the place, before *Octavianus* or *Agrippa* had any intelligence of his design. But seeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of *Octavianus's* absence to capitulate with *Lepidus*, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. *Agrippa*, whom *Octavianus* had left to carry on the siege with *Lepidus*, exclaimed against this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his colleague, which at farthest would be, he said, next morning. But *Lepidus*, without hearkening either to his remonstrances or intreaties, received *Plennius* into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. *Octavianus*, arriving at break of day, sent some of his friends to his colleague's camp to complain in his name of these proceedings. *Lepidus*, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, answered with great haughtiness, that he would not suffer *Octavianus* to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply *Octavianus*, having first gained over by his emissaries the greatest part of *Lepidus's* officers, repaired to his camp attended with a strong body of horse, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He no sooner appeared, than *Plennius's* legions, whom he had already

ready

ready found means to debauch, flocked to him, offering him their service. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon *Octavianus* at the head of his guards, killed his shield-bearer close by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in some confusion. However, the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who with their ensigns displayed marched out of their camp, in good order, to join his rival (P). The unhappy triumvir being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and putting on a mourning robe, after having remained some time unregarded in the throng of those who made their submissions to *Octavianus*, threw himself at the feet of his colleague, and with great meanness begged his life, which was granted him with his estate, *Octavianus* despising him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* is the only writer, who says, that *Octavianus* banished him to *Circeii*, a small town on the coast of *Latium*. That he attained to be one of the supreme governors of the *Roman* empire was intirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wisdom, valour, or activity; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high station, to which fortune had raised him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them, the former having all the east from the borders of *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* gulph, and the latter all the rest ^b.

Lepidus
abandoned
by his sol-
diers, and
deposed.

No *Roman* general was ever at the head of so powerful an army as *Octavianus* was at this time in *Sicily*. He had under his command forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, one hundred and sixty thousand light-armed foot, and besides six hundred ships of war, without counting the smaller vessels, which were without number. His power was now almost equal to his ambition; but they were both checked by the insolence of his soldiers, who scarce ever failed to allay

Octavia-
nus's sol-
diers mu-
tiny.

^b APPIAN. l. v. p. 741. DIO. l. xlix. p. 398. SUTONIUS in Octavio.

(P) *Appian* tells us, that *Octavianus* went alone to the camp of *Lepidus*, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, *Pompey's* soldiers looking upon him with respect and drawing round him. Hereupon *Lepidus* ordered his guards to disperse them, and fall upon *Octavianus*, who, notwithstanding the wound he received, went to the place, where the eagles of the legions were kept, and taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him, which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

the

He dis-
charges
some, and
pacifies the
others.

the joy which his victories gave him, and to put a stop to his further conquests. The war in *Sicily* being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and strength, began to mutiny, and demand in a tumultuous manner their discharge, and the same rewards which had been bestowed on those who had overcome *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the plains of *Philippi*. *Octavianus* endeavoured to appease the mutineers, by telling them that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of *Antony* from the east: adding, that the *Illyrians*, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing else could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refused to march, till he had satisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loss what to do, caused several crowns, bracelets, spears, &c. to be brought out for such of the soldiers as had distinguished themselves in the war, and scarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name *Ofilius* told him with a great deal of insolence, *That he might keep those babbles for children; but as for his soldiers, nothing would satisfy them but money or land.* At these words the whole army shouted, and *Octavianus* in a great passion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune disappeared that night, and was never after seen or heard of, no-body doubting, but he had been privately dispatched by *Octavianus's* orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for whenever *Octavianus* appeared, they cried out all with one voice, *Money, or our discharge*; insomuch, that he was at length obliged to dismiss those, whose time of service was expired, to the number of twenty thousand. The others he pacified with large promises, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the *Sicilians*. After this, having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy: the senate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the success of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he assembled the senate, according to custom, in the temple of *Bellona*, where in a studied speech, which he caused afterwards to be published, he gave the conscript fathers an account of his expedition, and assured them, that he had undergone so many toils and dangers with no other view, but to restore peace and tranquillity to *Rome*. When he had ended his speech, he withdrew; and the senators, who were no more swayed with the love of liberty, but a spirit of slavery, and the meanest flattery, decreed him such honours as

he

he himself was ashamed to assume. However, he gave them leave to erect a statue of gold to his honour in the forum with this inscription; *To Cæsar, for having restored peace by sea and land*, and to appoint an annual feast to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he was satisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of *November* c. After his ovation, he assembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had bestowed on him, he lessened the taxes, and forgave those who had hired houses of the public all the rents they owed to the treasury. Thus he began to court the favour of the people at the expence of the public, being determined to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered of crushing *Antony*, as he had done *Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and assuming the whole power to himself. As the city, as well as the country, had been greatly infested, during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers, he charged *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to pursue them with fire and sword, and established at *Rome* several companies for the guard of the city under the command of an officer, whom he styled *præfectus vigilum*. By this means peace and tranquility were restored, not to *Rome* only, but to all *Italy*; which, together with the plenty he procured, being now master of *Sicily*, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that some cities went even so far as to erect altars to their benefactor, especially after one generous action, which inspired them with a high opinion of his prudence and good-nature. He had found among *Pompey's* papers a great many letters to him from some of the chief men in the senate. These he brought into the forum, and before all the people threw them unopened into the fire, protesting that he sacrificed his private resentments to the good of the public. At the same time he solemnly declared, that his intention was to resign his authority as soon as *Antony* should return from the *Parthian* war. This declaration, however insincere, absolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiscerning multitude, who immediately chose him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneship, which rendered his person sacred and inviolable; but put off the suppression of the triumvirate till the return of *Antony*, dispatching in the mean time *Bibulus* to impart to him his resolution. After this *Octavianus* left *Rome*, and marched at

Honours decreed to Octavianus by the senate.

He courts and gains the affections of the people.

He is chosen perpetual tribune of the people.

c APPIAN. l. v. p. 746. DIO. l. xlix. p. 400. Suet. ibid. c. 22. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

the head of his army against the *Illyrians*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke.

Pompey
raises new
troubles in
Asia.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Pompey* occasioned great disturbances in the east. From *Sicily* he sailed to the island of *Lesbos*, where he was informed of the bad success which had attended *Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking *Antony's* post in the east, or at least of sharing with him the empire. With this view he sent ambassadors to the kings of *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Parthia*, soliciting their friendship, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the same time he drew together what troops he could, giving out that he had no other design but to assist *Antony*, and defend himself against *Octavianus*. *Antony*, informed of these proceedings, commanded *Marcus Titius* to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in *Syria*, and watch the motions of *Pompey*. *Titius* was ordered to receive him with all possible marks of honour, if he yielded up himself and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces if he refused to submit. But *Pompey*, before the arrival of *Titius*, had pulled off the mask, and taken several cities of *Asia Minor*, among the rest, *Nicaea* and *Nicomedia*. Hereupon *Titius*, taking with him *Furnius*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Asia*, marched against him, and, having defeated his small army, obliged him to surrender at discretion. As soon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death; but, soon after, changing his mind, he sent a second letter, ordering his lieutenant to save him. But the second messenger arriving before the first, *Titius* perversly interpreting the last order he received to be the last that was sent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had formerly served under him, but abandoned him to side with *Antony*, lest he should be once in a condition, if his life were spared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered *Titius* so odious to the *Roman* people, who still retained a great regard for *Pompey* and his family, that they could never after bear the sight of him, but drove him out of the circus with hisses and curses, even while he was exhibiting to them games and shows at his own expence^d.

But is de-
feated,
taken pri-
soner, and
put to
death.

It was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil wars. But the unbounded ambition of *Octavianus* and *Antony* soon involved the *Roman* state in new troubles. The passion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra*, and the ex-

^d APPIAN. p. 747. DIO. p. 402. STRABO, l. iii. p. 141. LIV. epit. l. cxxxii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 82 & 97.

travagant presents of whole provinces, which he bestowed on her, served *Octavianus* for a specious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was to get rid of a competitor so formidable, both for his valour, and the high reputation he had gained among the soldiery. *Antony* had left *Octavia* in *Italy*, as we have related above, and passed into *Syria*, whither he invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phœnice*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. These profuse gifts much displeased the *Roman* people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, and turning him into ridicule, on account of the scandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after he marched against the *Parthians* with thirteen legions, ten thousand *Gaulish* or *Spanish* horse, and above thirty thousand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the east tremble, served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related at length in our history of the *Parthians* ^e. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only, which might hasten his return to that bewitching woman, the *Romans* were highly incensed against him. But what most of all provoked them was his taking *Artabazes*, king of *Armenia*, in a most treacherous manner, as we have related elsewhere ^f, and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*, the *Romans* looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city. *Octavianus* took advantage of *Antony's* impolitic conduct, to estrange more and more the minds of the people from him; and when he found their spirits sufficiently exasperated, he resolved to send his sister *Octavia* to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Antony* was then returned from his *Parthian* expedition, and waiting at *Leucopolis*, or, as *Plutarch* calls it, *Leucocome*, for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, whom he had sent for. The queen arrived at last, bringing with her cloaths for the soldiers, and vast sums of money to be distributed among them. Almost at the same time *Niger*, one of *Antony's* particular friends, arrived from *Octavia*, who was already come as far as *Athens*, with letters from her to her husband; wherein she acquainted him, that she had brought with her cloaths for his soldiers, a great many horses, and rich presents for his friends and officers, with two thousand chosen men,

Antony's
prodigality
offends the
Roman
people.

Octavia
stirs up
the people
against
him.

^e Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 536, & seq.
Vol. IX. p. 211.

^f Hist. Univers.

*Cleopatra well armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts. This was very
prevails
upon An- only to dispute with her, and lay in her claim to, Antony's af-
tony to fections, and dreading the presence of so virtuous a rival,
send back feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for
Octavia. love of him. When she was near him, she beheld him with
languishing eyes and a despairing countenance, like one beside
herself with love. She let fall tears in his presence, and at
the same time pretended to dry them up in haste, and unob-
served, as if she were ashamed to have him a witness of her
weakness. By these artifices the crafty queen gained the a-
scendant over Antony, and prevailed upon him to send word
to Octavia, that she should not pursue her journey into Syria,
but to return to Rome. After this he waited on Cleopatra
back to Alexandria; where he passed the winter with that
lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuous-
ness.*

*The virtu-
ous beha-
viour of
Octavia.*

*Octavia being returned to Rome, her brother ordered her to
quit her husband's house, since he had treated her so contemptu-
ously: but the virtuous Octavia refused to obey him, saying,
that though she had a great respect for her brother, yet she
could not prevail upon herself to comply with his orders; and
therefore conjured him not to force her to leave the house of
a person, whom she would always honour as her husband in
spite of his inconstancy: she intreated him to abandon her
interest, and not make war upon Antony for an affront, which
regarded her alone, since it would be a shameful thing to
have it reported, that two of the greatest commanders in the
world had involved the Roman people in a war, the one to
justify his mistress, the other in resentment for his sister's ill
usage. Octavianus could not help indulging her virtuous in-
clinations; he allowed her to continue in her husband's house,
where she brought up his children with extraordinary care,
without making any distinction between her own and those
he had by Fulvia. She took under her protection all those
whom her husband sent to Rome to sue for offices, assisted
their pretensions with the authority her virtue gave her,
and never left importuning her brother, till she had ob-
tained for them what they desired. But nothing proved
more prejudicial to Antony's interest than this deportment
of Octavia; his injurious treatment of a woman of her rank,
merit, and virtue, drew on him the resentment of all the
Romans, who were still more provoked at what he did
about this time at Alexandria. For having feasted the
whole people of that great metropolis, he assembled them in
the gymnasium, and causing a throne of silver to be erected
there*

*Antony
gives new
occasion of
offence to
the Roman
people.*

there with two seats of gold, the one for himself, the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower seats at their feet for his children; he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cæle-Syria*, and joined with her as her colleague *Cæsarion*, whom she had by *Julius Cæsar*. As for his own children by *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander* *Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-sister of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Lesser Asia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *king of kings*. What seemed most remarkable in this solemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared dressed like the goddess *Isis*, and *Antony* like the god *Osiris*; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to those deities ^p. *Octavianus*, taking advantage of the general resentment against *Antony*, which this division of provinces occasioned at *Rome*, accused him before the senate and people of this and several other attempts highly injurious to the majesty of the *Roman* empire; which *Antony* being informed of, he sent some of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cause, and accuse *Octavianus* in his turn. The chief articles he preferred against him were, 1. That he had not shared with him the island of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*. 2. That he had not made restitution of the ships he had lent him. 3. That having abrogated the power of *Lepidus* his colleague, he had appropriated to himself his army, his government, and his revenues. Lastly, that he had divided almost all *Italy* among his own soldiers, and reserved nothing for his. To these accusations *Octavianus* answered, that he had not dismissed *Lepidus* from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern; that as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with *Antony*, when he gave him his share of *Armenia*; and as for *Antony's* soldiers, they could not surely value or claim a few acres of land in *Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media*, and reduced the wealthy empire of the *Parthians* by the mighty exploits they had performed, under the conduct of their invincible general. *Antony* was so provoked at this biting jest, that though he had already marched as far as the river *Araxes* with a design to invade *Parthia*, he dropt that expedition, and ordered *Candius*, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith at the head

Octavianus accuses him before the senate.

Articles preferred against *Octavianus* by *Antony*.

^p PLUT. in Anton. DIO. l. xlix. p. 415, 416. & lib. 1. p. 421.

Antony
resolves
upon a
war with
Octavia-
nus.

How he
spent his
time at
Samos.

And A-
thens.

of sixteen legions down to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, and there keep himself in a readiness to pass over into *Europe* at a day's warning. As for *Antony* himself, he hastened with *Cleopatra* to *Ephesus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred vessels, of which the queen furnished two hundred with twenty thousand talents and provisions for the whole army. *Antony* was advised by his friends to send back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the war; but she, dreading a peace might be made in her absence, upon condition of *Antony's* receiving again *Octavia* and excluding her, prevailed upon *Canidius* with a large sum of money to represent to *Antony*, that it was not just to drive away a princess with disgrace, who bore so great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to disoblige the *Egyptians*, who made up so considerable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good sense, as was manifest from her governing so mighty a kingdom by herself. It was owing to *Octavianus's* good fortune and *Antony's* evil destiny, that this counsel took place. *Cleopatra* was allowed to stay, and they both left *Ephesus*, and set sail for *Samos*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* sea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to send men, arms, and provisions. It was at the same time proclaimed, that all stage-players, dancers, singers, buffoons, &c. should repair to the same island; so that sometimes a ship, which was thought to be laden with soldiers and warlike stores, proved fraught with scenes, machines for the stage, musicians, and players. Thus, while the rest of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kind of pleasures reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reside there. Thither each city, within the limits of *Antony's* government, was ordered to send an ox to be offered in sacrifice; and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual dispute, who should make the most magnificent feasts: insomuch, that it became a common question among the spectators, *What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, since they make such rejoicings at the opening of a dangerous war?*

FROM *Samos*, *Antony* sailed for *Athens*, where he lived after his usual manner, spending his whole time in luxury and voluptuousness. *Cleopatra*, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours *Octavia* had received at *Athens*, insinuated her-

self, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the *Athenians*, who in requital decreed her honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed several of the citizens to wait upon her at her house with the decree. At the head of this deputation was *Antony* himself, he being free of *Athens*: and, as he was chosen their speaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people. While he was at *Athens*, *C. Sosius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the consuls of this year, were obliged to leave *Rome*, not thinking themselves safe there, after they had taken upon them to defend *Antony*. They both took refuge in *Athens*, and incensed *Antony* to such a degree against *Octavianus*, that he solemnly divorced *Octavia*, and sent proper officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his house. The virtuous *Octavia* obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own house with all his children, except *Antyllus*; his eldest son by *Fulvia*, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in seeing herself looked upon as one of the causes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cause of the present breach, viz. *Octavianus*'s unbounded ambition, which, not satisfied with one half of the *Roman* empire, aspired at the whole. But he had certainly been disappointed, had not *Antony*, according to his custom, spent so much time in idleness and debauchery, at *Samos* and *Athens*, with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occasion of his ruin. Had *Antony* come immediately to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet and a numerous army, whereas his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and besides all *Italy* was in a ferment, on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raising of the necessary sums: insomuch that it was looked upon as one of the greatest of *Antony*'s oversights, that he put off the war till the next summer, by which time *Octavianus*, having quieted the people, put himself in a condition of disputing the empire, with forces equal to those of his enemy^r.

DURING *Antony*'s stay at *Athens*, many of his friends, *Antony* is being ill used by *Cleopatra* for opposing her design of attending *Antony* in the war, abandoned him, and came over to *Octavianus*, among the rest *Plancus*, and *Titius* his nephew. *Plancus* on his arrival at *Rome* accused *Antony* before the senate of several crimes, with so much venom and bitterness, that *Copernius* could not forbear saying to him, Surely you never observed what you now lay to *Antony*'s charge till the

He divorces Octavia.

^r PLUT. *ibid.*

evening

evening before your departure, reproaching him thereby either with baseness, in enduring those crimes so long, or with stupidity, in not finding them out sooner (Q). *Pollio's* conduct was as generous, as *Plancus's* was infamous. *Pollio* had abandoned *Antony*, and led a private life in *Italy*, ever since his first intrigues with *Cleopatra*; but yet, when *Octavianus* pressed him to serve under him in this war, he answered frankly, *I have served Antony better perhaps than he has rewarded me; however, as the favours I have received at his hands are more known than the services I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms against him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the discretion of the conqueror.* *Antony* had made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, and highly injurious and dishonourable to the *Roman* people, and lodged it with the vestals at *Rome*. *Plancus* and *Titius*, who had been privy to all his secret counsels and designs, gave notice of it to *Octavianus*, who immediately demanded it. The religious vestals answered, that they could not deliver it up, without a sacrilegious breach of the trust reposed in them; but that *Octavianus* might, if he thought fit, come and seize it himself; which he did accordingly; and having first read it over in private, and made marks upon those places which he thought most for his purpose, he called the senate, and caused it to be read to them. In this will *Antony* declared, that *Cesarion*, *Cæsar's* son by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of *Julius Cæsar*. This was dispossessing *Octavia-*

Octavianus makes use of Antony's will to stir up the people against him.

(Q) *Plancus* was one of *Cleopatra's* most servile flatterers, and had been privy to all *Antony's* intrigues, debasing himself to the meanest employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen and to other women. Though he had been consul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not ashamed to appear at the *Egyptian* court among common actors, buffoons, and stage-players, all wretches, whose birth was as mean as their profession. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to personate *Glaucus*, and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of a huge fish. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the *Egyptians* themselves. Besides, *Antony* abused and reproached him for some extortions, whereof he had been accused; which, as he was already despised by the *Egyptians*, he took so much amiss, that he laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to abandon *Antony*, and join *Octavianus*, who received him with great demonstrations of friendship and affection.

us of the inheritance which he held, only as the adopted son of the dictator. By the same will he bequeathed most of the *Roman* territories, which were under his command, to *Cleopatra* and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he should die, though at *Rome* itself, to be sent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried, as she should direct. *Octavianus* insisted more especially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the *Roman* people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princess, who was an enemy to *Rome*. As these charges were undeniably made good from an authentic instrument, they estranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded his cause with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding to punish a man in his life-time, for what was not to be put in execution till after his death. Hereupon *Caius Calvisius* accused him of *He is accused of* several other crimes, *viz.* that he had made a present to *Cleopatra* of the famous library of the kings of *Pergamus*, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes; that he had suffered *crimes by* the *Ephesians* to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received love-letters from *Cleopatra*, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when *Furnius*, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the *Romans*, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cause to follow *Cleopatra*, who happened to pass by in her chair; that at a solemn feast he had risen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the guests looked upon as the signal of a private meeting, &c. The heads of this accusation, however ridiculous they may seem at present, were seriously proposed by *Calvisius*, and appeared of such moment and weight to *Antony's* friends, that they sent one *Geminus* to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumspect, and that, unless he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of consul, to which he had been named for the year ensuing, of being stripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the *Roman* people. The arrival of *Geminus* alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as one of *Octavia's* spies, ridiculed him, and made him the constant jest of the table, where she took care to have him always placed at the lower end. *Geminus* bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But he, instead of giving him a private audience, asked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to *Athens*?

The imperious behaviour of Cleopatra obliges several of Antony's friends to forsake him.

War declared against Cleopatra.

Athens? The business I come upon, said he, well deserves a serious consideration, and is not to be talked of over a bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as sober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you send back Cleopatra into Egypt. You have done very wisely, *Geminus*, answered the queen in a great passion, to tell us this important secret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack. A few days after *Geminus*, dreading the effects of Cleopatra's displeasure, made his escape and returned to Rome, whither he was followed by many of Antony's friends, no longer able to bear with the ill usage they received from the imperious queen. Among these were *Marcus Syllanus* and *Dellius* the historian. The latter had said at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that Antony's friends drank vinegar, while at Rome *Sarmentus* was served with *Falernian* wine. This *Sarmentus* is mentioned by *Horace*^c, and was one of *Octavianus*'s buffoons. Cleopatra took this raillery so ill, that she ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted, by one *Glaucus* a physician, of her design, saved himself by flight and retired to Rome^d.

AND now *Octavianus*, finding himself in a condition to encounter Antony with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against Cleopatra, for fear of provoking Antony's friends, who were still very numerous and powerful. However, Antony was deprived of the consulate, and his government was taken from him, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied besides, that Cleopatra had so bewitched Antony with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his senses; and that Antony was not to manage the war against the Romans, but *Mardion* the eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, Cleopatra's waiting-woman, and *Charmion*, another of her maids, who were become Antony's counsellors and prime ministers of state^e. It is said, that this war was preceded by many signs and prodigies (R), which were all interpreted very justly, but

^c HORAT. l. i. satyr. 5.

^d PLUT. ibid. DIO. lib. l. p. 420.

^e PLUT. ibid. DIO. p. 421, 422.

(R) The city of *Pisaurum*, where Antony had settled a colony, was swallowed up by an earthquake: a marble statue of Antony at *Alba* was observed to sweat for many days together. While he himself was in the city of *Patrae*, the temple of *Hercules* was destroyed by lightning, and at *Athens* the statue of *Bacchus* was by a violent

but not before *Antony's* defeat. The forces of the contending parties were answerable to the empire they shared between them. *Antony* had under his command all the provinces from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* to the *Ionian* sea and *Illyricum*, and from *Cyrene* to *Æthiopia*. *Octavianus's* government extended from *Illyricum* to the ocean, and comprehended all the coast of *Africa* that was opposite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. Many kings followed *Antony's* fortune, and attended him in this war; namely *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, *Tarcondemus* or *Tarcondimotus* of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagene*, *Adallas* of *Thrace*. These attended him in person: but *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, *Herod* king of *Judæa*, *Amyntas* king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, only sent their quotas of forces. All these together made up an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. His navy consisted of five hundred ships of war, some whereof had eight, and some ten banks of oars. As for *Octavianus*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ships, but those light, and well manned with sailors, rowers, and soldiers; whereas *Antony's* seemed built for ostentation, and, besides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to press in *Greece*, which had been exhausted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and for all this his vessels had not their full complement ^w.

The forces
of Octavi-
nus and
Antony.

^w PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. p. 422, 423.

a violent wind blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and carried into the theatre. The *Gigantomachia* was a public edifice at *Athens*, where the battle of the gods with the giants was represented in painting. These two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for *Antony*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a profession of imitating *Bacchus*, causing himself for that reason to be called *young Bacchus*. The same storm falling at *Athens* upon the statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which had been dedicated to *Antony*, and were called *Antonii*, overturned them without hurting others, that stood equally exposed. Some swallows built their nest in the stern of *Cleopatra's* admiral galley, called *Antonias*; but others drove them away and destroyed their nests (91).

(91) *Plut. in Antonio.*

They write sharp letters to each other. BEFORE these two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occasion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting letters to each other. *Octavianus* reproached *Antony* with the prodigality of his entertainments and his intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, put *Octavianus* in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he presided dressed like *Apollo*, while the other guests, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddesses, and passed the night in the most infamous debaucheries (S). To this he added his hasty marriage with *Livia* against all rules of decency; his divorcing *Scribonia*, because she would not bear with the capricious humour of that new mistress; and on this occasion all the *Roman* ladies, with whom *Octavianus* had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the stage. *Antony* in one of his letters reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed, in all the engagements at which he had been present, mentioning those shameful circumstances of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon *Octavianus* wrote to him, that it was childish to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he should be suffered to land in *Italy* without molestation, that his fleet should have safe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to incamp on and put themselves in order of battle. In return to these bravadoes, *Antony* challenged his rival to a single combat, though he was much older; and sent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their quarrel. However nothing was done this year; *Octavianus* assembled both his fleet and army at *Brundisium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but, the summer being far spent and the tempestuous season of the year approaching, they both retired and put their armies into winter-quarters *.

* PLUT. & DIO. *ibid.*

(S) This feast, which was called the *dodecatheon*, because the guests personated twelve gods and goddesses had made a great noise at *Rome*, and had been the subject of many satirical epigrams. *Antony* had never been guilty of more infamous and scandalous debaucheries, than *Octavianus* was on this occasion.

In the mean time, the consular year expiring, *Octavianus* Octavia-
caused himself to be declared consul for the third time, and *nus's third*
took *M. Valerius Messala* for his colleague in the room of *consulate.*
Antony, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according
to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and *Pom-*
pey, of which we have spoken above. *Messala* resigned the
fasces on the kalends of *May* to *M. Titius*, who had abandon-
ed *Antony* together with *Plancus*, and *Titius* on the kalends
of *October* yielded his office to one *Cn. Pompeius*, of whose
descent or services no mention is made in history.

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the *Antony*
field, and the fleets put to sea. *Antony's* fleet sailed into the *incamps*
Ambracian gulph, between the islands of *Corcyra* and *Cephale-* at *Actium*
nia, and his army incamped at *Actium* near his fleet. *Actium near his*
was a small city on the south-side of the mouth of the gulph *fleet.*
in *Acarnania*. While *Antony's* fleet was at anchor there,
Octavianus, crossing the *Ionian* sea, surprised *Toryne*, a small
city near *Actium*. This unexpected attempt occasioned great
confusion in *Antony's* camp, by reason only a few legions
were yet arrived, and they had no news of the rest. But
Cleopatra, to calm their fears, turned it into a jest; *Indeed,*
said she, *we ought to tremble, now that Cæsar has taken To-*
ryne (T), alluding to the word *Toryne*, which in the lan-
guage of that country signifies *a ladle*. The next morning,
as soon as it was light, *Octavianus* appeared off *Actium* with
his ships in order of battle. As *Antony's* legions were not
yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board
his fleet, and consequently must unavoidably have been de-
feated, had *Octavianus* attacked him. To divert him there-
fore for the present from engaging, which he knew was no
difficult matter in the absence of *Agrippa*, he armed all his
rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and sailed
up into the mouth of the gulph, as if he intended to fall up-
on the enemy; which *Octavianus* no sooner observed, than
he retreated, as *Antony* had expected. *Octavianus's* land- *And Octa-*
forces were incamped on the other side of the mouth of the *vianus on*
gulph of *Ambracia*, at a place where *Octavianus* afterwards *the opposite*
built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called *Ni-* *side of the*
copolis, or *the city of victory*. While he lay there, *Antony*, *Ambraci-*
who was well acquainted with the country, found means to *an gulph,*

(T) 'Tis impossible to preserve the beauty of this allusion in our
language. *Toryne*, which in this place is made use of as the name
of a town, signifies likewise *a ladle*; and the witticism lies there,
as if *Cleopatra* had said, *We ought indeed to tremble now that Octavi-*
anus has taken a ladle from us.

The exploits of Agrippa.

cut off the water from his camp, which much distressed his army[†]. In the mean time the brave *Agrippa*, with a squadron and a considerable body of land-forces, ravaged the coasts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Antony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Asia*, and, making descents, stormed several cities, among the rest *Methone* in *Peloponnesus*, where *Becchus*, king of *Mauritania*, who had sided with *Antony*, and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garison cut in pieces. From *Methone* *Agrippa* sailed for *Leucas*, at a small distance from *Actium*, and in the sight of *Antony* made himself master of that island and the ships he found there. The cities of *Patrae* and *Corinth* were likewise forced to submit to him, after he had defeated *Q. Nasidius*, whom *Antony* had sent to stop the progress of his conquests. As he was returning from the coasts of *Greece* to join *Octavianus*, he fell in with *Sosius*, one of *Antony's* admirals, who had just put to flight *L. Tauresius*, whom *Octavianus* had sent out with a numerous squadron to watch the enemy's motions. *Agrippa* attacked him with his usual bravery, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. In this engagement *Sosius* himself perished, and with him *Tarcondimotus* king of *Cilicia*. At the same time, a great body of *Antony's* cavalry, commanded by himself, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavianus's* cavalry under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. These advantages, and the arrival of *Agrippa* with his victorious squadron, induced *Antony* to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over-against the enemy's, and retire to *Actium* on the other side of the *Ambracian* gulph, where the greatest part of his army lay. While he continued at *Actium*, several persons of distinction, seeing his fleet so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himself spending his whole time with *Cleopatra*, abandoned him, and went over to *Octavianus*. Among these were the kings *Amyntas* and *Dejotarus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to *Antony*, could no longer bear with the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The unexpected desertion of *Domitius*, whom *Antony* looked upon as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much against the will of *Cleopatra*; for he sent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and servants; which so sensibly touched *Domitius*, who was sick of a fever when he fled, that he soon after died, his distemper being increased by the grief of aban-

Several persons of distinction go over to Octavianus.

[†] PLUT. *ibid.*

doning

doing a man, who by kindness requited his infidelity and desertion. The flight of *Domitius* proved extremely prejudicial to *Antony's* interest, most men believing, that a person of his understanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. *Antony* now began to distrust even his best friends, and caused some of them upon bare suspicions to be put to death; namely, *Jamblichus*, a petty king of *Arabia*, who expired upon the rack, and *Q. Posthumus*, a senator of distinction ².

At length *Canidius*, commander in chief of *Antony's* forces, arrived with the rest of the legions, and soon after his arrival, as he saw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*. He advised *Antony* by all means to send her back, and retire himself into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, because *Dicomes*, king of the *Getæ*, was ready to join him with a great army. *It will not, said he to Antony, be any disparagement to you to quit the sea, and leave Octavianus master of it, who in his wars with Pompey has gained so great experience in maritime affairs. But it will be renouncing both sense and reason for you, who are one of the most experienced land-officers in the world, to make no other use of your well disciplined and stout troops, than to disperse them on board several ships, and render them useless in the defence of a navy. What can be more ridiculous, more absurd, than to depend upon the sea and winds for a victory, which the valour and experience of your soldiers, whom you have tried in so many dangers, leave you no room to doubt of by land?* *Antony* was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but *Cleopatra*, whose words were oracles with him, biassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life in a sea-fight. The perfidious and cowardly queen already entertained thoughts of flying, as *Plutarch* informs us, and was deliberating, not how to be assisting to *Antony* in obtaining the victory, but how she might, when all was lost, make her escape with greatest safety ². *Antony*, being now determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement by sea, went often from his camp to the place where his fleet lay at anchor, sometimes alone, and sometimes attended only by some of his particular friends, as suspecting no danger. One of *Octavianus's* slaves having by chance observed him, ran

Canidius
advises
Antony to
dismiss
Cleopatra
and retire.

But Antony
resolves
upon a fight
at sea.

² PLUT, *ibid.* VELL. PATERCUL, l. ii. c. 84. DIO. lib. l. p. 427, 428. ² PLUT. DIO. *ibid.*

immediately

Antony in
danger of
falling in-
to the ene-
my's hands.

immediately to his master, and told him, that he had seen *Antony* walking, without any distrust, and slenderly attended, from his camp to the sea-side. Hereupon *Octavianus* the same night ordered a party of chosen men to cross the gulph, which at the entrance was but a mile over, and lie in wait for *Antony* on the narrow neck of land which led from his camp to the sea. His orders were put in execution with such secrecy, and the whole affair so well conducted, that had it not been for the impatience of some soldiers, who started up too soon, they had seized on *Antony*, and put an end to the war without shedding a drop of blood; for they took the officer who just walked before him, and it was with the utmost difficulty that *Antony* himself got off ^b.

AND now *Antony* being determined, out of a shameful complaisance for *Cleopatra*, and against his own opinion as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by sea, began to make the necessary preparations for an action, on the success whereof depended the empire of the *Roman* world. As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, he was afraid they would turn their backs as soon as the fight began; and therefore he set fire to all their ships except sixty, which he spared, that they might serve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other squadrons from *Syria*, *Greece*, *Cilicia*, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Phœnice*, he chose the best gallies from three ranks of oars to ten. The rest he condemned to the flames for want of mariners. While he was reviewing the troops that were to imbarque, an old experienced officer, who had fought often under him, and had his body covered all over with scars, called to him aloud, and addressed him thus: *O my noble general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword, so as to put your confidence in rotten wood? Leave the water to the Egyptians and Phœnicians, men born and nursed up in that element; but give us Romans the land, where we are accustomed to brave death, and make our enemies fly before us.* *Antony* returned no answer; only by his looks, and the motion of his hand, he seemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himself was far from being satisfied with the posture of his affairs, as manifestly appeared from his behaviour towards the pilots, who were for leaving their sails behind; but *Antony* obliged them to take them with them, saying, *We must not let one enemy escape*; which was putting a good face upon a bad cause ^c.

AND now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent storm, which continued for four days together, prevented

^b PLUT. *ibid.* ^c PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. p. 428.

them.

them. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. *Gellius Publicola* commanded *Antony's* right wing, *Cælius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Jufteius* the main body. On *Octavianus's* side, *Agrippa* was placed in the centre, having *Larius* on his right, and *Aruntius* on his left. As for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, they were both, according to some writers, in the right wing of their respective fleets; according to others, they chose no particular place for themselves; but went each in a light vessel from one division to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories (U). This day, said *Antony* to his men before the engagement, *I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promise you rewards answerable to so noble a conquest.* *Octavianus* gave no less hopes to his men, and with more confidence, having been animated by a happy omen, which he caused to be published throughout the fleet (W). *Antony* ordered

(U) According to *Plutarch*, *Antony* commanded the right wing in conjunction with *Publicola*. The same writer places *Octavianus* in his right wing, *Agrippa* in the left, and *Aruntius* in the centre (95). The right wing of the Julian ships, says *Velleius Paterculus* (96), was committed to *M. Larius*, the left to *Aruntius*, and to *Agrippa* the charge of the whole. *Cæsar* was present every-where. The command of *Antony's* fleet was committed to *Publicola* and *Sofius*. As to the land-forces it is agreed on all hands, that *Taurus* commanded in chief on the side of *Octavianus*, and *Canidius* on *Antony's*. *Antony* had on board his fleet twenty thousand legionaries, and two thousand archers (97); *Octavianus* eight legions, and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ships *Florus* tells us, that *Octavianus's* fleet consisted of four hundred sail, and *Antony's* only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all *Antony's* ships had from six to nine ranks of oars; and besides they were so raised with turrets and decks, that they resembled castles and cities, making the sea groan under them, and the wind out of breath to move them (98). But as to the number of *Antony's* ships, *Florus* is contradicted by *Octavianus* himself, who left written in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch*, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ships (99).

(W) We are told, that, as *Octavianus* was going out of his tent at break of day, to visit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or rather superstition, he asked the man's name, *My name*, replied he, *is Eutyches, and my ass is called Nicon.* The first of these names in Greek signifies happy, and

(95) *Appian. ibid.* (96) *Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 85.* (97) *Plut. ibid.* (98) *Flor. l. iv. c. 11.* (99) *Plut. ibid.*

The battle
of Actium.
Year af-
ter the
flood,
2973. Be-
fore
Christ, 26.
Of Rome
722.

dered the commanders of his ships to receive the enemy without stirring, but lying still as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulph. *Agrippa* was not for attacking him in that posture; and therefore kept about eight furlongs distant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale springing up, *Antony's* men, impatient of further delays, and trusting to the bulk and height of their ships, put their left wing in motion. *Agrippa* beheld this with great satisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the enemy as far out of the straights as possible, that his galleys, which were light and nimble sailors, might have an opportunity of surrounding *Antony's* heavy ships, whose bulk, and want of hands in proportion to their rates, made them unwieldy and unfit for service. On this side the action began; but in a different manner from what was then used in sea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ship against another, *Antony's* vessels being, on account of their size, incapable of a violent motion, and, on the other hand, *Octavianus's* ships not daring to approach them for fear of splitting against their sides, which were armed with strong square pieces of wood fastened together with massy pins of iron; so that this engagement resembled a land-fight, or rather the attack of some strong place. *Octavianus's* soldiers attacked the enemy with pikes, javelins, darts, and several inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while *Antony's* men defended themselves with showers of darts and arrows, which they discharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time *Agrippa* ordered *Aruntius* to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made *Publicola* advance to prevent it: but as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore in upon it, and put it in disorder. However, the victory still remained doubtful, *Antony's* soldiers, who were all chosen men, defending themselves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight lasted several hours with as fair a prospect of success for *Antony* as for *Octavianus*, the ma-

and the other conqueror. This seemed so lucky an omen to *Octavianus*, that he no longer doubted of victory; and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place, with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and the other his ass (100). *Pliny* adds (1), that as *Octavianus* was sacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(100) *Idem ibid. Suet. in Octav. c. 96.* (1) *Plin. l. xi. c. 37.*

riners and soldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies, who waited the event of the engagement, drawn up in battle array, the one on the north side, and the other on the south side, of the *Ambracian* gulph. While the two parties were thus contending, with great fury and obstinacy, for victory, *Cleopatra's* sixty galleys, crowding all their sails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This sudden motion equally surprised both navies. *Antony*, whose centre was already in disorder, expected some gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the present danger. He was therefore struck with amazement, when he saw the whole *Egyptian* squadron, instead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and, with a fair wind, steer their course towards *Peloponnesus*. Thus historians relate the flight and desertion of the *Egyptians*, without giving any other reason for their abandoning, in so base and shameful a manner, the party they had embraced, than the timorousness of their queen, who could no longer bear the noise and terror of the battle. What they add is still more surprising. *Antony* had given too many proofs of his courage ever to be suspected of cowardice; and, on this occasion, not only the empire of the world, but his life was at stake: neither had he any reason to despair of success; but, on the contrary, the intrepidity and resolution with which his men maintained the combat seemed to promise him certain victory; for though his centre had been put into some disorder by *Agrippa*, yet that brave and experienced commander, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, could not gain the least advantage over them, each of *Antony's* great ships defending themselves against many of his, and keeping them at a distance with incessant showers of darts, arrows, stones, &c. which did great execution. But here *Antony* betrayed a weakness hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* observes, the antient saying, that *a lover's soul lives in another body*; for love getting the better of his ambition, and of all other regards, he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail, than forgetting the duty of a general, and renouncing the empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her absence, he threw himself into a galley of five ranks of oars, and attended only by two domestics, *Scellius* and *Alexander the Syrian*, he abandoned his men, who were generously sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base woman, who had long since begun, and was now accomplishing his destruction. As soon as he came up with *Cleopatra's* galley, he was taken on board; but, without so much as seeing her, he placed himself at the stern, and there,

The flight of Cleopatra.

Who is followed by Antony.

leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct, he continued a good while in that melancholy posture ^d.

The gallant behaviour of Antony's troops.

His fleet is overcome.

And his land-forces submit.

THE gallant behaviour of *Antony's* troops, on this occasion, cannot be sufficiently admired and commended; for though their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was spread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the same ardour and intrepidity as if he had been present, and would in all likelihood have gained the victory, which they disputed till late at night, if a stiff gale, which blew hard a-stern, had not dispersed their vessels, and given the enemy an opportunity of falling upon them while in disorder, and destitute of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ships yielded to the conqueror; but there were not above five thousand of the enemy slain in the whole action, as *Octavianus* himself left recorded in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch* ^e (X). *Antony's* land-forces shewed no less fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire, and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them, and *Antony*, above all, who had so often seen fortune in all her shapes, as *Plutarch* expresses it, and been so accustomed to changes. They therefore expected he would soon appear from some part or other, and, putting himself at their head, give them an opportunity of shewing their fidelity and zeal for his interest and service. When they were at last thoroughly persuaded that he was fled and had deserted them, they nevertheless kept in a body, tho' quite surrounded both by sea and land, for seven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by *Octavianus*. At length, being abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, who privately made their escape, they listened to the conditions which *Octavianus* offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous sea-fight of *Actium*, so much

^d PLUT. *ibid.* DIO. lib. I. p. 439, 440. FLOR. I. iv. c. II. VELL. PATERCUL. I. ii. c. 85. ^e PLUT. in Anton.

(X) And yet *Orosius* writes, that, on *Antony's* side, twelve thousand men were killed, and six or seven thousand wounded, of whom one thousand died of their wounds (2).

(2) *Oros.* I. vi. c. 19.

spoken of by the antients, especially the poets of that time ^t. It was fought on the second day of *September* of the year 722 of Rome, *Cæsar Octavianus* and *Messala Corvinus* being consuls. As *Octavianus*, by this ever memorable victory, became sole master of the whole *Roman* empire, *Dion* ², *Suetonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*, reckon from this time the years of *Octavianus's* empire or reign.

AFTER this defeat the auxiliaries, who had served under *Antony*, retired to their respective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror on the best terms they could. Some of the princes he deposed, others he continued in their former state; but imposed upon them, as well as upon all the free states which had sided with *Antony*, heavy fines, whereby those unhappy countries were reduced to a most deplorable condition. As for the *Romans*, *Octavianus* pardoned some at the earnest intreaties of his friends and his mother *Mucia*; others he punished with the utmost severity, following therein the natural bias of his temper. Among the latter was the son of the famous *Curio*, who had distinguished himself among the most zealous partizans of *Cæsar* the dictator, and had lost his life in maintaining his interest in *Africa*, as we have related above. His son followed the fortune of *Antony*, and therefore, being taken prisoner at *Actium*, *Octavianus*, without any regard to the important services of his father, caused him to be put to death ^h. As to *Antony* and *Antony* *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus*, the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, detached a squadron of light galleys in pursuit of them; which *Antony* no sooner saw rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about and face them. Hereupon they all gave back, except one commanded by *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who, making up to *Antony's* vessel with great fierceness and intrepidity, from off the deck shook his lance at him in a threatening manner, *Who art thou*, cried *Antony*, from the stern, *who hast the boldness to pursue me thus?* *I am*, answered he, *Eurycles the son of Lachares, brought hither by Cæsar's fortune to revenge my father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery. However, the *Lacedæmonian*, not caring to engage so renowned a commander, attacked another galley, and took her, with a ship, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. *Eurycles* retired, well satisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat *Antony* returned

Octavianus's conduct towards the conquered.

Antony pursued.

^t Vide VIRGIL. l. viii. *Æneid*. OVID. *Metamorph.* l. xv. HORAT. *epod.* 9. & PROPERT. l. iv. *eleg.* 6. ² DIO. l. lv. p. 590, & l. li. in init. ^h DIO. l. li. p. 443, 444.

He continues his fondness for Cleopatra.

His generosity towards his friends.

The posterity of Antony.

to his former melancholy posture, and continued so three days without seeing the queen till he reached *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. There *Cleopatra's* women brought them to see each other, and converse as formerly, *Antony* shewing himself as fond of her as ever, even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her, as the only cause of his ruin. At *Tænarus* he had an account of the total defeat of his fleet; but, believing his legions still held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Asia*, proposing to renew the war there. As he was himself determined to retire into *Africa*, he gave one of his largest ships, laden with vast sums of money, and gold and silver vessels of an inestimable value, to his friends, desiring them to share it among them, and provide for their own safety; but they refusing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodness imaginable, complaining of his cruel destiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them such tokens of his acknowledgment and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greatest injury, suffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he absolutely commanded them to abandon him to his evil destiny, and consult their own safety. He wrote to *Theophilus*, governor of *Corinth*, desiring him to provide for their security, and keep them concealed, till such time as they could make their peace with *Octavianus*. After this, *Antony* retired to *Africa*, whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and soon after followed her thither. But of the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavianus*, of the unhappy end of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and the affecting circumstances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our history of *Egypt*¹, to which we refer our readers. All *Antony's* statues were thrown down and intirely demolished, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*. His memory was declared infamous by the servile senate, and a decree was passed, enacting, that none of his family should ever after bear the name of *Marcus*. He died in the fifty-third, or, as some write, fifty-sixth, year of his age, leaving behind him seven children by his three wives, *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, and *Cleopatra*; for he married the queen after his divorce with *Octavia*. What became of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his sons by *Cleopatra*, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter *Cleopatra*, the virtuous *Octavia* brought her

¹ Hist. Univerf. Vol. IX. p. 170, & seq.

up with her own children, and married her to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, one of the most learned and virtuous princes of his age. *Antyllus*, his eldest son by *Fulvia*, was betrayed by his governor *Theodorus* to *Octavianus*'s soldiers, who by his orders put him to death. *Julius Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the same mother, became one of *Octavianus*'s chief favourites, *Octavia*, whose generosity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having bestowed on him *Marcella*, one of her daughters by her first husband; but he afterwards indiscreetly engaged in a scandalous intrigue with *Julia*, *Octavianus*'s only daughter, which cost him his life. *Octavia* had by *Antony* only two daughters, of whom the elder was called *Antonia Major*, and the younger *Antonia Minor*. The former married *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom she had *Cneius Domitius*, who by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, was the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Antonia Minor*, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and son-in-law to *Octavianus*. From this marriage came *Germanicus*, who was deservedly esteemed the greatest general of his time, and the most accomplished person among the *Romans*, and *Claudius*, who reigned before *Nero*. *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the son of *Germanicus*, did likewise govern the *Roman* empire; so that *Antony*'s family, in spite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to *Rome*; whereas none of *Octavianus*'s posterity ever enjoyed that sovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiously trod under foot the most sacred laws of his country, and, by a thousand acts of cruelty and injustice, laid waste the *Roman* world.

BUT to resume the thread of our history: *Octavianus* having reduced *Egypt*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of *September* of the present year of *Rome* 723, with a design to return, through *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*, to *Italy*. On his arrival at *Antioch*, he found there *Tiridates*, who had been raised to the throne of *Parthia* in opposition to *Phraabates*, and likewise ambassadors from *Phraabates*, who were all come on the same errand, viz. to solicit the assistance of the *Romans* against each other. *Octavianus* gave a friendly answer both to *Tiridates* and the ambassadors of *Phraabates*, without intending to help either; but rather with a design to animate the one against the other, and by that means to weaken both, so far as to render the *Parthian* name no longer formidable to *Rome*. After this, having appointed *Messala Corvinus* governor of *Syria*, he marched into the province of *Asia* properly so called, and there took up

Octavianus settles the affairs of Egypt, Asia Minor, &c.

his

his winter-quarters ^k. In the beginning of the next year, *Octavianus* entered his fifth consulate, and had the following colleagues, *Licinius Crassus* to the kalends of *July*, *C. Antistius* to the ides of *September*, and *M. Tullius*, the son of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He spent the whole winter in settling the affairs of the several provinces of *Asia Minor* and the adjacent islands, and early in the spring passed into *Greece*, whence he set out for *Rome*, which he entered in the month *Sextilis*, afterwards called *August*, in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together. The first triumph was for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and some *German* and *Gaulish* nations, whom he had conquered before his war with *Antony*. The second was for his naval victory at *Actium*; and the third for the reduction of *Egypt*. In the last, which was the most magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, whom *Antony* had by the queen, and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of state, with an asp hanging at her arm. *Rome* was so much enriched with the immense treasures brought by *Octavianus* and his soldiers out of *Egypt*, that the value of money fell from ten to four per cent, and the prices of every thing else rose in proportion ^l. After his triumph, the name of emperor was conferred upon him, not in the common sense, as it imported only a title of honour, but as it carried with it a sovereign power and an uncontrouled authority ^m.

Octavianus' entertains thoughts of resigning his authority.

AND now *Octavianus* was at the height of his wishes, sole sovereign, sole master, of the whole *Roman* empire. But, on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an usurped power, appearing to him in a stronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thousand perplexing thoughts. The natural aversion of the *Romans* to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of *March*, when his father *Julius* was murdered in full senate, by those very men, whom he thought the most devoted to his person, made him fear there might arise another *Brutus*, who, to restore liberty to his country, might assassinate him on his very throne. This he knew had happened to *Julius Cæsar*; whereas *Sylla*, after having laid down the authority he had usurped, died peaceably in his bed in the midst of his enemies. The passion of fear, which was so natural to him, outweighed in his soul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow the example of *Sylla*. He was indeed very unwilling to part with his authority; but

^k DIO, l. li. p. 447. DIO. l. li. p. 458, 459 Suet. in Octav. c. 22. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. ^m DIO. l. lii. p. 493, 494 fear

fear began to get the better of his ambition. However, before he came to any resolution, he thought it adviseable to consult his two most intimate and trusty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mæcnas*, the former no less famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally esteemed the most refined politician of his age. *Agrippa*, sensible only of that sort of glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly declared for a generous resignation. He enlarged on the many, and almost inevitable, dangers which attend monarchy, insupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth. He did not forget the examples of *Sylla* and *Cæsar*, and closed his speech with exhorting *Octavianus* to convince the world by restoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death. *Mæcnas*, on the other hand, remonstrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after so much bloodshed, there could be no safety for him but on the throne; that, if he divested himself of the sovereign power, he would be immediately prosecuted by the children and friends of the many illustrious persons, whom the misfortune of the times had forced him to sacrifice to his safety; that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and tranquility of the republic, that the sovereign power should be lodged in one person, and not divided among many, &c. *Octavianus* thanked them both for their friendly advice, but shewed himself inclined to follow the opinion of *Mæcnas*; whereupon that able minister gave him many wise instructions and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Cassius* ^a, and will ever be looked upon as a master-piece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being successful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in history after his death, if he never deviated from this rule, viz. to govern others as he would wish to be governed himself, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the sovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name so odious in a commonwealth, he might content himself with the title of *Cæsar* or *Imperator*, and under that name, which was well known to the *Romans*, enjoy all the authority of a king. This advice *Octavianus* followed, and from that time laid aside all thoughts of abdicating the sovereign power; but to deceive the people into a belief that they still enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magistrates, with the same

But is dissuaded from it by Mæcnas.

He continues the old magistrates.

^a DIO. l. lii. p. 464, &c.

name,

*He courts
the people.*

*And the se-
nate, but
divests
them of all
power.*

name, pomp, and ornaments, but with just as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old jurisdiction of deciding finally all causes, except such as were capital; and tho' some of these last were left to the governor of *Rome*, yet the chief he reserved for himself. He paid great court to the people: the very name that covered his usurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneship, tho' he acted as absolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewise won the hearts of the populace by cheapness of provisions and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with shows and sports, and by these means kept them in good humour, and made them forget usurpation, slavery, and every public evil; people in ease and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or resenting acts of power, which they do not immediately feel. As for the senate, he filled it with his own creatures, raising the number of the conscript fathers to a thousand. He supplied several poor senators with money out of the treasury to discharge the public offices, and on all occasions affected a high regard for that venerable body; but at the same time divested them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raising new disturbances in the distant provinces, he issued an edict, forbidding any senator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except such as had lands in *Sicily* or *Narbonne Gaul*, which at that time comprehended *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*. To these provinces, which were near *Italy* and in a perfect state of tranquility, they had full liberty to retire when they pleased, and live there upon their estates. Before he ended his sixth consulship, he took a census of the people, which was forty one years after the last; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred sixty-three thousand, the greatest that had ever been found before ° (Y).

° DIO. l. liii. p. 496. & Marmor. Capuana, Tom. III. Annal. PIGHII, p. 495.

(Y) Mention is made of this census in the marble tables of *Capua* in these words: *In my sixth consulship with my colleague M. Agrippa, I numbered the people, and made a census after forty one years, (that is, from the censorship of Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius) in which four hundred sixty-three thousand citizens were numbered.* Instead of this number, *Eusebius*, whom several modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand.

He

He likewise celebrated the games which had been decreed by the senate for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered, that they should be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of priests being appointed to take care of them, viz. the pontifices, the augurs, the septemvirs, and quindecimvirs ^P. The more to gain the affections of the people, he disannulled by one edict the many severe and unjust laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raised many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many stately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to some ancient writers, about fifty miles in compass, and contained near four millions of souls, reckoning men, women, children, and slaves. He attended business, reformed abuses, shewed great regard for the *Roman* name, procured public abundance, pleasure, and jollity, often appearing in person at the public diversions, and in all things studying to render himself dear to the populace ^q.

He adorns the city.

AND now *Octavianus*, entering upon his seventh consulship with *M. Agrippa* the third time consul, and finding all things ripe for his design, the people being highly pleased with his mild government, and the senate filled with his creatures, whose fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had usurped, went, by the advice of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, to the senate-house, and there in a studied speech offered to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people under the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well apprised, that the greater part of the conscript fathers, whose interests were interwoven with his, would unanimously press him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not often only interrupted him while he was speaking, but, after he had done, unanimously besought him to take upon him alone the whole government of the *Roman* empire. He, with a seeming reluctance, yielded at last to their request, as if he had been compelled to accept of the sovereignty. By this artifice he compassed his design, which was to get the power and authority, which he had usurped, confirmed to him by the senate and people for the space of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending, he should in that time be able to settle all things in such peace and order, that there would be no further need of his authority; but that he might then ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the senate and people. This method he took to render the yoke less heavy; but with a design to renew his lease, if we may be allowed the

He makes a feint to abdicate his power.

But is compelled by the senate to retain it.

^P Dio. ibid. p. 496.

^q Idem ibid.

expression, as soon as the ten years were expired ; which he did accordingly, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole *Roman* empire with an absolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the senate resolved to distinguish him with a new name. Some of the conscript fathers proposed the name of *Romulus*, thereby to import, that he was another founder of *Rome* ; others offered other titles ; but the venerable name of *Augustus*, proposed by *Munatius Plancus*, seemed preferable to all the rest, as it expressed more dignity and reverence than authority, the most sacred things, such as temples and places consecrated by augurs, being termed by the *Romans Augusta* (Z). *Octavianus* himself was inclined to

The title of
Augustus
conferred
upon him.
His policy
in dividing
the pro-
vinces
with the
senate.

assume the name of *Romulus* ; but fearing he should be suspected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of *Augustus* ¹, by which we shall henceforth distinguish him in the sequel of our history. Though the whole power of the senate and people was now vested in *Augustus*, yet, that he might seem to share it with the conscript fathers, he refused to govern all the provinces, assigning to the senate such as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himself those that, bordering upon the barbarous nations, were most exposed to troubles and wars, saying, He desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours ; but by this politic conduct he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen, and the others, which were governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. The latter were called *senatorial*, and the former *imperial*, provinces. The senatorial were, *Africa*, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Asia* properly so called, or the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, *Greece*, styled by most historians *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the island of *Crete*, *Libya*, *Cyrenaica*, *Bithynia*, *Pontus*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the rest

¹ DIO. *ibid.* p. 597. FLOR. l. iv. LIV. i. cxxxiv.

(Z) So *Ovid* in the first book of his *fasti* :

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes :
Hic socium summo cum Jove numen habet.
Sancta vocant Augusta patres : Augusta vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu
Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi :
Et quodcunque sua Jupiter auget ope, &c.

of Spain, comprehending the provinces of *Tarracon* and *Lusitania*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Cilicia*, the island of *Cyprus*, and the kingdom of *Egypt*. Over the provinces of both sorts were set men of distinction, viz. such as had been consuls or prætors, with the title of *proconsul* and *proprætor*; but the government of *Egypt* was committed to a private knight, *Augustus* fearing lest a person of rank, depending upon the wealth and situation of that country, might raise new disturbances in the empire^f. All these governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their successors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at *Rome* within three months at the farthest^g. This division of the provinces was made, according to *Ovid*, on the ides of *January* (A); whereas he was vested by the senate and people with the sovereign power on the seventh of the ides of the same month, as is manifest from the *Narbonne* marbles^h; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy, that had ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent, and continuance, all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it; for it comprehended the greatest, and by far the best, part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, being near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the *Romans* themselves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; those who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raise and depose great kings, to bestow or take away great empires, were so sunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and shoes, their ambition went no higher. The no-

The end of
the com-
monwealth
Year after
the Flood,
2977.
Before
Christ, 22.
Of Rome,
726.

^f *Dio. ibid. p. 504, 505. Tacit. annal. l. i. p. 35.* ^g *I-
dem ibid. p. 506.* ^h *Vide inscript. Grut. p. 229.*

(A) *Ovid*, speaking of this distribution of the provinces, addresses *Cæsar Germanicus* thus:

*Idibus in magni castus Jovis æde sacerdos
Seminaris flammis viscera libat ovis;
Redditæque est omnis populo provincia nostra
Et tuus Augusto nomine dictus avus* (3).

(3) *Ovid fast. l. i.*

N n 2

hilly

bility were indeed more polite than in former times, but at the same time idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, utter strangers to public glory or disgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and solely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready submission, acquiescence, and flattery. No wonder therefore, that they lost their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

CHAP.

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C H A P. XVII.

The history of Rome, from the perfect settlement of the Roman empire to the death of Nero, the last of the family of the Cæsars.

TH E first and chief care of *Augustus*, now absolute master of the whole *Roman* empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more and more to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over *Italy* in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily re-assemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, seventeen of which were in *Europe*, viz. eight on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were sent into *Asia* and *Africa*, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates*, and in *Syria*, two in *Egypt*, and two in the province of *Africa*, that is, in the antient dominions of *Carthage*. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by *Augustus*, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called *cohortes prætoriae*, or *prætorian cohorts*, and the other three *cohortes urbanae*, or *city cohorts*. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who dismissed them all in the year 312 of the christian æra.

*The forces
of the em-
pire.*

BESIDES

The policy
of Augustus.

He is styled
Pater patriæ.

The first
census out
of Italy.

The Cantabrians and
Asturians
defeated.

BESIDES these numerous and well disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets, the one riding at anchor near *Ravenna* in the *Upper* or *Adriatic* sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the *Lower* or *Mediterranean* sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to *Rome* the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions, necessary for the subsistence and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the antient laws and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing, without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held as formerly in the field of *Mars*; but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Augustus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. In short, the same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments, were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power^w. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that they honoured him with the title of *Pater patriæ*, or *Father of his country*. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus*, having settled affairs in the capital, left *Italy*, and passed into *Gaul*, with a design to attempt the reduction of the *British* islands; but being informed, on his arrival at *Narbonne*, that the *Salassi* at the foot of the *Alps*, and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* in *Spain*, had shaken off the yoke, he sent *Terentius Varro* against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his colleague *Titus Statilius Taurus*, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left *Gaul*, he took a census of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of *Italy*^x. On his arrival in *Spain*, he defeated the *Cantabri* in a pitched battle near *Vellica*, at a small distance from the *Iberus*, and obliged them to retire with their wives and children to one of their highest mountains, called by the antients *Vindius*, and by the moderns the mountain of *Asturias*. But, in the mean time, *Augustus* falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to *C. Antistius*; who having defeated the united forces of the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain,

^w DIO. *ibid* p. 511. SÆT. in Octavio.

535. TACIT. *annal.* l. c. 32. SÆT. l. ii. c. 26.

^x DIO. l. liv. p.

which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compass, and fortified at proper distances with castles and turrets. By this means, all the avenues and passages being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the *Roman* intrenchments, the *Asturians* were at length for throwing themselves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were therein opposed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that, after a sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the *Asturians*, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, whom they begged in a moving manner to receive them upon what terms they pleased. But *Tiberius*, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames; and some put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the forest they possessed *.

*They fall
out among
themselves.*

*Great
numbers of
the Asturi-
ans perish
with fa-
mine.*

IN the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus*, who still resided at *Tarracon*, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth consulship, and chose for his colleague *M. Junius Silanus*†. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of *Spain*, after it had, for the space of two hundred years, and upwards, given the *Romans* constant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The *Cantabrians*, whom *Antistius* kept closely invested, were at length forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Of these ten thousand were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries to be employed against the *Asturians*, the rest were disarmed, and sold to the best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives, after the loss of their liberty and arms‡. *Cantabria*, now *Biscay*, being thus intirely reduced, *Augustus* divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of *Titus*

*The Can-
tabrians
utterly sub-
dued.*

* OROS. l. vi. c. 22. † SUET. in OCTAV. c. 26. ‡ OROS.
ibid. DIO. l. liii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii.

And also
the Asturi-
ans.

Carisius, into *Lusitania*, whither some of the *Asturians* had retired, and the other he led himself into their country. The *Asturians* in *Lusitania* were in a battle, which lasted two days, and was one of the most bloody that had ever been fought, intirely defeated by *Carisius*, who could not help owning, that the *Asturians* equalled in valour the *Romans* themselves. On the other hand, *Augustus* and *Antistius* entering the country of those brave, but unfortunate, people, cut most of them in pieces, and made themselves masters of all their cities and strong-holds. Thus were the two most warlike nations of *Spain* forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their ancient liberty. *Augustus*, before he left the country, built several cities to keep the rebellious *Spaniards* in awe, among the rest *Cæsar Augusta*, now *Saragosa*, and *Augusta Emerita*, now *Merida*, so called because it was founded by *Augustus*, and peopled by his veterans, called in *Latin* *Emeriti*^b. He likewise built a stone-bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops from one province to another.

The Salassi
subdued.

THIS year several wars were carried on with equal success in other parts. *Marcus Crassus*, one of *Augustus*'s lieutenants, overcame the *Mæfians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube*. *M. Vincius* gained considerable advantages over some nations of *Germany*, for which the title of *Imperator* was conferred upon *Augustus*, under whose auspices *Vincius* had fought. *Terentius Varro*, surnamed *Muræna*, reduced the *Salassi*, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he thought proper to impose upon them. After they had delivered up their arms, *Varro* sent forty thousand of their youth to *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years. *Augustus* divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called *Augusta Prætoria*, now known by the name of *Astac*. The whole glory of this expedition was ascribed to *Augustus*, tho' he was then in *Spain*, and a stately monument erected by a decree of the senate to his honour in the midst of the *Alps*, on which were engraved the names of forty three nations, inhabiting those mountains, who were said to have been subdued by him, and brought under the *Roman* yoke^d.

Cornelius
Gallus ban-
nished.

WHILE *Augustus* was waging war with the rebellious *Spaniards*, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inscribed his tenth and last eclogue, was condemned to perpetual banishment by

^b SURT. in OCTAV. DIO. ibid. p. 514. OROS. ibid. ^c DIO. SUT. ibid. Epit. LIV. ^d DIO. p. 513, 514. PLIN l. iii. c. 20. the

the senate, for having spoken with too much liberty of *Augustus*. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and esteemed him on account of his fine genius, the first governor of *Egypt*, which he oppressed in a most tyrannical manner, stripping the most wealthy cities of the country, particularly the famous city of *Thebes*, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an absolute monarch, than a subordinate magistrate, erecting statues to himself in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inscribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged *Augustus* to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his house and the provinces under his command. Hereupon *Galus* uttered many disrespectful speeches against the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanors, he was, by the unanimous suffrages of the senate, condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by falling on his own sword^e. *Augustus*, whose favour he had gained by his military exploits and the elegance of his poetical compositions, is said to have wept, when he received in *Spain* the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to set what bounds he pleased to his resentment. However, he returned thanks to the senate for the zeal they had shewn on this occasion, for the safety of his person and the glory of his name^f. This year died *Amyntas* king of *Pisidia*. He had been secretary to old king *Dejotarus*, and raised by *Marc Antony*, whom he served with great fidelity, to the throne, which *Augustus* suffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to transmit it to his posterity; so that *Pisidia*, with *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, upon his death, were reduced to a Roman province, and first governed by *M. Lollius* in quality of proprætor^g.

He lays
violent
hands on
himself.

Pisidia,
Galatia,
&c. be-

DURING *Augustus*'s stay in *Spain*, *Agrippa*, who had remained in *Rome*, was no less employed in adorning with magnificent structures that stately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charges, the most remarkable were, the porch and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths, called *Thermae Agrippæ*, and the *Pantheon*, a celebrated temple, so named, according to *Dion*, from the many images of the gods with which it was embellished, or rather from its arched

come a
Roman
province.

^e STRABO, l. xvii. p. 819. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xvii, Dio. l. liii. p. 512. EUSEB. in Chron. ^f SUET. in Octav. c 66. Dio. ibid. ^g Dio. p. 514. EUTROP. l. vii. SEXT. RUF. in brev. EUSEB. in chron.

The Sarmatians,
Scythians,
&c. send
embassies
to
Augustus.

roof, which resembled the heavens. This wonderful structure was finished this year, in the ninth consulship of *Augustus*, and is preserved intire to this day. While *Augustus* continued at *Tarracon*, his health not allowing him yet to set out on his return to *Rome*, he had the satisfaction to see the most remote nations of the north and the east, that is, the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres* (B), courting his

(B) The *Seres*, the same people whom we now call the *Chinese*, are thought to have been the first who made silk; whence *silk* was called *serica*, and a *filken garment sericum*, by the *Greeks* as well as by the *Latins*. From the country of the *Seres*, that is, from *China*, silk was brought into *Persia*, and from *Persia* into *Greece* and *Italy*. It was first brought into *Greece* on *Alexander's* conquering *Persia*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flourishing times of the *Roman* empire. It was for a long time very dear in these western parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the *Persians*, to keep this manufacture to themselves, would not allow the silk worms to be carried out of *Persia*, or any one to pass from thence into the west, who were skilled in the management of them. But the emperor *Justinian*, who died in the year of the christian era 565, looking upon it as a great hardship, that his subjects should purchase this manufacture of the *Persians* at so dear a rate, sent two monks into *India*, to learn there how the filken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them on their return some silk worms, that he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These monks on their return told him, that the silk-worms could not be brought so long a journey, but the emperor understanding from them that their eggs might, he sent them back for them; and by this means great quantities of these eggs were brought to *Constantinople*. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk trade, which have been since that time in *Europe*. The ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a filken garment. In the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, a law was made, *ne vestis serica viros fœdaret*, that is, *that no man should dishonour himself by wearing a filken garment* (4); and *Lampridius* reckons it one of the most infamous parts of *Heliogabalus's* character, that he was the first man who wore *holosericum*, that is, *a garment which was all of silk* (5).

(4) *Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 33.* (5) *Vide Prid. connect. & Voss. in etym. ad vocem Sericum, & de idololat. l. iv. c. 90. & Salmaj. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad hist. August.*

friendship with embassies and rich presents ^b. *Florus* tells us, that the *Seres* were four years on their journey, and that they presented *Augustus* with pearls, precious stones, and elephants. The fame of *Cæsar's* moderation in the midst of his victories was what chiefly prompted those distant nations, if we believe *Suetonius* ¹, to solicit his friendship. This year ended with two marriages, viz. of *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Antony*, with *Juba* king of *Getulia*, of whom we have spoken above, and of *Julia*, *Augustus's* daughter by *Scribonia*, with *Marcellus*, his sister *Octavia's* son by her first husband, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments, and already adopted by *Augustus*, who had no hopes of issue by his wife *Livia*, whom he passionately loved. As the emperor was still kept in *Spain* by the bad state of his health, the ceremonies used by the *Romans* on such occasions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by *Agrippa* ^{*}.

THE ensuing year, *Augustus* entered upon his tenth consulship, having *C. Norbanus Flaccus* for his colleague; but whether he was then in *Spain*, on his journey, or at *Rome*, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year or the beginning of this, the senate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, free-ferred on ing him from the obligation of all laws, and empowering him *Augustus*. to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleasure. At the same time, by a solemn oath they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, tho' then not above sixteen years of age, should, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the senate among those of the prætorian rank, and that he might stand for the consulate, ten years sooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewise ordained in favour of *Tiberius*, son-in-law to *Augustus*, that he might stand for the curule offices, five years sooner than the usual time. These decrees were no sooner passed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæstor ¹. This year was remarkable for an expedition against the southern *Arabs*, undertaken by *Ælius Gallus*, a Roman knight, *Ælius* and the third governor of *Egypt* under *Augustus*. The emperor being informed, that *South Arabia* abounded in gold, *Arabia* silver, and other riches, resolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and so open a way for commerce with them, or by conquest to make them his subjects. He had also this

The unsuccessful expedition of Gallus into

^b FLOR. l. iv. c. 12. SUET. ibid. c. 21. OROS. l. vi. c. 21.
EUTROP. l. vii. ¹ SUET. ibid. ^{*} DIO. ibid. p. 515.
¹ Idem ibid.

He is be-
trayed by
Syllæus.

He defeats
the Arabs,
and takes
several
cities.

farther view, viz. in case he should, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himself an easy way for the subduing of the *Troglodites*, their country being separated from *South Arabia* only by the narrow straits, now called the straits of *Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulph discharges itself into the southern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, *Augustus* furnished *Gallus* with ten thousand men; *Herod* king of *Judæa* sent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and *Obodas* king of the *Nabathæan Arabs* a thousand more, under the command of *Syllæus* his chief minister. *Syllæus* undertook to be *Gallus's* guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miscarry. *Gallus* had proposed to march through the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence into *South Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*; but *Syllæus* falsely informing him, that there was no safe passage thither by land, he built an hundred and thirty transports at *Cleopatris*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulph or *Red sea*, and, putting his army on board of them, sailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæans*, on the other side of that sea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulph, and *Syllæus* conducted them the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost a great many ships. Upon his landing, his whole army was seized with a distemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive, at *Leucocome*, and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the summer and the following winter. Early next spring, he set out from *Leucocome*, and, after a most painful march of six months southward, being led by the treacherous *Syllæus* through ways almost impassable, he arrived at length on the borders of *Arabia Felix*. Upon his approach, *Sabus*, king of the country, fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by *Strabo* the city of the *Agrans*, which *Gallus* took by assault. From thence he continued his march southward, and arrived the sixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had assembled with a design to dispute his passage; but *Gallus*, falling upon them, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, with the loss of two men only. He then, without further opposition, made himself master of *Annestus*, *Asca*, *Magufum*, *Tommacum*, *Labeccia*, *Mariaba*, a city six miles in compass, *Athrula*, where he left a garison, and *Caripeta*. From *Caripeta* he penetrated farther into the country, and, after some days march, came to *Marsabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, who were governed by a petty prince named *Ilas-*

rus. He besieged the place ; but was obliged, after several unsuccessful attempts, to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, his men being seized with various distempers, occasioned by the heat of the climate and the unwholsomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviseable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence pursue his rout into *Egypt*. Accordingly, *He drops the enterprize, and returns to Egypt.* having by this time discovered the treachery of *Syllæus*, he set out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides, and came in six days to *Anagrana* ; whence, after having put to flight king *Sabus*, who attempted to harass him on his march, he pursued his journey to *Negra*, called also *Hygra*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæan* country, which he reached in sixty days ; whereas he had spent six months in marching from thence to the confines of *Arabia*. At *Negra* he imbarqued his troops, and having crossed the *Arabian* gulph in eleven days, he landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* side ; and from thence, by the way of *Coptus*, led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*, after having spent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the several skirmishes he had with the enemy, he lost only seven men ; but the far greater part of his forces perished, either by famine or diseases ^m. Some of the medicinal compositions, which he invented against the distempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by *Galen*, and among the rest treacle, which on his return he presented to *Augustus*, telling him, that it had saved the lives of many of his soldiers ⁿ. The bad success, that had attended *Ælius* in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts on that country ; so that the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* in the east, and the *Scots* in the north, as we shall observe hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfall of the *Roman* empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

WHILE *Ælius Gallus* was employed with part of the *Egyptian* army in this expedition, *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, *queen of Ethiopiz,* invading the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* with a great army, surprised the cities of *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Phyllis*, *invades Egypt.* carried the *Romans* who garisoned them into captivity, overthrew *Augustus's* statues, and laid waste the whole country.

^m DIO. *ibid.* p. 516—524. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 780. & l. ii. p. 118. & l. xvii. p. 820. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xv. c. 12. & *de bell. Judaic.* l. i. c. 16. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ⁿ GALEN. *de antidot.* l. ij.

But is de-
feated by
Petronius,
who takes
several of
her cities.

Hereupon *C. Petronius*, at that time governor of *Egypt*, having with all imaginable expedition got together a body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse, marched against the warlike queen, and coming up with her in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the banks of the *Nile*, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, tho' thirty thousand strong, and made himself master of *Pselcha*, the key of *Ethiopia* on the side of *Egypt*. From *Pselcha* *Petronius* penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and after having passed those deserts, where the whole army of *Cambyfes* is said to have been by a sudden storm buried in the sand, he took, without opposition, the cities of *Premnis*, *Aboccis*, *Phturis*, *Cambyfes*, *Atteva*, and *Stadifis*; which last place stood near the cataracts of the *Nile*. Encouraged with this success, the *Roman* general advanced to *Napata*, which *Dion* calls *Tenape*, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took and destroyed, and from thence marched forward, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great deserts, nor stay there any longer on account of the excessive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having therefore put a garison of four hundred men into *Premnis*, one of the strongest fortresses of *Ethiopia*, and supplied it with provisions for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying with him many thousand captives, whom he sold for slaves, except one thousand, in which number were the chief commanders of *Candace's* army; and those he sent as a present to *Augustus*. The queen of *Ethiopia*, upon the first notice of the departure of the *Romans*, having assembled new forces, attacked with great vigour the garison they had left at *Premnis*; but *Petronius* returning with a quickness and expedition hardly to be imagined, she was obliged not only to raise the siege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the *Romans*. However, *Augustus* afterwards remitted the tribute, which she was, pursuant to the treaty, to pay yearly to the *Roman* people, and restored to her all the cities which *Petronius* had seized.

The queen
concludes a
peace with
the Ro-
mans.

The Can-
tabrians
and Astu-
rians rebel,
but are
soon re-
duced.

DURING these transactions in the east, the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having, by a stratagem, surpris'd a considerable body of *Romans*, put them all to the sword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Augustus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, soon revenged their death, laying waste the whole country with

• STRABO, l. xvii, p. 820. DIO, l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN, l. vi. c. 29.

fire and sword, and cruelly massacring most of their young men who were able to bear arms: by which means he reduced them in less than a month to an entire subjection ^P.

THE following year *Augustus*, being in his eleventh consulship with *Cneius Calpurnius Piso*, fell into a dangerous disorder, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himself past recovery, he sent for the curule magistrates, and the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who immediately came to attend him, not doubting but he designed to name in their presence his successor, and intail the empire on his family. They were therefore greatly surprised to see the dying emperor, without uttering a single word, put into the hands of his colleague *Calpurnius Piso* his last will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a distinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes, of the whole *Roman* empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a successor, and his delivering to the chief magistrate, in so critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his design was to put the commonwealth once more into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered in the presence of all to *Agrippa*, signifying thereby, as was then interpreted, that if they desired to be governed by one man, they could not chuse a person more fit for so great a trust than *Agrippa*. As for *Marcellus*, his son-in-law, his nephew, and his son by adoption, whom every one expected he would name for his successor, he seemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of *Augustus* at the point of death, when his sincerity could not be reasonably questioned, gained him the affections of the people, above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being solemnly deified, and ranked among the gods, in regard of the disinterested love he shewed for his country, than his father *Julius* on account of all his warlike exploits. But the apotheosis of *Augustus* was put off for many years; for *Antonius Musa*, a famous *Greek* physician, and brother to *Euphorbus*, physician to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, by cooling potions, and the use of the cold bath, restored him to his health, to the great real, or seeming, satisfaction of the senate and people, who immediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to *Musa* over-against that of *Æsculapius*, a distinction never before granted to any freed-man. He was

^P DIO. p. 523, 524.

*Rejoicings
at Rome
for his re-
covery.*

also allowed to wear a gold ring, and all persons of his profession were for ever, out of gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes^q. The recovery of *Augustus* occasioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were struck, many of which have reached our times, and the most magnificent sports exhibited that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told that some fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to sacrifice victims in their name by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this inscription, *The day of our death was the day of Augustus's recovery*^r. The emperor, as soon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the senate-house, and, after having thanked the fathers in most obliging terms for the concern they had shewn during his illness, and the joy they had expressed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the assembly, in order to convince them, that he had appointed himself no successor, but left them at full liberty either of re-establishing the antient form of government, or chusing for themselves a sovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpose, since they were, without any further proof, fully convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare^r.

*Misunder-
standing
between
Marcellus
and Agrip-
pa.*

THE behaviour of *Augustus* during his illness occasioned a misunderstanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of a mean descent, a mere soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on several occasions with great contempt. On the other hand, *Agrippa* was not a man to bear with any ill usage. The emperor therefore, to prevent the evil consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it adviseable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*, who immediately left *Rome*, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos*, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care^r.

AND now *Augustus*, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years together, to *P. Sestius*, a man of an unblemished character, but a constant and faithful friend to *Brutus*, under

^q Idem, p. 517, & seq.

& DIO. ibid.

^r SUET. in Octavio.

^r SUET.

^r DIO. l. liii. p. 518. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 91. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xi, c. 13. SUET. ibid. c. 66.

whom

whom he had served in the battle of *Philippi* in quality of proquæstor, and whose memory he still revered, keeping his picture in his house, and commending on all occasions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of *Augustus*, ^{New ho-} in preferring a man of *Sestius*'s character to many of his own ^{nours heap-} friends, who aspired at the same dignity, that they heaped ^{ed upon} *Augustus*. new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the most distant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all outrages and insults, whether in words or actions. His successors never parted with this power; but, after the example of *Augustus*, caused it to be recorded in public registers in these terms; *Tribunitiæ potestatis primum, secundum, &c.* Thus were the *Romans*, by raising the authority of their emperors, daily rivetting their own chains. In the consulate of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and *L. Sestius*, *Phraates* king of *Parthia* being restored to the throne by the *Scythians*, *Tiridates*, whom the *Parthians* had chose in his room, being obliged to save him- ^{Tiridates} self by flight, came to *Rome*, with the chief men of his party, to solicit the assistance of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, in case he was restored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, *Phraates*, hearing he had fled to *Rome*, sent ambassadors after him to defeat his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious slaves, as he styled them, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands at *Antioch*, when he passed through that city on his return to *Italy* after the reduction of *Egypt*. *Augustus* introduced the ambassadors of the contending parties to the senate; but, after they had pleaded the cause of their respective princes before the fathers, without consulting them, he answered the ambassadors himself in the same manner as he had done before at *Antioch*, viz. That he ^{Augustus's} would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phraates*, nor ^{answer to} assist either of them against the other. However, to gratify ^{his embas-} both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to live at *Rome*, ^{sadors, and} ^{to those of} *Phraates*.

* *Dio. ibid.* p. 518, 519. Vide *Noris de Cenotaph. Pisana*, & *L. Cæf.* p. 191. & *Anton. Pagi. critic. in annal. Baronii*, p. 109.

ordering him out of the public treasury an allowance suitable to his rank, and sent back to *Phrahates* his son, on condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. This *Phrahates* promised; but did not perform till three years after*. This year *Marcellus* was seized with a hectic fever, which *Antonius Musa* undertook to cure; but the remedies he prescribed, the same which had saved the life of *Augustus*, were commonly believed to have occasioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of *Augustus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the Roman people, whose hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. Though this year proved very sickly, and many were carried off by the reigning distempers, yet the ambitious *Livia* was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom she was believed to have dispatched by means of *Antonius Musa*, to make room for *Tiberius* and *Drusus* her own children. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence in the *campus Martius*, *Augustus* himself, who was his nearest relation, pronouncing, according to custom, his funeral oration†.

Augustus wisely declines the dictatorship, and the office of censor.

THE next year, *M. Claudius Marcellus Aferminus* and *L. Arruntius* being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the other cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilld, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the *Pantheon*, and there dashed to pieces several statues, &c. The populace imagining, that the gods visited them with these, and threatened them with greater calamities, because they had suffered *Augustus* to lay down the consulate, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, unless the fathers immediately created him dictator. The conscript fathers readily complied with their request; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the house of *Augustus*, with twenty-four axes and fasces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorship; but he wisely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not seem to despise the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on *Pompey the Great*, and took care to supply the city

* DIO. *ibid.* JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5. † DIO, p. 517, 519. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 93. TACIT. *annal.* 2. VIRG. *Æneid.* l. vi.

with great plenty of provisions, appointing annually two persons for that purpose, who had discharged the prætorship two years before. As to the office of perpetual censor, he could by no means be prevailed to take it upon him; but named to that important employment *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proscribed, and *L. Munatius Plancus*, formerly one of *Antony's* most zealous partizans; but *Lepidus* dying soon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a most infamous character, being no ways qualified to censure the vices of others, *Augustus* took upon himself to perform the functions, tho' he declined the title, of that magistracy, and enacted many excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and esteem of the whole city. He suppressed several private assemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he transferred the care of the public shows and sports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the usual sports at their own charges, but obliged the people to contribute a small sum for their own diversions, and paid the rest out of the public treasury. As the ædileship was the first step to public honours, the young noblemen often spent their whole fortunes, and reduced themselves to beggary, by the expensive shows with which they entertained the people, in hopes of being raised by their suffrages to the superior magistracies; and it was to obviate this abuse, that *Augustus* committed the celebrating of the games to the prætors, and would have the charges attending them divided between the people and the public treasury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguishing fires, allowing them for that service six hundred slaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He likewise ordered by a particular edict, that none should exhibit the show of gladiators without leave from the senate, and then only twice a year, and with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many persons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debased themselves to act and dance upon the stage, *Augustus* restrained such scandalous practices, by forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of the senatorial or equestrian order to appear on the stage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of senators². In these regulations he exerted the power and authority of an absolute prince and legislator; but in other things used great condescension, affecting to appear in courts of judicature like a private person, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them

Enacts several excellent laws.

² DIO. *ibid.* p. 521---524. SUE. *ibid.*

His moderation.

Conspiracy against Augustus.

Is discovered and the conspirators punished.

when cited before the prætors or other judges. This complaisance often drew insults upon him from the adverse parties, as it happened in the case of one *M. Primus*, who was accused of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odrysians*, while he was governor of *Macedon*. *Primus* maintained; that he had been ordered by *Augustus* to make war upon the *Odrysians*; whereupon *Augustus*, appearing soon after in court, was asked by the prætor, Whether *Primus's* plea was true or no? The emperor answered, That *Primus* was certainly mistaken, since he was very sure he had given no such orders. This open and positive declaration left no room for any reply; which so provoked *L. Muræna*, who pleaded for *Primus*, that he could not help asking the emperor with great boldness and anger, *What business he had there? and what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted?* The public good, replied *Augustus*, with great calmness and moderation. This deportment gained him the esteem of many; but others, who were enemies to *Augustus* in their hearts, and wished to see the ancient form of government restored, laid hold of this opportunity to stir up *Muræna*, and to enter into a conspiracy with him against the tyrant of *Rome*, as they styled him. *Muræna* and *Fannius Cæpio*, the former a man of an unblemished character, and the latter the greatest debauchee in *Rome*, took upon them the whole management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place was already appointed. But, in the mean time, *Muræna* disclosed the whole to his sister *Terentilla*, and she to her husband *Mæcenas*, who gave notice of it to the emperor, after having advised his brother-in-law and the other conspirators to abscond, till such time as he should obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. But *Augustus* would not hearken to the intreaties either of *Mæcenas* or *Proculus*, who was brother to *Muræna*, and in such favour with the emperor, that he had been long in suspense, whether he should bestow his daughter *Julia* on him or *Marcellus*. As *Augustus* proved inflexible, the conspirators were summoned to take their trials, and not appearing, interdicted by a majority of suffrages fire and water, throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* was conveyed in the night-time by a faithful slave to the *Tiber* in a basket, and put on board a small vessel which landed him at *Ostia*. From *Ostia* the slave conducted him safe to *Laurentum*, and from thence to *Cumæ*, where he was betrayed by another slave to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to *Rome*. *Muræna* was discovered in *Rome*, and assassinated by *Augustus's* emissaries. As the conspirators were absolved by the votes of some of the judges, the



the emperor, fearing such criminals might for the future go unpunished, enacted the two following laws, viz. That all guilty persons who refused to appear, should be condemned to the same punishments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that for the future the judges in criminal cases should deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly and by word of mouth. Lest the severity he shewed on this occasion and the new laws he enacted, might estrange the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the odd behaviour of old *Capio*, who not only set at liberty the slave who had conveyed his son out of *Rome*, but sentenced the other to be crucified, after having caused him to be led through all the streets of *Rome* with a writing, which expressed the cause of his punishment. At this time, *Augustus*, out of complaisance to the senate, whom his severity towards two men of rank might have provoked, delivered up to the conscript fathers ^{The provinces of} the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which, from ^{vinces of} this time, began to be ranked among the proconsular provinces, *Cyprus* and to be governed by magistrates sent thither by the senate^a; and *Gaul* This same year, the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* revolted anew; ^{delivered} but were soon brought under subjection by *G. Furnius*. Many ^{up to the} of *Cantabrians*, finding they could not shake off the yoke, ^{senate.} chose rather to lay violent hands on themselves than to bear it; so deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people^b!

AND now *Italy* and all the provinces in the west enjoying a profound tranquillity, *Augustus* resolved to take a progress into the east, and with this view set out for *Sicily* towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to chuse for consuls whom they pleased. At the time therefore appointed for the great elections the centuries met, and with one consent raised to the consulate *Augustus*, and gave him *M. Lollius* for his colleague; but he refusing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a second time, when such disorders were raised in the comitia, by the ambition of the two competitors, *L. Silanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, that the wiser citizens thought it proper to acquaint *Augustus* therewith, and solicit him to return to *Rome*, and with his presence put a stop to the contests and divisions, which the opposite factions had raised in the city. *Augustus* heard the account of these disturbances with a secret satisfaction, hoping they would convince the most zealous and obstinate republicans, that they were no

Disturbances in Rome on account of the elections.

^a Dio. l. liv p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504.

^b Idem ibid.

longer

longer capable of governing themselves as formerly. However, lest the quarrels of two such men, who had a great number of clients and were allied to most of the chief families in *Rome*, should produce a civil war, he sent for the candidates, reprimanded them severely, and commanded them to keep at a distance from *Rome* till the election was over. But this did not restore tranquillity to the city; the friends of the two competitors supported their respective interests with the same warmth as if they had been present; but at length *Lepidus's* party prevailed, and he was chosen consul. However, *Augustus*, to prevent such disturbances for the future, as he could not be always at *Rome* himself, judged it necessary to create a new magistrate, whose province should be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis.

Agrippa
made go-
vernor of
Rome.

He marries
Julia, Au-
gustus's
daughter.

Agrippa seemed to him the most proper person for so great a command. He therefore dispatched a messenger to him, ordering him to quit the island of *Lesbos* and repair to him in *Sicily*. On his arrival, to procure him more respect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce *Martella*, tho' daughter to *Octavia* and *Augustus's* niece, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. We are told that *Mæcenâs* promoted this match, by suggesting to *Augustus*, when he consulted him about it, that since he had already made *Agrippa* so great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his interest by marrying him to his daughter ^b. This marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and *Agrippa* immediately after took his leave of *Augustus*, and set out for *Rome*, where he discharged his new office with great applause, being equally beloved by the senate and people.

In the mean time, *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, passed over into *Greece*, where he shewed particular marks of his favour to the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom he bestowed the island of *Cithera* and five other cities, as a reward for the kindness they had formerly shewn to *Linia*, when she fled with her husband and son out of *Italy*. The *Athenians* he punished for having erected statues to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and afterwards sided with *Antony*. He took from them the island of *Egina* and the city of *Eretria*, forbidding them for the future to sell the right of citizenship, which brought them in vast sums, the *Romans* themselves glorying in being free of *Athens* ^c. From *Greece* *Augustus* sailed to *Samos*, and there wintered.

^b DIO, *ibid.* p. 525. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 93. SUET. in *Octavio*. ^c DIO, *ibid.*

EARLY in the spring, *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silvius Nerva* Augustus being consuls, *Augustus* left *Samos*, and crossed over into *Asia*, *passes into the east.* settling the affairs of the provinces through which he passed, in as absolute a manner as if they had belonged to himself and not to the senate. He deprived the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death some *Roman* citizens. The same punishment he inflicted on the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, judging this the most effectual method of putting an end to the factions, which reigned in these two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phraates* king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was universally hated by his subjects, not only sent back to him all the ensigns and captives taken by the *Parthians*, in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*, but yielded to all the conditions which *Augustus* required, giving four of his sons with their wives and children as hostages for the performance of them^d; whereupon *Justin* observes, that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war^e; but *Tacitus* tells us, that not the fear of *Augustus*, but the diffidence *Phraates* had of his own people, induced him thereunto^f; and with him agree *Strabo*^g and *Josephus*^h (C). However, *Augustus*, no less proud of having thus

Phraates sends back to him the Roman eagles and ensigns.

^d DIO. *ibid.*
l. ii. c. i.
l. xviii. c. 3.

^e JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5.
^g STRABO. l. vi. p. 288.

^f TACIT. *annal.*
^h JOSEPH. *antiq.*

(C) So far as we can gather from their writings, the whole matter seems to have passed in the following manner; A very beautiful *Italian* woman, named *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phraates* as a present, the king entertained her first as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her, and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Phraates* the putting of his other sons, whose names were *Sarospades*, *Cerospades*, *Phraates*, and *Vonones*, into the hands of the *Romans*. *Phraates*, not thinking himself safe against his subjects, so long as there were any of the race of *Asfages* of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's proposal; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and *Augustus*, and hostages demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four sons into the hands of *Augustus*, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many years. As for *Thermusa's* son, who was named *Phraatices*, he was bred up to succeed his father in the kingdom.

The

thus recovered the *Roman* eagles and captives, than if he had overcome the *Parthians* in battle, sent orders to the senate to shut up the temple of *Janus*, which he had opened on his setting out for the east, and to offer sacrifices, by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended him in this expedition. To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the most glorious of his whole reign, on his return to *Rome* he caused a temple to be built in the capitol to *Mars the Avenger*, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In this new temple were hung up the military ensigns, which the king of *Parthia* had restored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to *Augustus*¹. At the same time *Augustus* settled the affairs of *Armenia*. *Artabazes*, king of that country, having been taken prisoner by *Antony* and carried to *Alexandria*, as we have related above, *Artaxias* his son, whom *Dion* calls *Artabazes*, succeeded him. But he having made himself obnoxious to his subjects by a most tyrannical and oppressive reign, they complained of him to *Augustus*, desiring to have *Tigranes*, his younger brother, who was then at *Rome*, to reign over them in his stead. *Augustus* complied with their request, and sent *Tiberius*, the son of *Livia*, who had attended him into the east, with an army into *Armenia*, and drive out *Artaxias* and place *Tigranes* on the throne. But *Artaxias* being killed by his own subjects before the arrival of *Tiberius*, and *Tigranes* thereupon admitted, without opposition, to succeed him, the young *Roman* had no opportunity of signalizing himself by any military exploits. However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging *Tigranes* to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom². *Velleius Paterculus*, the great

Augustus
appoints
Tigranes
king of
Armenia.

Who re-
ceives the
crown of
Tiberius.

¹ Suet. ibid. Dio. p. 526.

² Dio. ibid.

The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the race of *Arfaces*, that *Phrabates* well knew they would bear him, so long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be set up to reign in his room; and this was, according to *Strabo* and *Josephus* (6), the reason why *Phrabates* so readily yielded up his sons to the *Romans*; but at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians* (7).

(6) Vide Strab. & Joseph. ubi supra.
Vol. X. p. 544.

(7) Vide Hist. Univers.

flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that, entering *Armenia* at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the *Armenians* to receive *Tigranes*, whom he calls *Artavases*, for their king. He adds, that the *Parthians* were so terrified at his approach, and the fame of his name and exploits, that they sent back to *Augustus* the *Roman* ensigns and captives¹. But all other writers ascribe the recovery of the ensigns to *Augustus*, and agree, that *Tiberius* performed nothing worth mentioning. This year *Julia*, who had had no children by her first husband *Marcellus*, brought *Agrippa* a son, who was named *Caius*, and on whose birth-day a perpetual sacrifice, with other solemnities, was decreed by way of thanksgiving to the gods^m. Towards the end of the summer, *Augustus* left *Syria*, and being attended by *Herod*, king of *Judæa*, to the sea side, he embarked and sailed for *Samos*, where he passed the ensuing winter. In the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus* was named consul in the assembly of the people, and *C. Sentius Saturninus* given him for his colleague. But *Augustus* declining that office, the factions revived, and the *campus Martius* was turned into a field of battle, many persons being killed in the fray; insomuch, that *Augustus*, to put a stop to the disorders that were raised on this occasion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a colleague to *Sentius* of his own authority. The person he pitched upon was *Q. Lucretius Vespillo*, who had been formerly proscribed by the triumvirs, but at this time served under *Augustus* in quality of lieutenant. These two magistrates together with *Agrippa* maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by punishing with the utmost severity the ring-leaders of the late tumultⁿ.

Caius Ca-
sar born.

WHILE *Augustus* resided at *Samos*, he received a second embassy from the king of *India*, soliciting an alliance with him. The ambassadors, as we are informed by *Nicolas of Damascus*, who saw them as they passed through *Antioch*, delivered to *Augustus* a letter in the *Greek* tongue, wherein the king of *India* told him, that though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had so great a value for his friendship, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey on purpose to desire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place soever he pleased to appoint; and that upon the first notice he would assist him to the utmost of his power in whatever was right. This letter he subscribed by the name of *Porus* king of *India*. The six hundred kings, whom he boasted to

A second
embassy to
Augustus
from the
king of
India.

¹ VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 94.
ibid.

^m DIO. p. 526.

ⁿ DIO.

Augustus
returns to
Rome.

Virgil dies

reign over, were the *rajas*, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants remain to this day, who, paying an annual tribute to the *Great Mogul*, govern their subjects with an absolute authority. Of the embassadors, who first set out from *India*, three only reached the presence of *Augustus*, the others dying by the way. Of the three surviving one was *Zarmar*, a gymnosophist, who following *Augustus* to *Athens*, there burnt himself in his presence, as *Calanus*, another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of *Alexander*, it being customary for the gymnosophists to put an end to their lives, by throwing themselves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or apprehended some misfortune^o. Among the presents which they brought were huge vipers, serpents ten cubits long, a river tortoise three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and several tygers, the first that had ever been seen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*^p. *Augustus* early in the spring left *Samos*, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all possible marks of honour, his bringing back the military ensigns and prisoners taken in the *Parthian* wars being what the *Romans* valued beyond the greatest victories. *Augustus* himself took so much pride in having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* name among foreign nations, that he caused a great number of medals, many of which have reached us, to be struck with this legend on the reverse, *Signis receptis*. The poets of his time made, as is well known, his recovering of the ensigns and prisoners, the common topic of their flatteries^q. Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the senate, an altar was erected to *Fortune* with this inscription, *Fortunæ reduci*; and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital should be annually solemnised with sacrifices, sports, shows, &c. and distinguished by the name of *Augustalia*, or the feast of *Augustus*. This year died the prince of the *Latin* poets in the fifty-first year of his age, having bequeathed a considerable part of his great wealth to *Augustus* and *Mæcenas*, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had designed to attend *Augustus* into the east, but was obliged by the bad state of his health to remain at *Naples*, whence he passed over to *Athens* to meet *Augustus* on his return from the island of *Samos*. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindness and esteem; but he, leaving *Athens* soon after to

^o DIO. p. 527. STRABO, l. xv. p. 719, 720.

ibid.

^q Vide FAST. l. v. HORAT. l. iv. od. 15, &c.

^p STRABO,

visit the antiquities of *Megara* in the hot season of the year, fell sick there, but nevertheless imbarqued for *Italy*, and reached *Brundisium*, where he expired soon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the last hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered by his will that inimitable performance to be burnt; but *Augustus* saved *Troy*, we may say with an antient poet, from a second conflagration, and by that means preserved for all future ages a most perfect pattern of epic poetry. *Virgil's* body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to *Naples*, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpose on the road from *Naples* to *Puteoli*. On the monument was engraven a distich wrote by the poet himself, wherein he gave a modest account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works^r (D).

BUT to return to *Augustus*; as there reigned at this time in *Rome* a general depravation of manners, and the city was in a manner over-run with all kinds of vices, the senate prevailed upon *Augustus* to accept the office of censor for five years. At the same time they conferred upon him the consular power for life, ordaining, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the consuls. At the same time they entreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themselves by oath to the observance of them. But the emperor refused an oath, which he judged useless, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual^r. And now the presence of *Agrippa* being no longer necessary in *Rome*, *Augustus* dispatched him into *Gaul* to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, who, having passed the *Rhine*, committed horrible disorders in the countries subject to *Rome*. But at the approach of so renowned a commander, they repassed the river, and sheltered themselves in their woods. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of that country, and left a sufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, the boundary between *Gaul* and *Germany*, passed from thence into *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians*, notwithstanding their former losses, had raised new disturbances. Most of their youth had a few years before been taken prisoners, and sold for slaves to the

Augustus
censor.

Agrippa
marches
against the
Germans.

^r Vide TIB. DONAT. in vita Virgilii.

^r DIO. SUET. ibid.

(D) The distich is as follows:

*Mantua me genuit : Calabri rapuere ; tenet nunc
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, duces.*

Qq 2

neighbouring

His expedition against the Cantabrians.

His bravery.

The final reduction of Cantabria.

neighbouring nations ; but having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their masters, and returning into their own country, fortified themselves there, and attacked with incredible fury the *Roman* garisons. *Agrippa* marched against them with great expedition, but, on his arrival in their country, he met with so vigorous a resistance from that brave and gallant people, that his soldiers began to despair of ever being able to reduce them. As the *Cantabrians* had waged war with the *Romans* for two hundred years and upwards, they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, no ways inferior to them in point of courage, and now become desperate, as well knowing, that if they were conquered, after having so often attempted to recover their liberty, they must expect the most severe usage and cruel slavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the *Romans* with a fury hardly to be expressed, put them to flight in several rencounters, and defended themselves, when attacked by the enemy, with such intrepidity and resolution, that *Agrippa* afterwards owned, that he had never, either by sea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to use intreaties, menaces, and to brand some of his legionaries with ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the lists with so resolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length with much ado prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he so animated them by his own example, that, after a most obstinate dispute, he gained in the end a complete victory, which indeed cost him dear, but put an end to that destructive war. All the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their castles and strong-holds were taken and razed, and their women, children, and old men, none else being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountainous places, and settle in the plain. Thus *Agrippa* completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for the space of two hundred years, that is, ever since the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the first *Roman* who made war in *Spain*. The final reduction of *Cantabria*, and the quieting of all *Spain*, was judged both by the senate and *Augustus* well worthy of a triumph ; but *Agrippa* modestly declined that honour, ascribing the whole glory of so successful an expedition to *Augustus*, under whose auspices he had fought. He was well acquainted with the jealous humour of the emperor, no ways renowned for military achievements ; and therefore, to avoid giving him the least umbrage, he artfully lessened his own glory, for fear of eclipsing his, which,

he knew, might be attended with dangerous consequences ^t. *Agrippa* on his return to *Rome* applied himself wholly to the embellishing of the city with new edifices, and supplying it with great plenty of water, which proved no less ornamental to that great metropolis, than convenient and useful to the vast multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world. The waters, *Virgo*, *Julia*, and *Tepula*, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts, of a most magnificent structure, and for the most part supported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters, *Appia* and *Marcia*, which conveyed into *Rome*, we may say, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vast charge. In short, to *Agrippa* chiefly is *Rome* indebted for that great plenty of wholesome water, which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world; and to this *Augustus* alluded, when he pleasantly answered the people, who complained to him of the scarcity and dearth of wine, that *Agrippa* had taken care they should not die of thirst ^u. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus* granted a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus* for having subdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa*, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. *Balbus* made himself master of all that country, which lay between *Africa* properly so called, that is, the antient dominions of *Carthage*, *Lower Æthiopia*, and *Getulia*, extending by that means the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Nigris*. Such an important conquest *Augustus* judged well worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, though he was not so much as a native of *Italy*, but born at *Gades* in *Spain*, and lately admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen. He had the glory of being the first foreigner who was honoured with this mark of distinction, *Augustus* wisely overlooking antient customs, to honour and reward valour without distinction in men of all nations ^w. This year *Ælius Gallus*, prefect of *Egypt*, made a progress into the upper parts of that country, as far as *Syene* and the borders of *Æthiopia*, in which *Strabo* the geographer attended him, who tells us, that at *Thebes* he saw the statue of *Memnon*, which, according to the poets ^x, saluted the sun at his first rising with an harmonious sound. He adds, that being one morning on the place, he heard the sound without knowing how it was produced, but suspected it came from some of those who were there present, and not from the statue ^y.

Rome embellished
by Agrippa

The Garamantes
subdued.

^t DIO. p. 528. SÆT. in Octavio. ^u CASSIOD. l. vii. epist. 6. FRONT. in aquæduct. ^w Fasti capit. DIO. ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 5. SOLINUS, c. 32. ^x Vide JUVENAL. satyr. 15. DIONYS. in Perieg. v. 249. & alios. ^y STRAB. l. xvii. p. 816.

Augustus
heaps new
honours up-
on Agrip-
pa.

Reforms
the senate.

THE next year, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, either brothers or relations, being consuls, *Augustus* prorogued his authority for five years more, the first ten years of his sovereign power being near expired. This, he well knew, would stir up the zealous republicans against him; and therefore, dreading the fate of his father *Julius*, he took care never to appear in public, but armed with a breast-plate under his robe; and, to deprive them of all hopes of ever seeing the antient form of government restored, he made *Agrippa*, as it were, his partner in the sovereign power, conferring upon him an authority almost equal to his own, and the high prerogative of the tribuneship for the space of five years; so that the few republicans, who still remained, being well apprised, that if they should cut off *Augustus*, *Agrippa* might easily step into his place and revenge his death, as he was greatly adored both by the people and soldiery, gave over all thoughts of any further attempts for the recovery of their liberty². The first thing *Augustus* undertook after the prorogation of his power was, to reform the senate, many persons of no birth, and of infamous characters, having being admitted into that venerable body, during the confusion of the civil wars. In order to purge the senate of so many unworthy members he agreed with *Agrippa*, whom he took for his colleague in the censorship, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thousand to six hundred; but, to avoid the odium of chusing them all himself, he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named one only was to be chosen, and he by lot; so that thirty only were elected at a time; but as soon as that election was over five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five chosen by lot as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himself by a solemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or persons unworthy of that rank, yet in some of their tablets were found the names of men of most infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjust partiality induced *Augustus* and *Agrippa* to change the method of election, and since they could not depend upon others, to name the rest themselves to the number of six hundred; wherein to do them justice, they proceeded with the utmost impartiality, chusing only men of merit, and by that means restoring the senatorial order to its former splendor. Those who were degraded, to the number of four hundred, were allowed to appear at the public shows with the antient badges of their dignity, and to stand for the first offi-

² Dio, p. 529.

ces, as if they had been still members of the senatorial order. But, notwithstanding this distinction, many of them were *Several* soon after put to death, for having, as it was supposed, con- *of the de-*spired against the emperor; though Tacitus tells us ^a, that *graded se-*Augustus laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of such as he *nators put* suspected of being republicans in their hearts, and secret ene- *to death* mies to absolute power. Some writers think he followed, in *for conspir-*putting many of the degraded senators to death, the old max- *ing against* im, that *the emperor* *a prince ought to cut off those whom he has once pro-*voked. Be that as it will, it is certain, that Augustus for some time after betrayed a great fear of being assassinated, admitting nobody to his presence, but after a narrow search, whether they had any arms concealed under their garments, and forbidding even the senators to approach his chair more than one at a time. This precaution gave the fathers an opportunity of making a proposal, which was highly agreeable to the timorous emperor. They offered to watch night and day at the door of his room each in his turn, to guard his person. But while they were consulting about their proposal, Antistius Labeo, a learned civilian and a man of great humour, pretending to sleep, snored very loud, and waking as it were all on a sudden, *Don't depend upon me,* said he, *to guard the emperor; for I shall be apt to fall asleep, and prove more troublesome to him than serviceable.* The senators could not forbear laughing, and Augustus ashamed of his cowardice, made them drop the proposal, when they were ready to confirm it by a decree ^b.

Augustus, having thus restored the senate to its antient splen- *Augustus* dor, applied himself in the next place to the reforming of *reforms se-*veral abuses in the city. He decreed, that such, as should *veral a-*be convicted of having purchased the suffrages of the people *buses.* with money, should be excluded from all public offices for the space of five years. That the people, who used to sell their votes, might not be sufferers by this law, he caused large sums to be distributed among them, on condition, that they should not require any thing of the candidates. To check the debauchery of the *Roman* youth, which at this time was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon such as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry, declaring, that though a patrician should marry a *liberta* or freed-woman, his children should rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the senators, whom he would not allow to marry

^a TACIT. annal. l. x.^b DIO. & SUT. ibid.

*Subjects the
Sibylline
books to a
strict ex-
amination.*

*Lucius
Cæsar
born.*

*Augustus
rejects the
title of
Dominus
or Lord.*

under their rank ; and because the *Hortensian* family had been by the civil wars reduced almost to beggary, he presented young *Hortensius* with a large sum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of distinction. The loose behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young *Romans* from marriage ; but *Augustus*, who had himself debauched many, not sparing even the wife of his great friend *Mæcenæ*s, refused to put a stop to that disorder, saying, that he left the care of married women to their husbands. Having reformed many abuses in the state, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and causing most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burnt as spurious, reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to some of the *Sibyls*. These also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained such only as were on this trial judged genuine ; the rest he committed to the flames, but those that were judged genuine he caused to be copied by the pontifices themselves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of *Apollo* built by him in his palace^c. These *Sibylline* oracles were of great repute among the *Gentiles*, and often appealed to by the anti-ent *Christian* writers. This year, *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a second son, who was named *Lucius*, and *Augustus* adopted both him and his brother *Caius*, declaring them his successors, in order to put a stop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans, for the recovery of their liberty^d.

THE following year, *C. Furnius* and *C. Julius Silanus* being consuls, the *secular games*, which had not been celebrated for a hundred years before, were exhibited, by *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games one of the players giving him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *lord* or *sovereign*, he shewed great marks of dissatisfaction, and the next morning published an edict, forbidding all persons under severe penalties to give him that title for the future. It was on occasion of these games that *Horace* wrote the *Hymn*, intitled, *Carmen Seculare*, which was sung at the sacrifice, that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, before the shows and spectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which *Augustus* himself was a great admirer, especially of the tournament, or warlike exercise, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewise a great encourager of

^c SÆTON. *ibid.* DIO. p. 531—533.

^d DIO. *ibid.*
wrestling,

wrestling, but would not allow women to be present at those games. He enticed to *Rome* with great rewards the best play-^{Entices} ers and actors from all parts of the world, took them un-^{players to} der his protection, and would not allow the prætors and æ-^{Rome, but} diles to cause them, according to antient custom, to be pub-^{punishes} licly whipt, when they had not performed to the satisfaction^{their licen-} of the audience. But, notwithstanding the encouragement^{tiousness.} he gave them, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio* a comedian was attended by a woman in the disguise of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and banished the city. He likewise drove out of *Rome* *Pylades* a famous actor, for having behaved disrespectfully towards a Roman citizen, and because he was continually quarrelling with *Bathyllus*, an actor no less famous than himself, and greatly favoured by *Mæcenæ*s. But he soon recalled him to gratify the people, and the comedian on his return, instead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his interest the people should be diverted by men of his profession, lest they should watch too narrowly his actions, or seriously reflect on their own condition^e.

THE ensuing year, *Augustus*, having got *L. Domitius Augustus* *Abenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two persons wholly ad-^{goes into} dicted to him, raised to the consulate, resolved to leave *Gaul*. *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell some disturbances there occasioned by the avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, who being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in those parts, had obliged the people to pay them monthly, and by a deceitful account reckoned fourteen months in the year. However, the disturbances were not such as required the presence of the emperor. It was therefore commonly believed, that he undertook this expedition with no other view, but to enjoy the company of *Terentia*, or, as others call her, *Terentilla*, the wife of his friend *Mæcenæ*s, without being disturbed in the enjoyment of his scandalous pleasures, either by her husband, or his own wife *Livia*. He took *Terentia* with him, and, because *Mæcenæ*s could not help resenting this base treatment, he appointed *Statilius Taurus* governor of *Rome* during his absence, passing over his old friend, who had, in more difficult times, discharged that office with great applause. As for *Agrippa*, he dispatched him again into the east, to settle there some differences between the princes and states of *Asia*. *Augustus* no

^e *Dio*, *ibid*.

sooner passed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty, but the *Sicambri*, *Usipetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, defeated first a considerable body of Roman horse, and afterwards *M. Lollius*, proconsul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a standard. *Lollius*, though no great commander, found soon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them with great loss beyond the *Rhine*. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, yet *Augustus* spent the remaining part of this and all the following year, when *M. Lucius Drusus Libo* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were consuls, in that province, not caring to return to the capital, where he well knew his criminal conversation with his friend's wife would give occasion to endless satires and lampoons, especially after he had set up for a reformer of manners, and punished with the utmost severity less crimes in others. During his stay in *Gaul*, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country with complaints against *Enceladus*, of whom we spoke above. He was by birth a *Gaul*, and formerly a slave of *Julius Cæsar*, by whom he had been taken in the *Gaulish* wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to insinuate himself into the favour of *Augustus*, he had been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppressed the *Gauls* in a most barbarous manner, insomuch that *Augustus*, ashamed of having employed a man of so infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him such punishment as should deter others from the like practices. But the crafty *Gaul* found means to appease the emperor, by delivering up to him the vast sums he had heaped up by rapine and extortion, and assuring him, that, in plundering the *Gauls*, he had nothing else in view, but to enrich the public treasury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Augustus*, pleased with this defence, and more with the large sums, which were delivered to him upon the spot, not only absolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppressed *Gauls*, continued him in his office^c.

Augustus
refuses to
redress the
grievances
of the
Gauls.

The *Rhæti*
invade
Italy.

In the mean time the *Rhæti* (E), having made an irruption

^c DIO. *ibid* & SENEC. *lud* p. 477.

(E) *Ptolemy* places the *Rhæti* between the *Rhine*, or the lake of *Constance*, called by the ancients *Lacus Brigantinus*, and the river *Lichus*, now the *Lech*; the *Vindelici* between the *Lichus* and the *Enns*,

tion into *Italy*, committed there dreadful devastations, putting all the males they met with to the sword, without distinction

Ænus, now the *Inn*; and the *Norici* between the *Vindelici* and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the springs of the *Save* and the *Drave* to the banks of the *Danube* in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, and was known to the antients by the name of *Mons Cethius*, but to the moderns by many different names, such as the *Pleyß*, the *Hengstberg*, the *Dembberg*, the *Herzberg*, *Kalensberg*, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rhæti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the vallies formed by those mountains, their country reaching no farther than the lake of *Constance*; from that lake to the conflux of the *Ænus* and the *Danube* extended *Vindelicia*, or the country of the *Vindelici*, and *Noricum* from thence to the *Cethian* mountains. In the country of the *Vindelici* were antiently some cities of no small note, viz *Augusta Vindelicorum*, *Juvavium*, or *Colonia Jovavia*, *Reginum* or *Regina castra*, *Batava castra*, *Abusena*, *Guntia*, *Campodunum*, *Abudiacum*, *Isinisca*, now *Augsburg*, *Saltzburg*, *Regensburg*, *Passau*, *Abensperg*, *Guntzberg*, *Kempten*, *Fuessen*, and *Munchen*, now the metropolis of *Bavaria*: *Bojodurum* was the metropolis of that country in former times, so called from the *Boji*, who, being driven out of *Bojohamia*, now *Bohemia*, by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Marobdus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon, settled in *Bojovaria* or *Bojuvavia*, now called *Bavaria*. *Vindelicia* borrowed its name from the rivers *Vindo* or *Vinda*, now the *Wert*, and *Lichus*, which watering great part of it, and running the one to the east, the other to the west, of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Augsburg*, join at a small distance from that city, and with one stream fall into the *Danube*. They are both mentioned by *Venantius Fortunatus* in the following verse:

Pergis ad Augustam, quam Vindo Lichusque fluent (8).

The chief cities of *Rhætia*, or, as some write it, *Rætia*, were *Tridentum*, *Curia*, *Feltria*, and *Belunum*, now *Trent*, *Chur*, or *Cortina*, *Feltri*, *Belluno*. Some writers place *Verona* in *Rhætia*; but *Strabo* reckons *Verona* among the cities of *Italy*. *Horace* mentions the victories gained by *Tiberius* and his brother *Drusus* over the *Vindelici* and *Rhæti*:

*Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici* — (9).

(8) *Venant. Fortunat. de S. Martino*, l. iv. ed. 4.

(9) *Horat. l. iv.*

tinction of rank or age; nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they consulted their augurs,

And elsewhere;

*Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses; milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces & arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis (10).*

The *Genauni* and *Breuni* were inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as is plain from *Strabo* (11). For the better understanding of the antients, it is necessary to observe here, that though *Rhætia* and *Vindelicia* were two distinct countries, yet they formed but one Roman province, called *Rhætia*; and hence the antients, when they mention *Rhætia*, or the *Rhætian province*, are to be understood as speaking of *Rhætia*, properly so called, and *Vindelicia*; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of *Constance*, the *Danube*, the *Ænus*, and the territories of the *Carni*, of the *Veneti*, and of the *Insubres*. And hence it is that *Tacitus*, in speaking of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, calls it the fairest colony of the *Rhætian province* (12); and *Horace* calls the *Vindelici*, *Rhæti Vindelici*, to distinguish them from the inhabitants of *Rhætia*, properly so called (13). In the time of the emperor *Adrian*, or rather of *Dioclesian*, the *Rhætian province* was divided into two, whereof the first was called *Rhætia Prima*, and comprehended *Rhætia Proper*, and the second, comprehending *Vindelicia*, *Rhætia Secunda*: the metropolis of the former was *Curia*, of the latter *Augusta Vindelicorum* (14).

Noricum, formerly a kingdom (15), and afterwards a Roman province, extended between the *Danube* and the *Alpes Noricæ* in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, from the *Ænus*, which parted it from *Vindelicia*, to the *Cethian* mountains its boundaries on the side of *Pannonia*; so that ancient *Noricum* comprehended great part of *Austria*, the archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. It was afterwards, probably in the time of *Dioclesian* (16), divided into two provinces, viz. *Noricum Ripense*, so called, because it extended along the *Danube*, lying on the south side of that

(10) *Idem*, l. iv. od. 14. (11) *Strab.* l. iv. p. 142. (12) *Tacit. Germ.* c. 41. (13) *Horat.* l. iv. od. 4. (14) *Vide Velfer.* l. iii. ver. Boi. p. 91. & l. vi. rer. Aug. p. 298. & *Paul. Warnefred.* l. ii. de gest. Longobord. (15) *Vell. Patercul.* l. xi. c. 109. *Suet. in Tiber.* c. 16. (16) *Vide Thom. Reinesf. inscript.* p. 32.

gurs, whether the child was a male or a female; if they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately massacred. Against these fierce nations was sent *Drusus*, the second son of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accomplishments. The young *Roman* behaved on this occasion with a prudence far superior to his years; for he found means to draw the enemy to a battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loss of a very small number of his own men. Those who escaped the general slaughter, being joined by the *Vindelici*, took their rout towards *Gaul*, with a design to invade that province. But *Augustus*, upon the first notice of their march, detached *Tiberius*, who had attended him into *Gaul*, at the head of several chosen legions, to complete the slaughter, which his brother had begun: and indeed *Tiberius* was no less successful than *Drusus*; for having transported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of *Constance*, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that surprise and confusion most of their strong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to submit to what terms he thought proper to impose upon them. Thus were the *Vindelici*, the *Rhæti*, and the *Norici*, three of the most barbarous nations of *Germany*, by the valour of *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, brought under the *Roman* yoke^f. *Tiberius*, to keep in awe the country he had subdued, planted two colonies in *Vindelicia*, and opened a road from thence into *Noricum* and *Rhætia*. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called by the name of his father, *Drusus*, *Drusomagus*, the other by the name of *Augustus*, *Augusta-Vindelicerum*, which cities are now known by the names of *Memminghen* and *Augsburg*.

Drusus is sent against them, and defeats them.

The Vindelici, Rhæti, and Norici subdued. Year after the flood, 2989. Before Christ, 10. Of Rome, 738.

^f DIO. p. 536. SUET. in Octav. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 39. HORAT. l. iv. od. 4.

river, which divided it from *Germany* properly so called; and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, comprising that part which lay at some distance from the *Danube*. In the province of *Noricum Ripense* were the following cities of note, *Jovavum* or *Jovavia*, *Bojodurum*, *Lentia*, *Ovilis*, or *Ovilabis*, and *Lauriacum* or *Laureacum*, now *Salzburg*, *Insstadt*, *Linz*, *Wels*, and *Lorch*; in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Pons Æni*, *Viscelli* or *Viscellæ*, *Graviacis*, *Aguntum*, *Teurnia*, and *Solva*, now *Innsbruck*, *Wetz*, *Gurk*, *Innichen*, and *Villach*: *Lauriacum* was the metropolis of the former province, and *Solva*, long since buried in its ruins, of the latter (17).

(17) Vide Gruter. inscript. p. 537. num. 1.

WHILE

Agrippa's
exploits in
the east.

He march-
es against
the Bos-
porans,

WHILE *Augustus* and his two sons-in-law were thus employed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Agrippa* was settling with equal success the affairs of the eastern provinces. On his first arrival in the province of *Asia* properly so called, *Herod* king of *Judæa* hastened thither to wait upon him, and having prevailed with him to take a tour into *Judæa*, he entertained him and all his attendants in a most elegant and sumptuous manner. After having shewn him all his new-built cities and castles, viz. *Sebastæ*, *Cæsarea*, *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrkania*, he carried him in the last place to *Jerusalem*. As he drew near that city, he was met by all the people in their best apparel, and attended into the metropolis of *Judæa*, by a solemn procession and with loud acclamations. After he had staid some days there to view the curiosities of that great city, he offered an hecatomb at the temple, feasted all the people, and then hastening to the port, where his fleet waited for him, he sailed back into *Ionía* before winter, highly pleased at the reception he had met with from the *Jewish* king². Early in the spring, he was obliged to quit *Ionía*, and advance towards the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* to quell some disturbances there. For *Asander*, king of that country, dying without issue, had left his kingdom to *Dynamis* his wife, in whose right he had held it, she being the daughter of *Pharnaces* the son of *Mithridates*. One *Scribonius*, a native of *Asia*, pretending to be the grandson of *Mithridates*, and to have a grant from *Augustus* to succeed *Asander*, married *Dynamis* and seized the crown. But *Agrippa*, knowing him to be an impostor, sent *Polemon*, whom the *Romans* had made king of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Armenia*, to drive him from the throne. Before the arrival of *Polemon*, the *Bosporans* themselves, being well satisfied that *Scribonius* was no ways related to their royal family, but an impostor in all his pretensions, had put him to death. However, they would not submit to *Polemon*, but, though overcome by him in a pitched battle on his first coming into their country, still held out, and were likely in the end to get the better of him. Hereupon *Agrippa* marched with all his forces to the assistance of *Polemon*, which *Herod* no sooner heard, than he hastened after him with a considerable fleet, and a good number of his best troops on board; and having sailed first to *Mitylene*, and thence to *Byzantium*, overtook him at length at *Sinope* in *Pontus*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the *Roman* general than such a supply; for he stood in great need both of sea and land-forces, the

² JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 2.

Bosporans having armed a great many vessels, and beset with their land-forces, which were both brave and numerous, all the defiles and narrow passes, through which the *Romans* were to pass. However, with the assistance of *Herod*, he opened himself a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and having brought the *Bosporans* under subjection, he obliged *Dynamis* to marry *Polemon*, conferring on him the kingdom of *Bosporus*, which by the favour of *Augustus*, who confirmed that grant, he held with that of *Pontus* and *Armenia Minor*. However, he had not the whole kingdom of *Pontus*, but only that part of it which lay next to *Cappadocia*, and was afterwards by way of distinction called *Pontus Polemonaicus*. *Agrippa*, having thus settled matters in *Bosporus*, returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, to *Ephesus* in *Ionia*, being attended thither by *Herod*, who obtained many favours of him in behalf of the nations, through which he passed; and, on his coming into *Ionia*, not only got the many grievances redressed, of which the *Jews*, who were spread all over *Asia* and the adjacent islands, with great reason complained, but all their immunities and privileges restored, in as ample a manner as they had ever enjoyed them, either under the kings of *Syria* or the *Romans*. *Julia*, *Agrippa's* wife, attending him in this expedition, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being drowned in the *Scamander*, as she passed that river in the night-time, while it was swelled with sudden rains. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, whose territory was watered by the *Scamander*, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheless *Agrippa* was, contrary to all justice, so provoked against them for not having assisted her, that he laid a fine upon them of a hundred thousand drachmas. Hereupon the *Ilienses*, not daring to appear before *Agrippa*, prevailed upon *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage *Herod* to speak to *Agrippa* in their behalf. The king of *Judæa* readily espoused their cause, and by his interest with *Agrippa* prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which signal favour great honours were decreed him by the *Ilienses*. After this *Agrippa* passed from *Ephesus* to *Samos*, and *Herod*, taking his leave of him, returned into *Judæa*, where he received the thanks of the whole nation, for what he had done in behalf of the *Jews* in *Asia Minor*. *Augustus*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the success which had attended *Agrippa* in

Whom he reduces with the assistance of Herod,

Julia in great danger.

Herod reconciles Agrippa to the Ilienses.

¹ DIO. p. 538. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. OROS. l. vi. c. 18. ² NICOL. DAMASCEN. de vita sua in excerpt. ab HENRIC. VALES. p. 418. JOSEPH. ibid. ³ JOSEPH. ibid.

the

Augustus
pontifex
maximus.

the *Cimmerian Bosporus*, ordered supplications to be made in the capital, and passed a decree, empowering *Agrippa* on his return to enter *Rome* in triumph^m. This year *Lepidus* the triumvir dying, *Augustus* took upon him the office of *pontifex maximus*, or high-priest, vacant by his deathⁿ. This dignity he held to the hour of his death, as did all his successors, as well *Christians* as *Heathens*, till the time of the emperor *Gratian*, who, succeeding his father *Valentinian* in the year of the *Christian æra* 375, and thinking it inconsistent with the *Christian* religion, of which he was a zealous professor, to bear even the name of high-priest in the rites of the *Gentiles*, refused that title, as did afterwards all those who succeeded him in the *Roman* empire^o. This year died likewise *Vedius Pollio*, famous in history for the cruelty with which he treated his slaves, throwing them often for the smallest faults into his fish-ponds to fatten his *murænas*. As he had been raised by *Augustus* from the mean condition of a *libertinus*, or the son of a freed-man, to the rank of a *Roman* knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country seat, called *Pausilypus*, in the neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, and his house in town, which was one of the most stately and magnificent buildings in *Rome*. *Augustus*, however, caused it to be pulled down, and a sumptuous portico to be built in its room for the use of the public, which from his wife's name he called *Porticus Livie*^p.

The Li-
gures Co-
mati re-
duced.

Augustus's
return to
Rome.

THE following year, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Licinius Crassus* being consuls, the *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, were subdued, and their country reduced to a *Roman* province. And now *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Gaul*, stopped the incursions of the *Germans*, and brought under subjection most of the nations inhabiting the *Alps*, left *Drusus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned to the capital, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, when *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, his son-in-law, and *P. Quintilius Varus* were consuls. As he had been near three years absent, he was received by the people with universal joy and satisfaction. But he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours, which the fathers, some out of fear, others out of flattery, decreed him. Nay, he would not even allow the people to come out and meet him, but, according to his custom, entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city went to wait upon him at

^m DIO. *ibid.* c. 5. ⁿ Suet. *ibid.* c. 31. DIO p. 540^o
ZOSIMUS. l. iv. ^p PLIN. l. ix. c. 23. DIO. *ibid.* SENEC. l. iii.
de ira. OVID. *Fast.* l. i.

his palace, for his house was so called, because it was situated on the *Palatium* or *Palatine* hill. *Augustus* received them with great politeness and condescension, and afterwards, being attended by most of the senators and knights, and numberless crouds of people, he went up to the capitol, and, prostrating himself before the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, took the laurel from about his fasces, and laid it at his feet. A few days after he assembled the senate, but, not being able to speak himself by reason of a violent cold he had got on his journey home, he gave the quæstor a paper to read, containing an account of what he had done ever since he left the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any disturbances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long observed by his successors. Among the rest he published one, by which it was enacted, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that for the future the services of the veterans should not be rewarded with lands, but money. What evils attended the bestowing of lands upon them, is plain from *Virgil's* eclogues. By the same law the time was fixed, which each corps was to serve, the pay which they were to receive during their service, and the sum they were to expect, if they continued to serve after the time prescribed by law was expired. The emperor's own guards known by the name of the *prætorian cohorts* or *bands*, were, by this law, to serve twelve years before they could demand their dismissal, and the rest sixteen; the former were allowed about twelve pence of our money a day, and the latter five pence; if they were refused their dismissal, when the time of their service was expired, or chose to continue in the army, they were accounted veterans, and as such exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged solely to fight, and that for the space of five years only; after which term they were absolutely to obtain their discharge, if they chose to quit the service, and the rewards due to veterans, which were according to *Augustus's* appointment, five thousand drachmas for the prætorian cohorts, and three thousand for the common legionaries. Some years after, *Augustus* extended the time of service to sixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter*. To give new lustre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his interest, he required but one year's service of the young patricians to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had served several years. To this distinc-

His regulations with relation to the soldiery.

* DIO. l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. LIPS. excurs. in Tacit. annal. prim.

tion he added another in favour of the sons of senators, whom he allowed to have a place in the senate, and to wear the *laticlavium*, which was peculiar to the first magistrates senators, and chief officers of the army, at the age of seventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty sixth year of their age.

He corrects
the kalen-
dar.

THIS year *Augustus*, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a gross mistake in the *Roman* kalendar. For the pontifices having for the space of thirty six years, that is, ever since the reformation of the kalendar by *Julius Cæsar*, made every third year a leap year instead of every fourth, twelve days had been inserted instead of nine, so that the *Roman* year consisted of three days more than it ought. *Augustus*, for the rectifying of this mistake, ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years there should be no leap year; and secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap years should thenceforth be made every fourth year¹; by which means the three super-added days being thrown out, and the leap years fixed to their true terms, according to *Julius Cæsar's* institution, the form of this year has ever since been regularly observed, and is still, under the name of the *old style*, in use among us. When *Augustus* made this reformation, a decree was passed by the senate and people, enacting, that the month *Sextilis* should thenceforth from the emperor's name be called *Augustus*, which name it retains to this day, in all the kalendars that have been formed from the *Roman*. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Augustus* himself, in settling the year, gave his name to the month *Sextilis*, preferring it to *September*, in which he was born, because in the former he had been first raised to the consulate, and obtained many signal victories². But the very words of the decree of the senate are related by *Macrobius*³, who also mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was proposed by the tribune *Pacuvius*. Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of the eastern provinces, and left *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* governors of *Syria* and *Phœnice*, returned to *Rome* with *Antipater*, *Herod's* eldest son by *Doris* his first wife. *Augustus* received him with all the marks of a sincere affection and friendship, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, ascribing, according to his custom, all the glory of his conquests to the emperor, under whose auspices he had

Agrippa
refuses a
triumph.

¹ Suet. in Octav. c. 31. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 25.
ibid.

² MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12.

³ Suet.

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fought: and this was the chief cause, why the custom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the Romans, was laid aside, other generals following the example of *Agrippa*, and not caring for an honour, which he seemed to despise^t. However, *Augustus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then sent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia* (F), where a new war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. *Agrippa* left *Rome* in the beginning of the consulate of *M. Valerius Messala Barbatus* and *P. Sulpitius Quirinus*, or, as others call him, *Cirinus*. The former, who was father to the famous *Messalina*, dying some months after his election, was succeeded by *Caius Valgius*, a man of great learning^u, who before the end of the year resigned the fasces to *Caius Caninius Rebilus*. The *Pannonians* were so frightened at the very name of *Agrippa*, that, upon his approach, they sent deputies to him, offering to submit upon what terms he should think fit to impose upon them.

^t DIO. p. 541.
HORAT. l. ii. od.

^u PLIN. l. xxv. c. 2. TIBULL. l. iv.

(F) *Pannonia* was bounded on the east by *Upper Mæsia*, on the west by *Noricum*, on the south by *Dalmatia*, and on the north by the *Danube* (17); so that *Pannonia* comprehended *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch Marck*, part of *Austria*, part of *Hungary*, all *Sclavonia* and *Bosnia*, and part of *Servia*. It was antiently divided into *Upper* and *Lower Pannonia*, the former comprehending *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch Marck*, and part of *Austria*; the latter *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube*, the *Drave*, and the *Arabo*, now the *Raab*; so that scarce the third part of the present kingdom of *Hungary* was within the limits of antient *Pannonia*, that tract which lies beyond the *Danube*, between that river and the *Tibiscus*, not belonging to *Pannonia*, but to the *Iazyges Metanastæ*. The chief cities of antient *Pannonia* were *Segeste* or *Siscia* at the confluence of the *Calpe* and the *Save*, *Amona*, a *Roman* colony, *Nauportum*, upon a river of the same name, now known by the name of *Laubach*, *Vindoniana*, or *Vindobona*, *Scarabantia*, *Sirmium* on the *Save*, and *Taurunum*, now *Siseck*, *Unterlaubach*, *Oberlaubach*, *Vienna*, *Scarbing*, *Simach*, and *Belgrade*. *Sirmium* was the metropolis of all *Pannonia*. Some geographers place *Stridon*, the native city of *St. Jerom*, in *Pannonia*, others in *Dalmatia*; but *St. Jerom* himself calls it the boundary of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (18).

(17) Plin. l. iii. c. 25. Dio. l. xlix. p. 413. Strab. l. vii. p. 217. *Jornandes de reb. Get.* c. 50. (18) *S. Hieronym. catalog. script. ecclesiast.*

The death
of Agrippa.

His offspring.

Hereupon *Agrippa*, having obliged them to deliver up their arms and give him hostages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to *Italy*, but was taken with a violent illness as he marched through *Campania*, which in a few days brought him to his grave. *Augustus*, upon the first news of his danger, left the sports, which his two grandsons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, were then exhibiting in honour of *Minerva*, and hastened into *Campania*, to see and relieve, if he could by any means, his dying friend. But *Agrippa* expired a few minutes before his arrival, which he no sooner understood, than he burst into tears, bewailing in the illustrious deceased the loss of the greatest general of his age, the wisest minister, and the most faithful, constant, and disinterested friend he had in the world. He caused his body to be conveyed to *Rome*, and took upon himself to make his funeral oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier, perhaps because it was not lawful for him as pontifex maximus to look upon a dead body. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains deposited not in the *campus Martius*, where the senate had allowed him a monument, but in *Augustus's* own mausoleum near *Marcellus*, the emperor declaring, that he would not be separated even after his death from two persons, whom he so tenderly loved in his life. He died in the fifty first year of his age, and left behind him by his first wife *Cæcilia Attica*, the daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*; one daughter named *Agrippina*, who was married to *Tiberius*; and by his third wife *Julia*, three sons, viz. *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Posthumus*, so called because he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, *Julia* married to *Lucius Paulus*, and *Agrippina* married to *Germanicus*, by whom she had the emperor *Claudius* and *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*; *Agrippa* had no children by his second wife *Marcella*, whom he divorced to marry *Julia*. He bequeathed his fine gardens and a bath, which was called by his name, to the *Roman* people, and to *Augustus* among other things the *Taurica Chersonesus*; but how he acquired the dominion and property of that country is what we find nowhere recorded, *Dion* owning himself quite in the dark as to this point.

THUS long did *Augustus* reign, in some measure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, judging it necessary that he should have one to assist him in the government, superior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conspiracies,

made choice of *Tiberius*, though much against his will, as *Tiberius Dion* informs us, his grandsons, *Lucius* and *Caius Caesar*, chosen in being yet too young to bear any public offices *. He obliged *his room*. *Tiberius*, before he invested him with the power, which *Agrippa* had enjoyed, to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, who had already brought him a son, and was then big with child, and to marry *Julia*, whose leud and scandalous behaviour was well known to *Tiberius*, and to all the young debauchees of *Rome*, and had given great uneasiness to *Agrippa* some time before his death. However, *Tiberius* complied without betraying the least reluctance, through fear of disgusting *Augustus*, who was the only person in *Rome* unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct. The usual ceremonies were no sooner over, than *Augustus* dispatched his new son-in-law against the *Pannonians*, who, upon the news of *Agrippa*'s death, had attempted to shake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberty. But *Tiberius*, with the assistance of their neighbours the *Scordisci*, who had remained faithful to the *Romans*, obliged them in a short time to return to their duty, and submit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hostages, and put the *Romans* in possession of all their towns and strong holds. *Tiberius* spared their lives, but laid waste their fields, plundered their cities, and, having sent the best part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the same year, *Q. Ælius Tubero* and *Paulus Fabius Maximus* being consuls. The senate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and among the rest a triumph. But *Augustus* obliged him, sore against his will, to reject the offers of the conscript fathers, and content himself with the marks of distinction, which were granted for life to those who had triumphed, viz. to have a particular place apart from the rest at the publick shows, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. On the other hand, his younger brother *Drusus* signalised himself no less among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. Having been left in *Gaul* by *Augustus* to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, he had begun there a second census, taking a minute account of each person's estate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the *Gauls* looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and seemed disposed to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But *Drusus*, being apprised of their design, summoned all the *Gaulish* chiefs to assist at the solemn ceremony

He reduces
the Pan-
nonians.

Drusus
prevents
the Gauls
from re-
volting.

* Idem, p. 543.

An altar
erected in
honour of
Augustus
at Lyons.

The ex-
ploits of
Drusus in
Germany.

of consecrating a temple, which the *Lugdunenses* had built in honour of *Julius Cæsar*. When they were all assembled, *Drusus* by his address and engaging behaviour won their affections to such a degree, that they not only dropt the design they had formed of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, but agreed to erect an altar in honour of *Augustus*, and to pay him even in his life-time divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this design, each of them contributing their quota, and sending a statue to adorn the new altar, which was consecrated with great solemnity on the first day of *August*, and became soon very famous all over *Gaul*, as is plain from the writings of almost all the antients^y. Games were instituted in honour of the new deity, much of the same nature with the *Nemean* and *Isthmian* games

AND now *Drusus*, having nothing to fear from the *Gauls*, turned his arms against the *Germans*, who, having raised the most numerous and formidable army that had ever been seen in those parts, were advancing towards the *Rhine*, in order to invade *Gaul*. But the young *Roman* not only defeated them as they attempted to cross that river, but, pursuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the *Usipetes* or *Usipii*, now known by the name of *Relinchusen*, and from thence advanced against the *Sicambri* in the neighbourhood of the *Lyppe* and *Iffel*; these he overthrew in a great battle, laid waste their country, burnt most of their cities, and following the course of the *Rhine*, approached the *German* ocean, and reduced the *Frisii* and the *Chauci* between the *Anisius* and the *Albis*, now the *Ems* and the *Elbe*. In these marches his troops suffered extremely for want of provisions, and he himself was often in great danger of being drowned, as the *Romans*, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into east *Friesland*, and, leaving them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the prætorship, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Julius Antonius*, the son of the triumvir, being then consuls. Early in the spring, *Drusus* left the capital, and returning to his army, quartered in *Frisia* or *Friesland*, marched from thence into the country of the *Tencteri*, whom he easily subdued; and afterwards passing the *Lupias*, now the *Lyppe*, in *Westphalia*, brought into subjection the *Catti* and the *Cherusci*, extending his conquests to the banks of the *Visurgis*, now the *Weser*, which he would have passed, had he not been obliged to return for want of provisions, the ene-

^y STRAB. l. iv. p. 192. SUET. DIO. LIV. &c.

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D. P. Sculp.

GREAT GERMANY



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my having laid waste the neighbouring country to a great distance. As he was retiring, the *Germans* unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow passage, and having surrounded the *Roman* army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave *Drusus*, animating his men more by his example than by speeches, after a warm conflict, which lasted almost the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made such havock of them, that the ground was strewed for some miles with dead bodies. *Drusus* found in their camp a huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and so great was their confidence, that they had agreed before-hand about the division of the booty; the *Teneteri* were to have the horse, the *Cherusci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Usipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Drusus* was saluted *imperator* by his troops on the field of battle, where they erected a trophy as a monument of so signal a victory; after which *Drusus*; to secure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliso*, the *Lyppe* and the *Alme*, the other in the country of the *Catti* or *Chatti* on the *Rhine*, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Fossa Drusiana*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. For these exploits *Drusus* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother *Tiberius* had been the preceding year, but was not allowed by *Augustus* to triumph; or even to retain the title of *imperator*, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the sovereign. *Drusus*, as well as *Tiberius*, had fought under the auspices of *Augustus*, who therefore ascribing to himself the glory they had acquired, allowed them such marks of distinction as were usually conferred on triumphant victors, but not the triumph itself. This same year, *Tiberius* being sent against the *Pannonians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewise the *Dalmatians*, who had joined them in their revolt. One *Vologeses*, a priest of *Bacchus*, by birth a *Thracian*, raised far greater disturbances in that part of *Thrace*, which was subject to *Rasiporis*, the son of *Cotys*; a faithful ally of the *Romans*. *Vologeses* stirring up the people against that prince, whom he styled a slave of *Rome*, committed most dreadful ravages in all parts of his dominions, overthrew and killed the young prince himself in a pitched battle, put to flight *Rhemetacles* his guardian, and, having over-run the whole country, advanced, without opposition, into the *Thracian Chersonesus*, with a design to pass from thence into *Macedon*.

He defeats
the united
forces of
the Ten-
eteri, Si-
cambri,
Cherusci,
&c.

Distur-
bances in
Thrace.

² Dio. p. 544. Suet. in Claud.

But,

Quelled by
L. Calpur-
nius Piso.

But, in the mean time, *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, one of the best generals of his age, being ordered by *Augustus* to quit *Pamphylia*, which he governed in quality of proconsul, and to stop the progress of the barbarians under the conduct of *Vologeses*, arrived in *Thrace*, and coming up with the enemy near the confines of *Macedon*, attacked them, but had the misfortune to be defeated, his men not being accustomed to the enemy's manner of fighting. However, as he was a man of great experience in military affairs, he made his retreat in good order, and falling the next day unexpectedly on the barbarians, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them into *Thrace*, and made himself master of the fruitful plains lying between mount *Pangæus* and mount *Hæmus*. *Augustus* was so pleased with this conquest, that he decreed to *Piso*, not indeed a triumph, but all the honours and privileges which were formerly granted to those who had triumphed, ordaining besides supplications by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended his arms ^a. The joy and satisfaction which *Augustus* received from these successes was greatly allayed by the death of his sister *Octavia*, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her sex, and therefore greatly lamented by persons of all ranks and conditions. *Augustus* caused her body to be exposed on a bed of state in a temple lately erected in honour of *Julius Cæsar*, and pronounced himself her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the senate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four sons-in-law, the husbands of the two *Marcellæ*, whom she had by her first husband *Marcellus*, and of the two *Antoniæ*, her daughters by *Antony* the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age ^b.

The Daci
subdued by
Tiberius.

Conquests
made by
Drusus in
Germany.

THE following year, *Nero Claudius Drusus* and *T. Quinctius Crispinus* being consuls, *Augustus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by his two sons-in-law, *Tiberius Claudius Nero* and *Nero Claudius Drusus*, and passing the *Alps*, advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, whence he sent *Tiberius* against the *Daci*, and *Drusus* to complete the conquest of the rest of *Germany*. *Tiberius* easily subdued the *Daci*, obliged them to give him hostages, and transplanted forty thousand of them into *Gaul*. On the other hand, *Drusus* having passed the *Rhine*, and afterwards, in spite of all opposition, the *Weser*, brought under subjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, or, as the *Romans*

^a DIO. p. 545. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 98. ibid. SUET. in Octavio.

^b DIO.

called

called it, the *Albis*. Having attempted in vain to pass this river, he erected several trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*. *Dion* tells us, that as he was deliberating with himself, whether he should penetrate still farther into these northern countries, or make the *Albis* the boundary of the *Roman* empire, a woman of a stature more than human appeared to him, and calling him by his name, asked him, *Whither his ambition would carry him? The fates, said she, will not allow you to see all parts: retire therefore, and know, that the period both of your life and actions approaches.* With this and such like prodigies, *Dion* pretends, that the death of *Drusus*, which happened soon after, was foretold. For before he reached the *Rhine*, he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. *Augustus*, upon the first notice of his illness, sent an express to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, who thereupon made what haste he could to see him before he died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival he found him still alive, but just expiring. His sudden death occasioned a report, which was credited by many, viz. that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* had conspired to take him off by poison, and effected their wicked design by means of their emissaries. It is at least certain, that *Drusus* was in his heart a zealous republican, and had on several occasions betrayed a great desire of seeing the antient form of government restored. Though he was generally thought to be the son, not of *Claudius Nero*, but of *Augustus*, yet he looked upon him as an usurper, and wrote the following letter to his brother *Tiberius*, while they were both waging war in Germany at the head of two powerful armies: *The gods have put it into our power to render Rome happy or miserable: Augustus has trusted us with the forces of the empire, can we employ them better than in re-establishing the republic, and restoring Rome to her antient liberty and splendor: how glorious a thing it is to be the deliverer and avenger of ones country!* This letter *Tiberius* sent to *Augustus*, and soon after happened the death of *Drusus* in the manner we have related. However, most of the antients clear *Augustus* from all suspicion of being any ways accessory to the death of the young hero. *Livy*, who here ends his history, says, that he died of a fall from his horse: perhaps that fall occasioned the fever, of which he died. *Suetonius* thinks the report, which was spread upon his death to the prejudice of *Augustus*, to have been intirely groundless, since the emperor loved him with great tenderness, and had

His death.

Drusus's
love for
his country.

* Suet. in Octav. & Claud. Dio. ubi supra.

His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

even named him in his will for his successor in conjunction with his two grandsons, *Lucius* and *Caius* ^d. *Tacitus*, whom we cannot suspect of partiality towards *Augustus*, or indeed towards any of his successors, tells us, that *Augustus* never extended his cruelty to any of his own family ^e. *Drusus* was a man of an unblemished character, of a probity which was proof against all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and dissimulation. He was no ways inferior, either in courage or conduct, to the most experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view in all his expeditions, but the glory of the *Roman* name and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-established the republic, and resigned with joy the sovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife *Antonia Minor*, the younger daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, viz. *Drusus*, surnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who succeeded *Caligula* in the empire. His soldiers, to testify their grief for the loss of a general, whom they so tenderly loved, erected to his memory a stately monument on the banks of the *Rhine*, and assembling yearly on the anniversary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of *July*, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illustrious deceased ^f. As for his body, it was conveyed to *Rome*, and attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magistrates of the *Roman* colonies and municipia, through which it passed, meeting it on the road, and attending it with the utmost pomp from one city to the other. *Augustus* himself received it at *Rome*, being returned from *Gaul* for that purpose, and pronounced in the *Circus Flaminius* a funeral oration in honour of the deceased, in which he begged of the gods, with great earnestness and many tears, that they would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grand children they had given him tread in his footsteps. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was exposed, and from thence carried on the shoulders of the *Roman* knights to the field of *Mars*, where it was burnt with great solemnity; as for the ashes they were deposited in the mausoleum of *Augustus*. The senate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, to favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and statues in most public places of the city: the surname of *Germanicus* was conferred upon

^d Suet. *ibid.*
citata a Lipsio.

^e Tacit. *annal.* i. c. 6.

^f Ex *inscript.*

him by a decree of the senate, and confirmed to his posterity ; many trophies were erected, and medals struck with the inscription *de Germanis*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Germans*, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother *Livia* and his widow *Antonia*, who had inherited both her mother *Octavia*'s beauty and virtue ; she continued inconsolable to the hour of her death, nor would she ever be prevailed upon to marry again, though often and earnestly pressed to it by *Augustus* ⁸.

THE emperor was in haste to return to *Gaul*, but nevertheless before his departure he made several new regulations. The conscript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, assembled very seldom, and in small numbers. *Augustus* therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they should be obliged to meet ; and at the same time enacted, with the approbation of the senators themselves, that such as absented themselves on those days, without a lawful cause, should pay a certain sum by way of mulct ; and that their determinations, when they were but few, should not obtain the force of a *senatusconsultum*, or decree of the senate, but only be called a *regulation of the senate*. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the senate, and extended the jurisdiction of the quæstors, giving them the superintendency of all the maritime cities of *Italy*. The election of the new consuls, *C. Marcius Censorinus* and *C. Asinius Gallus*, gave rise to a new regulation. They were both accused of having purchased their dignity with money distributed among the tribes. *Augustus* did not oblige them to resign the fasces, but ordered, that for the future all the candidates should deposit a certain sum with him, which they should forfeit, if convicted of bribery or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at least by the patricians ; but another, which he published soon after, was as much disliked. The depositions of slaves had never been admitted at *Rome* in the courts of judicature. But *Augustus*, for the safety of his own person, though under pretence of the public safety, published a law, enacting, that when any person was accused of treasonable designs, the evidence of slaves should be of the same weight as that of freedmen ; that this law might not seem to clash with the ancient custom of rejecting the evidence of a slave against his master, it was ordained by the same law, that the slaves of the accused person should be first sold to the emperor or the public. By this low evasion,

⁸ DIO. & Suet. *ibid.* VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. *Consol. ad Liv.*
apud. Ovid.

*Instances
of his con-
descension.*

unworthy of a man of sense, he pretended not to have intrenched on the antient custom, since it was still true, that slaves were not allowed to accuse their masters, nor admitted as evidence against them. This innovation occasioned great complaints; but the crafty emperor soon quieted the minds of the people by public shows and sports, by a pretended clemency and condescension, and above all by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needless ceremonies and marks of grandeur. The antients relate many instances of his extraordinary condescension: they tell us, that a common legionary, having desired him to plead his cause in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was so overwhelmed with business that he could not well do it himself; but that he would send him an orator better qualified for that purpose than himself. This obliging answer did not satisfy the soldier, who answered bluntly, *Have I thus fought for you by proxy?* The emperor, highly pleased with this unexpected answer, *Neither will I,* said i. e., *plead for you by proxy.* He was as good as his word; for on the day appointed he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cause in person. In like manner he undertook the cause of another citizen, and gained it; which so provoked the accuser, that he behaved very disrespectfully towards the emperor, who was so far from resenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accused before him as censor of some faults which deserved severe punishment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he rescued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very serviceable to him, and that by prevailing with intreaties on the accuser to drop the prosecution ^h.

*He begins
the third
term of his
decennial
power.*

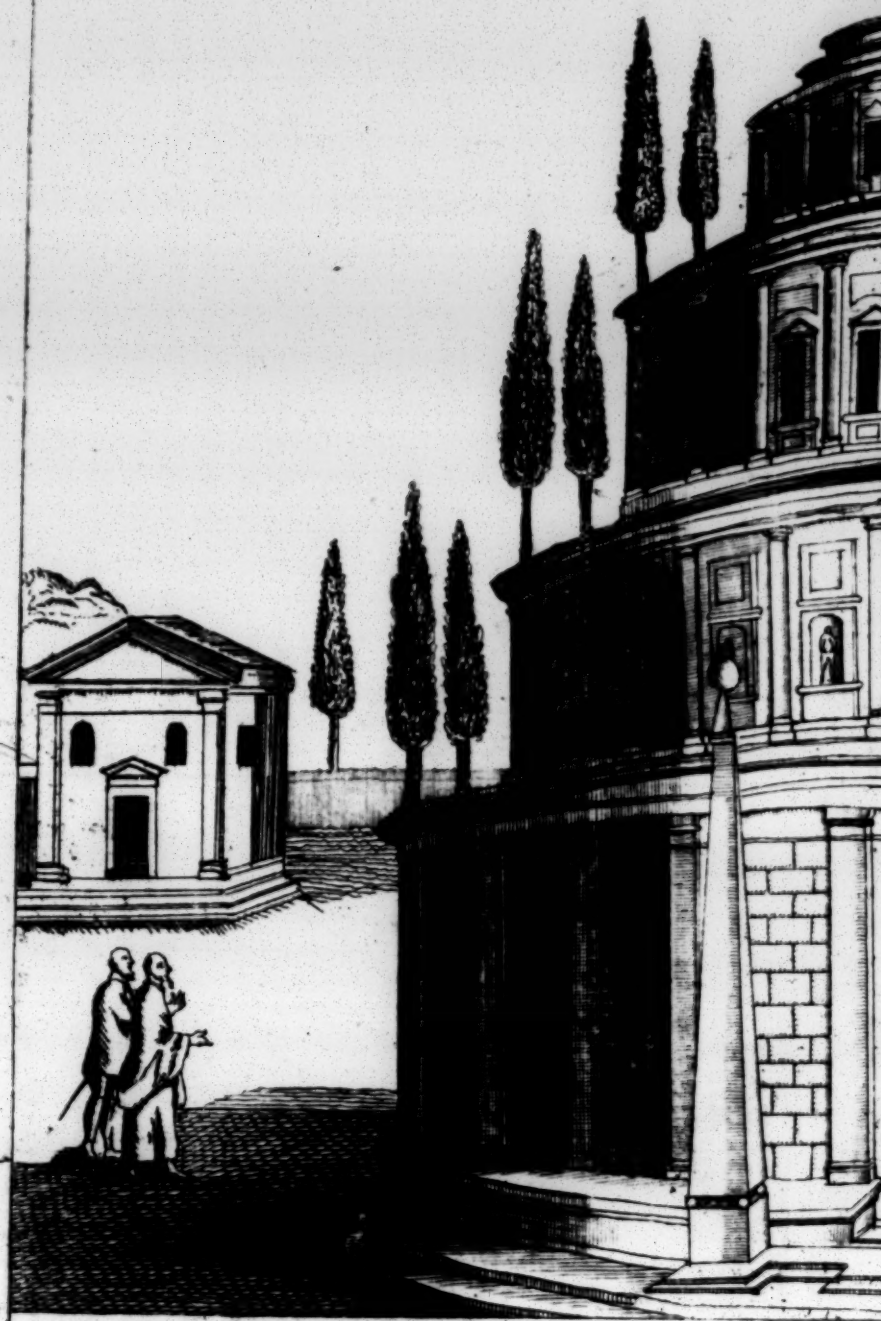
THIS year, the second term of *Augustus's* ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been trusted, saying, that he was no longer able to bear so heavy a burden; but he was easily persuaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing else, to his safety, since by receiving his power from the senate and people, he openly acknowledged the sovereignty to be lodged in them; so that they were not quite destitute of all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power being prolonged, he resolved to quit the capital, having his mind still bent on the intire reduction of the many na-

^h Suet. *ibid.*

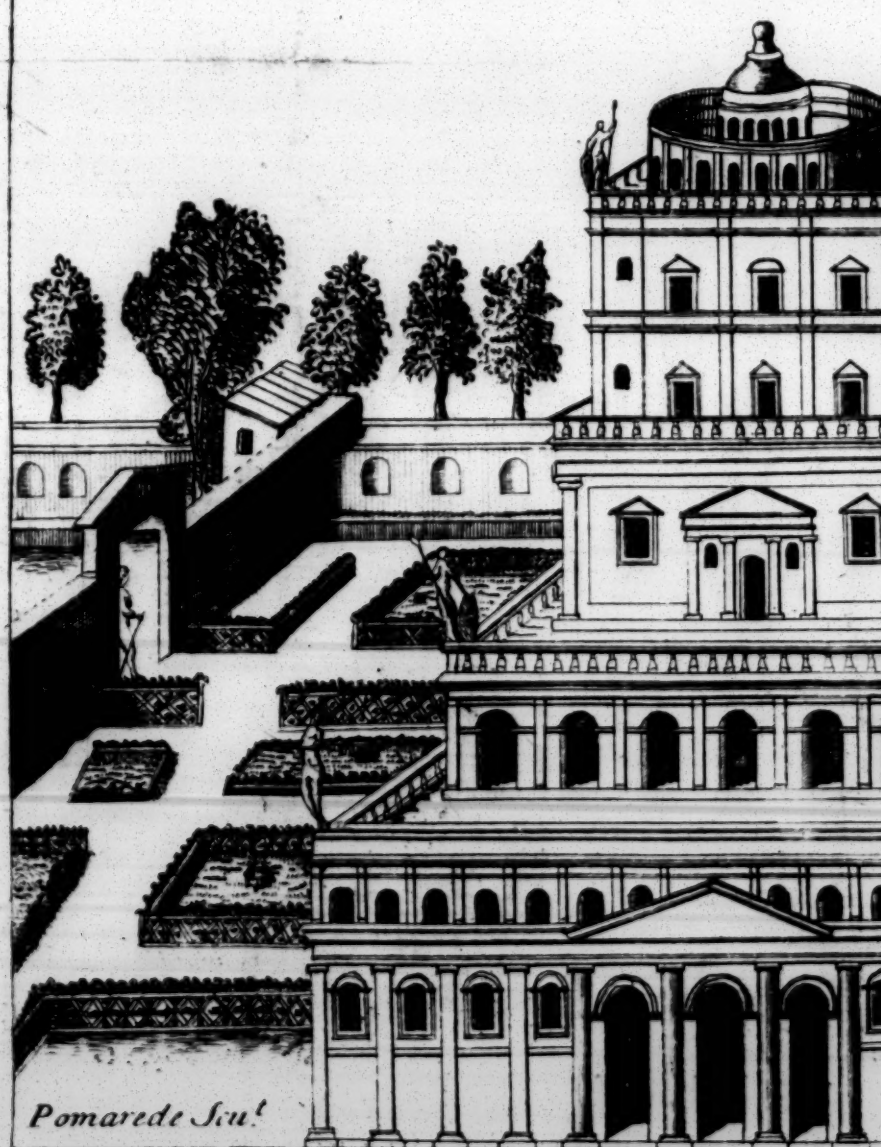
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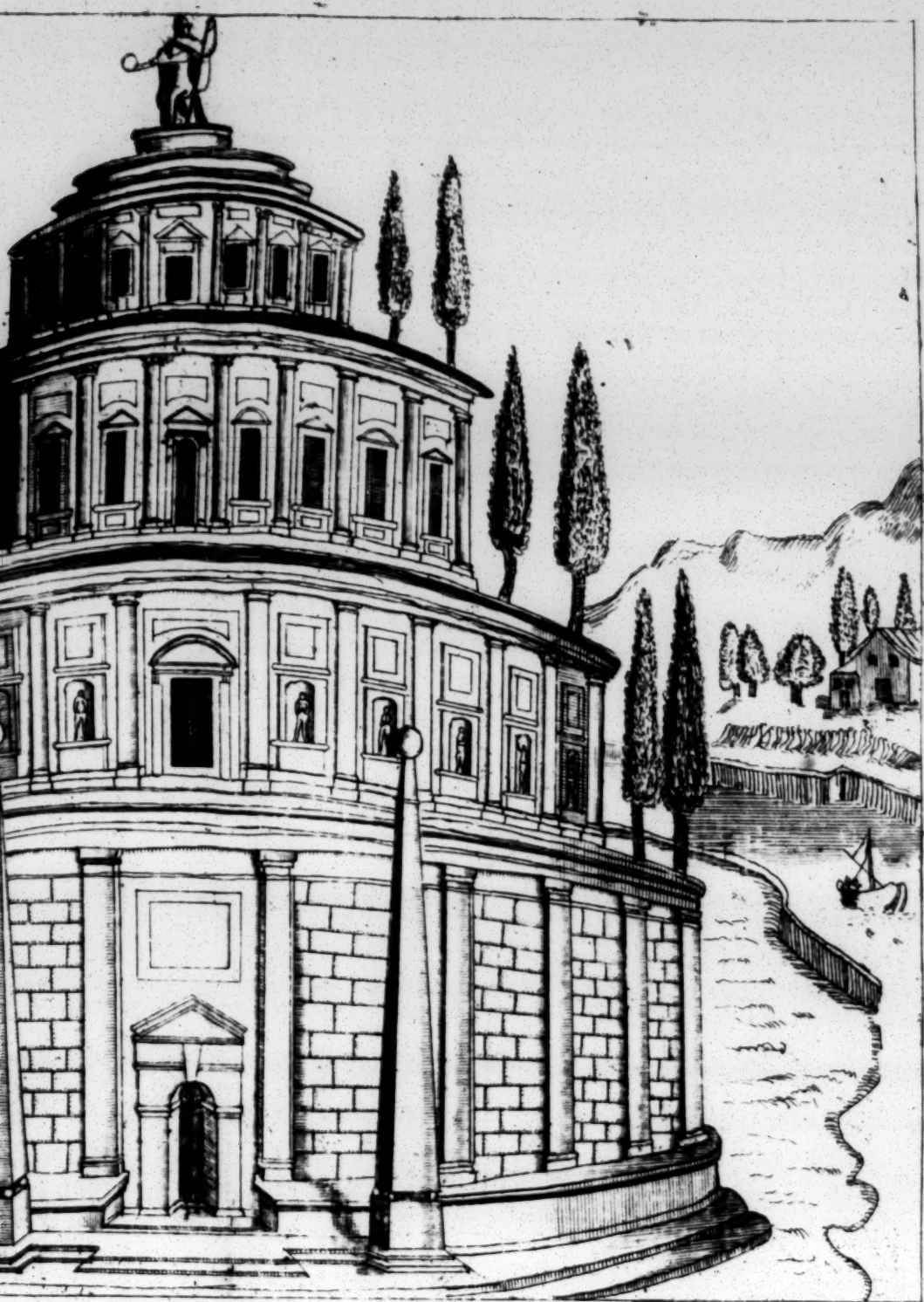


THE MAUSOLEUM



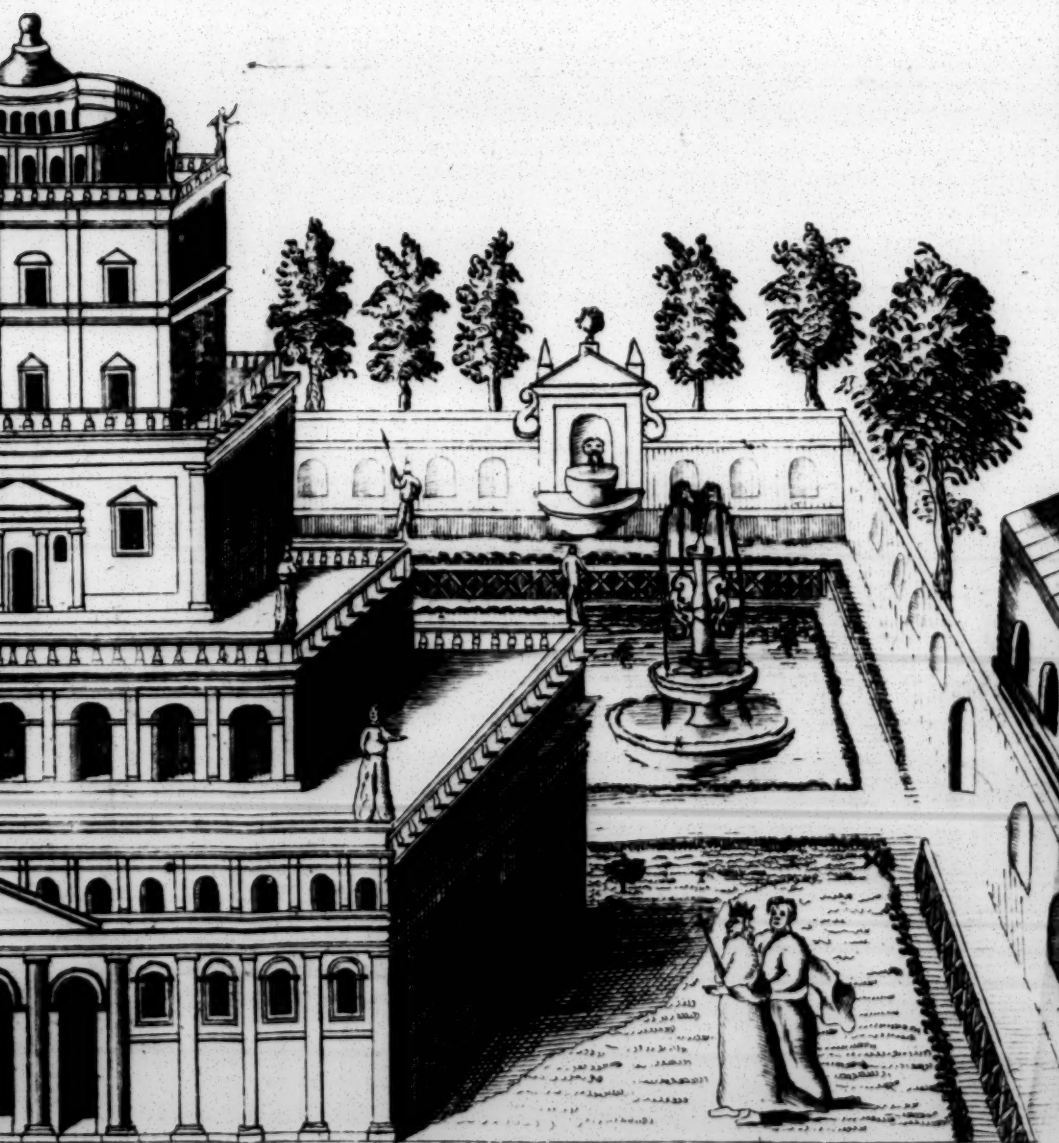
Pomaredi Scul.

The house and famed Turret of MÆCENAS



ex Dominic de Rubis

UM OF AUGUSTUS.



CENAS which commanded the whole prospect of Rome.



tions that inhabited *Germany*. He was not indeed inclined to wage war with those barbarous nations in person, but chose to be as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could with safety. The person he thought the most proper for the pursuing and completing of the conquest, happily begun by *Drusus*, was his brother *Tiberius*; whom therefore he sent into *Gaul*, after having honoured him with an ovation, on account of the advantages he had gained in *Germany* the foregoing year. *Augustus* soon after the departure of *Tiberius* left *Rome*, but, instead of passing the *Alps*, as he had done the year before, he took his rout towards *Aquileia*, and passed the whole summer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandson *Caius Caesar*, then twelve years old. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having passed the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the *Elbe*, and struck such dread into the inhabitants of those northern provinces, that several of them sent deputies to *Augustus* at *Aquileia* to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to demand it. But the *Catti*, or, as some authors write, the *Sicambri*, could not by any means be prevailed upon to submit; so that the project of peace did not take place this year. We shall see in the sequel of this history what streams of blood it cost the *Romans* to reduce them. As winter approached, *Augustus* returned to *Rome* with his grandson *Caius*; but *Tiberius* remained with his troops in *Germany*, in order to renew the war, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field¹. *Augustus* upon his return made a second census, in which were numbered, according to the *Ancyran* marbles, 4233000 *Roman* citizens². While he was thus employed, his great friend *Mæcenas* died, which was a sensible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the same intimacy as formerly. His criminal conversation with *Terentilla* could not but displease *Mæcenas*, who thought he did not deserve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had served with the utmost fidelity. On the other hand, *Augustus* in that particular could not bear any controul; and hence that coldness and indifference which appeared between these too great friends, some years before death parted them. *Mæcenas* was a man of great penetration, and understood the art of governing well better than any man of his age,

Tiberius's exploits in Germany.

Death of Mæcenas.

¹ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO. p. 551, 552. SUTTON. in Octav. p. 178.

² Vide GRUTER. p. 230.

His character.

The liberty he took with Augustus.

His works.

The death of Horace.

as appears from the many wise directions and maxims, which he suggested to *Augustus* in the beginning of his reign. But though possessed of talents equal to the highest employments of the state, yet he was such an enemy to all trouble, so fond of his ease, so addicted to his pleasures, that he abhorred all business, and seemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the *Epicureans* placed happiness. As he was remarkably good-natured, and slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet and interrupting his pleasures, he employed all his credit and interest with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the most part with good success. Of the ascendant which he had gained over *Augustus*, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults and curbing his cruel temper, *Dion Cassius* gives us the following remarkable instance. As *Augustus* was one day judging some criminals, *Mæcenas* perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himself over to revenge without check or compassion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note; *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Augustus* no sooner read it, than he rose up and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death¹. As for the scandalous lewdness and debaucheries of *Augustus*, which gave occasion to many severe lampoons and cast a great blemish upon his reputation, *Mæcenas* was not at all a proper person to set up for a censor in that particular. The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, especially to *Virgil* and *Horace*, will render his name immortal, and transmit his fame to the latest posterity. He was not only an encourager of learning, but published according to *Priscian*^m, *Isidorus*ⁿ, and *Seneca*^o, several works, which intitled him to a place among the best writers of that polite age. The works ascribed to him by the above-mentioned writers are, a *history of animals*; a *journal of the life of Augustus*; a *treatise on short-hand writing*; of which some will have him, others *Tyro*, *Cicero's* freedman, to have been the inventor; another *treatise on the nature and different kinds of precious stones*; and two tragedies, the one intitled *Octavia*, and the other *Prometheus*: but none of these works have reached our times. *Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mæcenas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-seventh of the following *November*. The

¹ DIO. l. v. p. 552.
orig. l. xix.

^m PRISCIAN. l. x.
^o SENECA. epist. 91,

ⁿ ISIDOR.
fame

fame of so great a poet will be as lasting as his works, which all ages must admire, as the utmost effort of a human genius. This same year died one *Caius Cæcilius Isidorus*, famous for the immense wealth of which he was possessed; for he left to his heirs 4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie.

ON the kalends of *January* of the ensuing year, *Tiberius*, *Tiberius triumphs.* who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his second consulship with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and was the same day honoured with a triumph, which was a new sight to the *Roman* people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the *Germans*, were carried before him, and the captive generals and officers of distinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left *Rome*, he repaired the temple of *Concord*, placing his own name and that of his deceased brother *Drusus* on the frontispiece of that stately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the senate had erected, to his mother *Livia*, she herself being present at the ceremony. On this occasion he gave a most sumptuous entertainment to all the senators, while *Livia* feasted the women of distinction by themselves. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital and returned to *Germany*, but performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in *Rome*, which reduced to ashes many stately buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape in that confusion, out of the houses of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and disorders for the future, *Augustus* created new *Curatores Vicorum* officers called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted on certain days to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, the *appointed* robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend *by Augustus.* them. To them were now assigned the six hundred slaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for the extinguishing of fires. At the same time, by *Augustus's* particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned *curatores vicorum*, and also to the tribunes of the people and the prætors^a.

THE following year, *Caius Antistius Vetus* and *D. Lælius* *The bold* *Balbus* being raised to the consulate, *Lucius Cæsar* boldly de- *and unsea-* *sonable de-* *mand of* *Lucius* *ther Cæsar.* manded of *Augustus* in the public theatre, that his elder bro-

^a Dio p. 556, 557.

Tiberius
demands
leave to re-
tire.

ther *Caius Caesar* might be named consul for the ensuing year. The emperor, no less surprised than offended at this unseasonable demand, notwithstanding his affection for the two brothers, answered, that he hoped he should never lie under the necessity of raising any to the consulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth not being satisfied with this answer, but continuing to solicit him with great earnestness in behalf of his brother, the emperor raising his voice, told him with a grave air, *That an office of such importance ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the desires of the giddy and head-strong multitude.* However, his tenderness for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the *Julian* family and the name of *Cæsars*, in some degree got the better of his reason; for he granted to *Caius* the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shows and sports; but at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on *Tiberius* the tribunitial power for five years, which gave the two young *Cæsars* no small jealousy. But *Tiberius* had scarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great surprise of *Augustus* and the whole city, he desired leave to quit the city and retire to *Rhodes*. Various reasons are alledged by the ancients for this sudden resolution; *Tiberius* indeed pretended a desire of improving himself in the study of philosophy and eloquence, there being then at *Rhodes* famous professors of both these sciences. But *Suetonius* is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife *Julia*, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great disgrace on his person and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye witness of her scandalous debaucheries^o. *Velleius Paterculus*, a great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he withdrew out of respect to the two young *Cæsars*, that he might not stand in their way to the highest preferments^p, following therein the example of *Agrippa*, who had retired to *Mitylene*, when *Marcellus* first entered upon public offices. *Dion* thinks he was piqued at the favour which *Augustus* shewed to his grandsons, especially at his declaring them *princes of the Roman youths* (G), which intirely defeated

^o Suet. in Tiber. c. 10,
c. 99.

^p VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

(G) The first *Roman* emperors gave this title to their children, or to those whom they had appointed their heirs and successors in the

feated his ambitious projects, and left him no hopes of ever enjoying the sovereign power, the sole object of all his wishes⁹. But whatever his motive was, notwithstanding the remonstrances and tears of his mother *Livia*, he was very pressing with *Augustus* for his permission to retire; which the emperor not only refused, but took great pains, in concert with *Livia*, to divert him from such an unseasonable resolution. He even complained to the senate of his being abandoned by one, from whose abilities he had promised himself great relief in the government of the republic. But *Tiberius*, deaf to all entreaties and remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon departing, continued importuning *Augustus* for his permission, which he constantly refused, being unwilling to lose the only person in whom, after the death of *Agrippa* and *Mæcenas*, he reposed any confidence, his grandchildren not being yet of an age fit to be trusted. At length *Tiberius*, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment, and, there shutting himself up, abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. Hereupon the emperor, seeing he could not get the better of his obstinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his request, and granted him the so much wished-for permission to retire; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out for *Ostia*, without speaking a word on the way to those who attended him to the place where he imbarqued, or taking any notice

Which Augustus refuses him.
But at last yields to his importunities.

⁹ Dio. in excerpt. p. 662.

the empire. The youth, who was honoured with this title, had all the children of the *Roman* noblemen under his command, and appeared at their head when they performed their military exercises in the field of *Mars*, or exhibited the tournament called *Troy*. In the times of the republic the children of the most distinguished families were called *principes juventutis*, or *principes equitum* (19), because they were reckoned *equites* or knights, till they attained the age which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The *princeps juventutis* was distinguished from the rest by a triumphal robe, as *Tacitus* informs us (20). On the reverse of a medal of the emperor *Severus*, which has reached our times, are represented three youths on horseback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, *Princ. juvent.* which shews, that the *princeps* or *principes juventutis* had some command over the young nobility.

(19) *Vide Liv. l. lxii. c. 61. & Juvenal. satyr. 4. v. 32.* (20) *Tacit. annal. 12. c. 5.*

His private manner of living at Rhodes.

of them, a small number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure^r. However, *Dion* tells us, that before he took his leave of *Livia* and *Augustus*, he opened his will, and read it in their presence^r. From *Ostia* he sailed along the coast of *Campania*, and staid some time in that province, being informed there, that *Augustus* was indisposed. But in the mean while, a report being spread abroad, that he waited for the news of *Augustus*'s death, he weighed anchor as soon as it came to his ears, tho' the sea ran then very high, and sailed for *Rhodes*, where he led at first a very private and retired life, frequenting the schools and academies without any attendants, conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his house and equipage. However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was invested; for a warm dispute arising one day in the school of *Theodorus* the *Gadaraean*, of whom he was a constant hearer, he interposed, and endeavoured to put an end to the contest. But one of the disputants, judging him partial, not only refused to acquiesce to his decision, but abused him in a most outrageous manner; which so provoked him, that he returned home, and assuming the habit of a public magistrate, appeared in the school, as tribune of the people, with his apparitors, and summoning, by a crier, the philosopher who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to prison^t. *Velleius*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, especially of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconsuls and governors, who were sent into the east, went to wait upon him, lowering their fasces to him; that he gained the affection and esteem of all the *Greeks*, &c, ^u. But all other writers tell us, that not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the island, they daily more despised and hated him, insomuch, that the *Nemausians* threw down his statues, and defaced his pictures; nay, some time after, as *Caius Cæsar* passed that way, mention being made of *Tiberius* at a private entertainment, one of the company addressing *Caius*, Give only the word, said he, and you shall have the head of the exile in an instant. The name of exile well suited *Tiberius*; for though he voluntarily retired to *Rhodes*, yet he was long kept there against his will. Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left *Rome* purely to avoid giving umbrage to *Caius* and *Lucius*, and wrote to

^r Suet. *ibid.* ^t Dio. in excerpt. Valesii, p. 665. ^u Suet. *ibid.* *QUINTILIAN.* l. iii. c. 1. *Dio. ibid.* ^v VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid.*

the emperor, after they had attained to man's estate, and were promoted to the highest dignities, begging leave to return home and visit his friends, since his presence could no longer be disagreeable to his grand-children. But the favour was absolutely denied him, and a message sent, bidding him lay aside all care and thoughts of his friends, since he had been so impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged, fore against his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, and it was not till after seven years that *Augustus* was prevailed upon to consent to his return ^w. This year *Augustus* himself was consul, and had for his colleague *Cornelius Sylla*. He had resumed the fasces, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years together, with no other view, as is supposed, but to render the ceremony of giving the *toga virilis* to his grandson *Caius* more solemn. For he presented him in person to the senate, gave him the *toga virilis* himself, with the usual ceremonies, and designed him consul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years, to be reckoned from the day he was presented to the senate. Thus the *Ancyran* marble ^{*}. This year *Augustus* reduced the number of those who were supplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thousand, corn having for some years been given indifferently to all who desired it. Nothing remarkable happened in *Rome* or *Italy* the two following years, in the first of which *C. Calvisius Sabinus* and *L. Passienus Rufus* were consuls, and in the second *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Valerius Messalinus*. The ensuing year *Augustus* again reserved the consular dignity for himself, and took for his colleague *M. Augustus*, *Plautius Sylvanus*, or *Silanus*. As *Lucius*, the younger of his grandsons, was now of an age to receive the *toga virilis*, *Augustus* conferred on him the same honours as he had done three years before on his brother *Caius*. Several medals, coined on this occasion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and spears, and this legend on the reverse; *Caius and Lucius Cæsars, the sons of Augustus, designed consuls, princes of the youth*. Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured by *Augustus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment. Her lewdness, infamy, and scandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in history, had for some years been the talk of the whole town. But *Augustus* had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their nearest concerns. He believed indeed, that she did not lead a very strict life, but never imagined her capable of com-

^w DIO. SUET. *ibid*.^{*} Vide GRUTER. *inscript*. 231.

Julia banished.

And her daughter of the same name.

mitting those monstrous and almost incredible excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her actions and conduct, he was so sensibly affected with grief and confusion, that he shut himself up in his palace, and there continued several days, bewailing his misfortune, without seeing any even of his most intimate friends. Not able to conceal the transports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the senate by a letter the excesses of the infamous prostitute, and the disgrace of his family, an indiscretion which he afterwards said he would never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mæcenæ* been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first resolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himself with banishing her to *Pandataria*, a desert island on the coast of *Campania*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Augustus* had divorced the same day she was born, that is, thirty eight years before, attended her to the place of her banishment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only punished the infamous *Julia* with banishment, but at the same time forbade her the use of wine, and all sorts of delicacy whatsoever either in diet or cloaths. By an express order from the emperor, no person of what condition soever was to come near her without his leave. Not long after, her eldest daughter by *Agrippa*, named also *Julia*, and married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the same crimes as her mother, was confined to the island of *Tremæra*, now *Tremiti*, in the *Adriatic* sea^y. The punishment of *Julia* was followed by that of all those who were any ways accessory to her debaucheries. *Sempronius Gracchus*, *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, *C. Claudius*, and *L. Scipio*, all persons of great distinction, were condemned to perpetual banishment. But *Julius Antonius* (H), the son of the triumvir, and many others, were by the emperor's orders put to death. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many considerable *Romans*, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy. Be that as it will, it is certain, that an incredible number of

^y VELL. PATERCUL. c. 100. DIO. ibid. p. 555.

(H) *Julius Antonius* was a man of learning, and wrote a poem intitled *Diomedes*, consisting of ten books. To him *Horace* addressed the second ode of his fourth book. He left a son very young, whom *Augustus* banished to *Marseilles*, under colour of having him instructed by the great masters who flourished then in that city. He dyed without offspring, and in him ended the *Antonian* family.

illustrious

illustrious *Romans* were sacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of *Julia*. Her chief confident, by name *Phæbe*, laid violent hands on herself before sentence was pronounced against her. *Augustus*, when news was brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wishing that *Phæbe*, and not *Julia*, had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he would have been well pleased, if *Julia* had had courage to end her days in the same manner. *Tiberius* heard, as we may well imagine, the news of the disgrace and banishment of *Julia* with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of dissembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderness and compassion for her, he wrote frequent letters to *Augustus*, intreating him to forgive her, and reinstate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death, nay, he carried, in a manner, his resentment beyond his grave, for by his last will he ordained, that she should not be deposited after her death among the *Cæsars*, whom she had so disgraced during her life. As for *Tiberius*, *Augustus* obliged him to divorce her, notwithstanding the tenderness and affection which, by the deepest dissimulation, he still pretended to retain for her².

Many illustrious Romans banished and put to death, on her account.

AND NOW *Augustus*, to divert his mind from fixing on his domestic misfortunes, exhibited the most magnificent and expensive shows that had ever been seen in *Rome*. Chariot-races in the *circus*, representations on the stage, combats of gladiators, &c. were now become common. *Augustus* therefore, the better to divert both himself and the people, revived those sports which had been for a considerable time laid aside, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He caused a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length, and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the *Flaminian* water, and building scaffolds quite round it capable of holding numberless multitudes of spectators. And indeed the concourse of people was so great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, lest the thieves should lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houses. *Augustus* had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tigers, elephants, rhinoceros's, &c. but now the new canal appeared all on a sudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty six were killed by *Egyptians* brought from the banks of the *Nile* for that purpose. The multitude were highly delighted with this sight, which was quite new; but the sea fight which ensued afforded them still greater diversion. For at the opposite ends

Magnificent shows exhibited by Augustus.

² Suet. Dio, *ibid*.

of the lake, or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the *Greek*, and those of the other after the *Persian*, manner. Both fleets engaged; and as they fought in good earnest, most of the combatants being persons sentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody ^a.

Disturbances in Armenia.

Caius Cæsar sent into the east.

IN the midst of these public sports and diversions, news was brought to *Augustus* that the *Armenians*, entering into an alliance with the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised to the throne *Tigranes* in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the consequences of an alliance between those two powers, was greatly at a loss what measures he should take to put a stop to the war, which threatened the eastern provinces. He could not manage it in person, being now stricken in years; *Tiberius* was retired to *Rhodes*, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to trust any with the command of the army, except those of his own family. In this perplexity he at length resolved to send into the east his grandson *Caius*, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age (I); but before

^a Suet. ibid. OVID. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud GRUTER. ibid.

(I) While *Caius* was preparing for this expedition, *Ovid* wrote the first book of his *art of love*, as appears from the following lines.

*Ecce parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.
Parthe, dabis pœnas: Crassi gaudete sepulti,
Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus.
Ultor adest, primisque ducem profitetur ab annis;
Bellaque non puero tractat agenda puer.*

And a few lines after;

*Auspiciis annisque patris, puer, arma movebis,
Et vinces annis auspiciisque patris.
Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes;
Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future senum (21).*

Ovid was quite out in what he foretels of *Caius*, but sets down the just year of his age; for *Augustus* was nineteen years old when he first put himself at the head of his army, as is manifest from the *An-*

(21) *Ovid de arte. l. i.*

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fore his departure, to procure him the greater esteem, he honoured him with the title of proconsul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, either the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, an officer of great experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under him ^b. Before the young general set out, *Augustus*, who omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of this expedition, sent *Dionysius*, a geographer of great fame, into the east before him, with orders to take an exact survey of the country, which was likely to be the seat of war ^c. Whether this was the famous *Dionysius*, whose *periegesis* in Greek verse has reached us, or another *Dionysius*, the son of *Diogenes*, who published the dimensions of the earth, as we read in *Marcianus Heracleota* ^d, we know not. This commission of *Caius Cæsar* is variously mentioned by the ancients; *Tacitus* writes, that he had *Armenia* for his province ^e; *Velleius Paterculus*, that he was sent into *Syria* ^f; *Suetonius*, that he was appointed governor of the east ^g; *Orosius*, that he was sent by *Augustus* to settle the provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria* ^h; and *Pliny* quotes a book wrote by king *Juba*, in which mention is made of *Caius's* expedition into *Arabia* ⁱ; but adds, that the young prince had only some thoughts of invading *Arabia* ^k. In the mean time, *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, being informed of the warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting, but they were designed against him, wrote a submissive letter to *Augustus*; but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops out of *Armenia*, which *Augustus* in his answer required him to do without delay, *Caius*, taking his leave of *Augustus*, set out from *Rome*, *Tiberius* and hastened into *Armenia* ^l. In his passage he touched at *Chios* ^m, or, as *Suetonius* will have it, at *Samos* ⁿ; which *Tiberius* no sooner understood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himself on that occasion in a very submissive man-

^b ZONAR. ex Dion. SUET. in Claud. c. 26. PLIN. l. ix. c. 35. SOLIN. c. 53. ^c PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. ^d MARCIAN. HERACLEOTA. peripl. l. i. ^e TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 48. ^f VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. ^g SUET. in Tiber. c. 12. ^h OROS. l. vii. c. 3. ⁱ PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. in fin. ^k Idem ibid. c. 28. ^l DIO, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab Urfin. ^m XIPHIL. & ZONAR. ex Dion. ⁿ SUET. in Tib. c. 12.

gran marble, containing a summary of the chief actions of his life; and *Caius* was entered into his nineteenth year when he began to prepare for his expedition against the *Parthians*; so that his father and he went commanders at the same age.

ner,

Tiberius
in disgrace

ner, and shewing the utmost respect not only to the young prince, but to all those of his attendance. *Caius* received him with great coldness, his governor *M. Lollius*, who hated *Tiberius*, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices against him^o. Thus *Suetonius*: but *Velleius*, flattering *Tiberius*, according to his custom, tells us, that *Caius* received him with the greatest marks of esteem, and treated him as his superior^p. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Tiberius's* tribuneship expiring about this time, he earnestly solicited the emperor for leave to return home, and received from him the answer, which we have related above: so that he was obliged much against his will to continue at *Rhodes*, which he no longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but as the place of his banishment. However, his mother *Livia*, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover the ignominy of her son, got him, with much ado, declared *Augustus's* lieutenant in those parts. But he, finding himself obnoxious to the sovereign, and apprehending himself in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but retiring into the midst of the island, concealed himself there to avoid the compliments of the *Roman* officers and magistrates, who were sent into the east^q. Nay he wrote to *Augustus*, desiring him to send some person, in whom he could confide, with a charge to watch him, and transmit to *Rome* a faithful account of all his words and actions^r.

Phraates
sends em-
bassadors
to Caius.

BUT to return to *Caius Caesar*; from *Samos* or *Chios* he hastened into *Syria*, where all the *Roman* forces in the east, and those of the allies of *Rome*, were assembled and ready to march. *Suetonius* tells us, that he passed through *Judea*, but scorned to worship at *Jerusalem*, and adds, that his conduct therein was approved of, and much commended, by *Augustus*^s. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of *Parthia*. Upon his approach *Phraates*, distrusting his own subjects, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, sent deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general received the ambassadors with great politeness, and it was agreed, that *Caius* and *Phraates* should have an interview in an island formed by the *Euphrates*. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the opposite banks of the river. In the conference

^o Suet. ibid.

^p VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101.

^q Suet. ibid. c. 12.

^r Idem ibid.

^s Suet. in Octav.

Caius only insisted upon the *Parthian's* renouncing all pretensions to *Armenia*, which he readily consented to; so that a treaty was soon concluded, and tranquillity restored, when least expected, to the eastern provinces. Matters being thus settled, the two chiefs feasted each other; *Caius* entertained *Phraates* on the *Roman* side of the river, and *Phraates* *Caius* on the *Parthian* side. Thus *Velleius Paterculus*, who was present, as a spectator, at these entertainments, he being then a military tribune in *Caius's* army^t. The same writer tells us, that the *Parthian* king acquainted *Caius* in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor *M. Lollius*, who had taken large bribes of him, and had heaped up immense sums by laying, without his knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the east. The same writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous designs and counsels of *Lollius*, at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his presence. *Lollius* thus disgraced died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine^u. *Pliny* and *Solinus*^v say, that he put an end to his life with poison; but none of the antients impute his death to *Caius*, though he deserved to be punished with the utmost severity, if the charge, brought against him by the *Parthian* king, was true. Upon his death *Publius Quirinius* was either appointed by *Augustus*, or chosen by the young prince himself, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by *Augustus* for his eminent services first with the consulship, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the *Homonades*, a people of *Cilicia*, out of their strong-holds^w. He proved a friend to *Tiberius*, and reconciled *Caius* to him, as we shall see anon. The treaty of peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians* was scarce concluded, when *Artabazes*, whom *Augustus* had placed on the throne of *Armenia*, died; and then *Tigranes*, who had been sent up by the *Parthians*, sent rich presents to *Augustus*, accompanied with a submissive letter, wherein, without styling himself king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the disturbances of the east, accepted his presents, and ordered him to attend *Caius* in *Syria*; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of *Armenia*^x. *Augustus*, to perpetuate the memory of this expedition, and the glory of young *Caius*, who managed it with such success, caused

A peace
concluded.M. Lolli-
us accused
of treache-
ry.Tigranes
appointed
king of
Armenia.^t VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101.^u Idem ibid. c. 102.^v TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 48.^w DIO. in excerpt. ab Ful. Ur-

sn. SEXT. RUF. in breviario.

The birth
of Christ.
Year of
the Flood,
1999.
Of Rome,
748.

several medals to be struck, or pieces of money coined, some of which have reached us, with the figure of *Armenia* in a suppliant posture, and the names of *Augustus*, and *Caius Cæsar* on the reverse.

AND now, the temple of *Janus* being shut up (K), and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquility, *The prince of peace, the Lord of heaven, and Saviour of the world*, joined himself, after an ineffable manner, to human nature, and appeared on earth, being born of a virgin, in the city of *Bethlehem*, whither *Joseph* and *Mary* had repaired, to be there registered pursuant to the decree of *Augustus*, as citizens of that place (L). But to dwell on the particular circumstances

(K) From the time of *Romulus* to the reign of *Augustus* the temple of *Janus* had been but twice shut, viz. during *Numa's* peaceable reign, and after the first *Punic* war (22). *Augustus* shut it up three times, viz. after he had vanquished *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, four years after on his return from the war, which he had waged with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, and some years before the birth of our Saviour. *Horace*, who died seven years before, speaks in his last ode of *Augustus's* victory over the *Sicambri*, and observes, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut. *Orosius* says, that after *Augustus* had shut it the third time, it continued so for the space of twelve years (23). On the other hand, *F. Nori*, is of opinion, that it was opened on occasion of *Caius Cæsar's* expedition against the *Parthians*, whence he concludes, first against *Orosius*, that it did not continue shut for twelve years, and secondly against most historians and chronologers, that our Saviour was born before the troubles in the east broke out; for he was born, as all the fathers affirm, while the world was in peace; and, on the other hand, *Tacitus* assures us, that after *Augustus* had laid open the gates of *Janus* the third time, they were never shut again to the reign of *Vespasian* (24). But as no war was declared, and no hostilities committed either by the *Romans* or *Parthians*, we cannot persuade ourselves, that the temple of *Janus* was opened on occasion of this expedition.

(L) *Augustus* having issued out a decree for taking such a description or survey of the whole *Roman* empire as should contain an account of all persons, possessions, and estates therein, and the taxes issuable from them, it was this year executed in *Judæa* in the manner *St. Luke* describes it. When it came to *Bethlehem*, *Joseph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the place of their habitation, to that city, the city of *David*, to which, as being of

(22) *Liv. l. i. Plut. in Numa.* (23) *Oros. l. vi. c. 22. p. 207.*

(24) *Vide P. Henric. Noris cenotaph. Pisan. C. & L. Cæsar. Venet. 1681. p. 199. & 200.*

circumstances of this or the other mysteries of the *Christian* religion, would be deviating from the design of the present work, and intrenching on the province of the ecclesiastic writers. To their histories therefore we refer the learned reader for a full account of what we shall only hint at in ours.

THE following year, *Cassius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were raised to the consulate, and succeeded the year after in that dignity by *Gaius Cæsar*, tho' then absent in *Syria* (M), and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. During their administration nothing remarkable happened in *Italy*, or in the countries subject to, or depending upon, *Rome*, except the

*The death
of king
Herod,
and divisi-
on of his
kingdom.*

the house and lineage of *David*, they originally belonged, that there, as citizens of that place, their circumstances, and estate, or trade, might be described and registered among those who were of the same house and family. Whenever a census was made at *Rome*, the censors registered all the *Roman* citizens, their wives and children, their age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates both real and personal: *Censoris officium erat*, says *Florus* (25), *omnia patrimonia, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorum, discrimina in tabulas referre*; and *Cicero* (26) *Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque, censent*. *Augustus* was the first who extended this census to the provinces, where those, who were charged with it, pursued, without all doubt, the same method as the censors did at *Rome*. 'Tis true, none of the antient historians mention this general census extending to all the provinces, and kingdoms, subject to, or depending upon *Rome*; but *Tacitus* (27), *Suetonius* (28), and *Dion Cassius* (29), tell us, that *Augustus* left behind him a book containing an exact account or survey of all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, and their revenues, taxes, and tributes, which, it is manifest, he could not have done without a previous and general census. Besides, *St. Justin* (30) and *Tertullian* (31) frequently refer the *Gentiles* to the registers which were made on occasion of this census, and were still extant in their time.

(M) That *Gaius* was absent from *Rome* when he was raised to the consulate, and that he discharged the office of consul in the east, is unanimously attested by all the antients. It is therefore surprising, *Josephus* should tell us, that *Augustus* referred the dispute, which upon the death of *Herod* arose between *Archelaus* and *Antipas* about the succession, to a council, at which *Gaius Cæsar*, the son of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, presided, he being at that time in *Rome*.

- (25) *Flor. l. i. c. 6.* (26) *Cic. de legibus, l. iii.* (27) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 11.* (28) *Suet. in Octav. c. 101.* (29) *Dio. l. lvi. p. 591.* (30) *Justin. apolog.* (31) *Tertullian. in Marc. l. iv.*

death of king *Herod*, which was no less miserable than his life had been detestable, and the division of his kingdom made by *Augustus*, who gave one half of it to *Archelaus*, and divided the other half between his two brothers, *Antipas* and *Philip*, as we have related at length in our history of the *Jews*¹. During the consulship of *Caius*, *Augustus* ended his great climacterical year, that is, the sixty-third of his age, on which occasion he wrote the following letter to his grandson in *Syria*: *Hail, my dear Caius, my chief delight: your presence is the constant object of my most ardent wishes: I cannot, my dear child, bear to be from you: when shall I have the pleasure of seeing my beloved Caius again, and tenderly embracing him? Your presence would have doubled the mirth of this day, my sixty-fourth birth-day, which I hope you have solemnly kept in good health: for I have ended, you see, my sixty-third year, the common climacteric of old men. May the gods render the remaining part of my life useful and serviceable to the republic: may they continue to shower their blessings upon you, till they shall think fit to remove me, and place you in my room*².

Tiberius
allowed to
return to
Rome.

THE following year, *P. Alpinus Varus* and *P. Vinicius* being consuls, *Tiberius* was at length allowed to return to *Rome*; *Caius*, to whom *Augustus* had referred the matter, to deliver himself from the importunities of *Livia*, consenting to it at the earnest intreaties of his new governor *Quirinius*; but upon condition that he should bear no office in the commonwealth³. We are told, that when the ship, which brought him the news of his being allowed to return to *Rome*, first appeared, he was walking by the sea-side with one *Thrasyllus*, a famous astrologer, who assured him, though the ship was at a great distance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The sudden appearing of the ship saved *Thrasyllus*'s life; for *Tiberius* had at that very time determined with himself to throw him headlong into the sea, as one who was privy to all his secrets, and whom he now began to mistrust, after he had for some years entertained him as his bosom friend. He put off the execution of his design till the arrival of the ship when finding the prediction of the astrologer fulfilled, he tenderly embraced him, and ever after had him in great esteem, though he pretended himself to a great knowledge in judicial astrology⁴. Upon his return to *Rome* he withdrew to *Mæcenas*'s gardens, and there led a retired life,

¹ Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 279 & 280. ² AUL. GELL. Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 7. ³ Suet. in Tib. c. 13. ⁴ Idem ibid. c. 14. XIPHILIN. ex Dion.

doing good offices to some of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs ^c. But he was soon delivered from the objects of his envy and jealousy ; for *Lucius Cæsar*, who ^{The death of Lucius Cæsar.} was but a youth of slender abilities, died this year at *Mar-seilles* on his journey to *Spain*, whither he had been sent by his grandfather, who had no other view therein than to bring him into favour with the soldiery, and accustom him to a military life and a foreign climate ^d. Some writers suspect *Livia*, as if she had found means to take him off by poison ; for his death was so sudden, that it surprised his attendants, and the art of poisoning was at that time brought to great perfection, and become very common in *Rome*. His body was brought by sea from *Mar-seilles*, to one of the ports of *Italy*, and from thence carried to the capital on the shoulders of the military tribunes, and the decurions of the colonies and municipal towns. At *Rome* it lay in state for several days in the forum, being watched and guarded by the *Roman* knights, who had presented the deceased youth with a silver spear when he took the *toga virilis*. The spear was hung up in the senate-house, and the body burnt with great solemnity, probably in the *campus Martius*. The ashes, we suppose, were deposited in *Augustus's* own mausoleum, the burying place of the *Cæsars*. The emperor was sensibly affected, as we may well imagine, with the loss of a youth whom he so tenderly loved ; and saw thus snatched away in the spring of his life ; and *Tiberius*, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his son-in-law, wrought such a change in the mind ^{Tiberius returns into} of *Augustus*, *Livia*, no doubt, contributing to it with her ^{favour} usual art and dexterity, that he would have adopted him, if ^{with Au-} *Velleius* is to be credited, had he not absolutely declined ^{gustus.} that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to *Caius* ^e (N).

IN

^c Idem ibid. c. 15. ^d FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 102. TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 3. SUET. in Octav. c. 65. ZONAR. ex Dion. ^e VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 103.

(N) *Alphinus Varius* was of a mean descent, but raised himself by his own merit to the first offices in the state. *Horace* mentions him in the third satyr of his first book :

*Ut Alphinus vaser, omni
Abjecto instrumento artis, clausaque taberna,
Sutor erat.*

Upon which passage *Acron* comments thus : *Alphinus* was a native of *Cremona*, by profession a shoe-maker ; but abandoning his

Numidia
rebels, but
is soon re-
duced.

The Par-
thians in-
vade Ar-
menia.

IN the following consulate of *L. Ælius Lamia* and *M. Servilius*, the famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* was reduced to ashes ; but the flames, which did not respect the statue of the goddess, spared that of the vestal *Claudia*, who, in former times being accused of incest, is said to have given a glaring and miraculous proof of her innocence, by drawing ashore with her girdle the ship which brought the mother of the gods to *Rome*, and had run a-ground off *Ostia* ^f. This pretended miracle is much talked of by the *Roman* writers, and elegantly described by *Ovid* and *Silius Italicus* ^g. In the consulate of *Sextus Ælius Catus* and *C. Sentius Saturninus* (O), *Numidia*, formerly subdued and reduced to a *Roman* province by *Julius Cæsar*, rebelled, but was soon brought again under subjection by *Passienus* and *Cossus*, whom *Augustus* honoured on their return to the capital with triumphal ensigns, that is, he allowed them all the privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumphant victors ^h, the custom of triumphing being now laid aside. But the troubles which this year broke out anew in *Armenia*, were not so easily quelled : the *Parthians*, notwithstanding the treaty concluded a few years before between them and the *Romans*, invaded that kingdom with a numerous army. Hereupon *Caius*, who was still in *Syria*, having with great expedition drawn together his forces, marched against the enemy, and penetrating into the heart of *Armenia* without opposition, appeared before *Artagera*. Upon his arrival, one *Addo*, whom some call *Domnes*, the governor of the place,

^f VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. LIV. l. xxxix, &c. fast. l. iv. SIL. ITAL. xvi. c. 104.

^g OVID.

^h VELL. PATERC. l. ii.

trade, applied himself to the study of the *Roman* law, under the famous civilian *Servius Sulpicius*. The great progress he made in the *Roman* jurisprudence gained him such reputation, that he was judged worthy of the greatest honours of the state. When he died, he was buried at the public expence, a distinction granted to few, and those persons of the highest merit.

(O) When *Agrippa* was recalled from the east, *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* were appointed to succeed him in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*. Some writers think, that *Saturninus* was governor or president of the province, and that *Volumnius* was only his lieutenant, or rather *Augustus*'s procurator under him ; but *Josephus* speaks of him as in joint commission with *Saturninus* (32).

(32) *Joseph. antiq. l. xvi. c. 12. 13.*

sent deputies to him, inviting him to a private interview, under pretence that he had something to communicate to him of the utmost importance. *Caius*, not suspecting any treachery, complied with his invitation; but *Addo*, or, as *Strabo* calls him, *Ador*, having insensibly drawn the unwary youth during the conference close to the wall, wounded him, and retired that instant into the city; which the *Romans*, provoked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately assaulted on all sides, took by storm, and dismantled, after having put the traitor, and with him the whole garison, to the sword¹ (P). The wound did not prove mortal; but nevertheless weakened the body, and sunk the spirits of *Caius* to such a degree, that after he had driven the *Parthians* out of *Armenia*, and placed *Ariobarzanes*, by birth a *Mede*, on the throne, he gave himself up to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Hereupon *Augustus*, who had a great desire to see his favourite grandson, recalled him to *Rome*; but he, taken with the delights of that soft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their constant study to feed his vicious inclinations with new pleasures, begged leave to continue in *Syria*, declaring, that he had rather live in the most remote and inhospitable corner of the earth, than return to *Rome*. This unexpected proposal stung *Augustus* to the heart, who, in his answer to him, insisted on his returning to *Italy*, assuring him, that he should there be allowed to do what he pleased. *Caius* therefore, with the utmost reluctance, left *Syria*, and sailing for *Lycia*, arrived at *Limyra*, a city of that country, where he died soon after in the twenty-fourth year of his

Caius Cæsar wounded.

His death.

¹ VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 102. STRABO, l. xi. p. 529. ZONAR. ex Dion.

(P) *Florus* relates this event in the following manner: *Domitius*, on whom the king of *Parthia* had conferred the government of *Artaxata*, pretending a revolt came out to meet *Caius*, and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he said, contained an account of all the king's treasures; but while he was perusing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a poniard concealed under his garment, stabbed him (33). *Sextus Rufus* follows *Florus*, and, by an unpardonable mistake, adds, that the *Parthians*, by way of satisfaction for so bold and treacherous an attempt, did then first give hostages to *Octavianus Cæsar*, and restored the ensigns which had been taken from *Crassus* (34).

(33) *Flor. l. iv. c. ult.*

(34) *Sext. Ruf. in breviar.*

Tiberius
adopted by
Augustus,
and Ger-
manicus by
Tiberius.

age * (Q). Thus was *Augustus*, in the space of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandsons, whom he had adopted, and brought up to succeed him in the sovereign power. His death, as well as that of *Lucius*, is by some imputed to the secret arts of *Livia*, who left no stone unturned to advance her son *Tiberius* to the empire. The grief of *Augustus* for the death of one, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a fond father, was great beyond expression. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occasion it was that the artful *Livia*, who had gained an absolute sway over her husband, prevailed upon him to adopt her son *Tiberius*. However, he adopted at the same time *Agrippa Posthumus*, the third son of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, whom he had hitherto quite neglected, as being a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper. He likewise obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the son of his brother *Drusus*, tho' he had a son of his own; so that the joy of *Tiberius* in seeing himself at length adopted into the family and name of the *Cæsars*, was not a little allayed by this mortifying and unexpected preference. His nephew *Germanicus* was now become the emperor's grandson, while his own son *Drusus* was denied that honour^l. These three different adoptions happened on the same day, viz. on the fifth of the kalends of *July*; and it is remarkable, that *Augustus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, solemnly swore before the people, that he adopted him for the good of the commonwealth^m. At the same time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years

* VELL. PATERC. *ibid.* ^l Idem *ibid.* ^m Idem *ibid.*
& C. 104. SUET. in *Tiber.* c. 21.

(Q) *Tacitus* says he died of his wound as he was returning from *Armenia* (35), and *Sextus Rufus*, that he returned into *Syria* and died there; but *Suetonius*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Velleius Paterculus*, who served under *Caius*, assure us, that he died at *Limyra* in *Lycia* on his return to *Rome*. *Augustus* was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of *Asinius Pollio*, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment while his grief was yet fresh. *Pollio* answered, *I supped after the same manner when I lost my son Arterius, and can any one require more grief of a friend than of a father* (36)? The body of *Caius* was conveyed to *Rome*, and buried there with great pomp. *Bellonius* tells us, that he saw the tomb and epitaph of *C. Cæsar* at *Hama* or *Emesa* in *Syria* (37); but that his bones were buried at *Rome* is manifest from the following epitaph, which is still to be seen in the church of the apostles behind the old temple of *Minerva*: *Offa C. Cæsaris Augusti F. Principis Juventutis* (38).

(35) *Tacit. annal.* l. i. c. 3. (36) *Senec. in proæm.* l. iv. de con-
trover. (37) *Bellon observat.* l. ii. (38) *Vide Gruter. inscript.* 235.
according

according to some writers ^a, but according to others for ten ^o. Thus, by the address of *Linia*, were all honours heaped upon her son, now sole candidate, we may say, for the succession.

WHILE *Augustus* was thus strengthening himself by the adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grand-son to *Pompey* by his daughter *Pompeia*. As several persons of the highest rank were engaged in the plot, *Augustus* was greatly at a loss what measures to take in so nice an affair. If he used rigour, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raise dangerous disturbances to revenge their death; if he pardoned them, he apprehended this might encourage others to the like attempts. In this perplexity he passed several nights without being able to take the least rest, or come to any resolution. At length *Livia*, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cause of his disquiet and uneasiness. *Dion Cassius* relates a conference between her and the emperor, which seems rather to have been framed by him than real ^{*}. However that be, it is certain, that she, by many ingenious and politic arguments, convinced him, that it was safer in so critical a juncture to use clemency than rigour. Pursuant to her advice, *Augustus* sent for *Cinna*, and taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named to him all his accomplices, and shewed himself thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumstances, which the conspirators had agreed on in their last meeting. *Cinna* was thunderstruck, as we may well imagine, when he saw his treason thus discovered, and himself in the power of the person whom he sought to destroy, without any possible means of escaping the punishment due to his crime. His surprise was still greater, when *Augustus*, instead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, putting him in mind of the many favours he had bestowed upon him, and adding, that he was resolved to get the better of his obstinacy; and therefore not only freely forgave him, but, for his sake, all those he had seduced into the same wicked designs; and to shew you, said he, that I am sincerely reconciled to you, I now name you consul for the ensuing year. This generous behaviour made such a deep impression upon the mind of *Cinna*, that he continued, from that time to the hour of his death, inviolably at-

The conspiracy of Cinna.

He is pardoned by Augustus.

^a Suet. ibid. c. 16.

^o Dio. l. lv. p. 556.

^{*} Idem ibid.

Julia removed to the continent.

tached to the interest of *Augustus* and his family ^p. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occasion, that the people offered him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *Lord* or *Master*, which he not only refused, but published an edict, forbidding any one to address him under that name; a name peculiar to masters with respect to their slaves, and therefore no less injurious to him than to the *Roman* people ^q. Towards the end of this year, the people earnestly intreated him to recal his daughter *Julia*; but he answered, *That fire and water should sooner meet than they two*; and when the people were very pressing with him, he could not refrain his anger, but, in a violent passion, wished *they might have such wives and such daughters*. However, they prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the island to the continent; but he would not by any means suffer her to return to *Rome* ^r.

The exploits of Tiberius in Germany.

IN the beginning of the ensuing year, when *Cn. Cornelius Cinna*, who had conspired against *Augustus*, and *L. Valerius Messala* were consuls, *Tiberius* was sent into *Germany*, to complete the conquest of that country, and keep in awe the several nations which had been some years before subdued by him and his brother *Drusus*. *C. Sentius Saturninus*, the last year's consul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was appointed by *Augustus* to command under him, as one who was well acquainted with the country, he having been formerly *Augustus*'s lieutenant in those parts. *Velleius Paterculus* the historian attended *Tiberius* in this expedition, and served under him in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horse; which post had been held by his father, and at his death was conferred upon him. He tells us, that *Tiberius*, entering *Germany*, over-ran the country of the *Caninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that from thence he advanced against the *Attuati* and *Brueteri*, that is, the people of the territory of *Munster*, whom he easily reduced; that the *Cherufci*, the inhabitants of the present dutchies of *Brunswick* and *Luneborg*, submitted at his approach; that he made himself master of all the countries lying on the *Visurgis* and the *Lupias*, now the *Weser* and the *Lyppe*; and that putting his troops into winter-quarters on the banks of the *Lupias*, he returned to *Rome* towards the end of *December*, where he was received with loud acclamations by all ranks of men ^s.

^p Idem ibid. SENEC. de clemen. l. i. c. 9. p. 318, 319.

^q SUET. in Octav. c. 53. XIPHIL. l. lv. ^r SUET. & DIO. ibid.

^s VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106.

IN this and the following year, *Rome* was afflicted with a *A famine* dreadful famine, insomuch, that all foreigners, gladiators, *in Rome.* *athletæ* or wrestlers, and slaves, except physicians and school-masters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to keep at eighty miles distance from the capital, *Augustus* himself sending away the greater part of his own slaves and attendants. On this occasion he doubled his usual largesses, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly distributed among the indigent citizens, and provisions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries, at the public expence, and sold at a low rate. This still more gained him the affections of the people, who were therefore for decreeing him new honours, which he absolutely refused; but the glory which accrued to him from a solemn embassy sent this year to *Rome* in the name of the *Parthian* nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers of those times; for the *Parthians*, quite tired with the troubles that were daily raised in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourse to *Augustus*, begging him to give them a king. The emperor *Augustus* highly pleased with this embassy, named *Vonones*, one of the *appoints* sons of *Phraortes*, who had been sent to *Rome*, as we have *Vonones* observed above, commending him both to the *Parthian* em- *king of* bassadors and the *Roman* governors in the east. The *Par-* *Parthia.* *thian* nobility received him with great joy, and placed him on the throne; which *Augustus* was no less proud of, than if he had subdued that warlike nation^t. The next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Arruntius*, being consuls, *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, pursued his conquests there with surprising rapidity, if *Velleius* his historian, or rather panegyrist, is to be credited. He first subdued the *Chauci* (*R*), the most flourish- *Tiberius* ing and numerous nation of *Germany*, and then the *Lango-* *over-runs* *bardi* or *Lombardi*, who surpassed in fierceness all the inhabi- *great part* *of Ger-* tants of that vast continent. He over-ran and brought under *many.* subjection all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Albis* or the *Elbe*, while his fleet struck terror into the warlike and

^t STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2. JOSEPH. p. 620.

(R) The *Chauci* inhabited east *Friesland*, the counties of *Oldenburg* and *Hoya*, and part of the archbishopric of *Breme*: The *Longobardi* or *Langobardi* that part of the marquisate of *Brandenburg* which is now called *Middlemarck*, and lies between the *Elb* and the *Oder*: The *Semnonēs* part of *Holsatia* and *Silesia*: And the *Hermunduri* part of *Voitland*, of *Misnia*, of *Upper Saxony*, and of the langravedom of *Thuringen*.

The Getuli revolt, and are subdued.

Agrippa Posthumus disgraced, and banished.

barbarous nations bordering on the ocean. In short, the *Roman* ensigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberless nations, who, till the arrival of the invincible *Tiberius*, had never heard of the *Roman* name. Such is the account which *Velleius* gives us of the victories and exploits of *Tiberius* *. But another writer, unbiaſſed by any affection or prejudice, tells us, that *Tiberius* indeed over-ran all the countries between the *Albis* and the *Visurgis*; but performed nothing which he thinks worth mentioning, though both *Tiberius* and *Augustus* were honoured with the title of *Imperator*, on account of the pretended success of this campaign, and *Sentius Saturninus* with the ensigns of triumph w. While *Tiberius* was carrying on the war in *Germany*, *Cornelius Cossus* was employed in *Mauritania* against the *Getuli*, who, revolting from king *Juba*, massacred all the *Romans* settled in his country, and committed most dreadful ravages in the provinces subject to that prince. But *Cossus* marching against them, overthrew the rebels with great slaughter, and obliged them to submit upon what terms he thought fit to impose upon them; for which he likewise was honoured with the privileges peculiar to those who had triumphed. This year *Agrippa Posthumus*, having incurred the displeasure of his grandfather *Augustus*, was by him banished to the island of *Planasia*, now *Pianosa*, in the *Mediterranean* sea. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* conceived an irreconcilable hatred to him on account of his irregular and scandalous life, which he thought a disgrace to his family; whence, when mention was made of him, or the two *Julias*, he used to say with a profound sigh, *O! had I lived without a wife, or died without children!* nor did he commonly call them by any other name than his *three imposthumes*. But *Tacitus* ascribes the disgrace of young *Agrippa* not to any vices of his own, but to the arts and ambitious views of *Livia*, who was glad to remove the only person who stood in her son's way to the absolute power. As *Augustus* was now very old, says that writer, *Livia* had obtained such an ascendant over him, that, to please her, he banished into the island of *Planasia* his only surviving grandson *Agrippa Posthumus*, one indeed destitute of extraordinary talents, in his temper untractable, and stupidly conceited of his own strength, but guilty of no misdemeanour or transgression x.

THE next year, when *A. Licinius Nerva* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were consuls, *Rome* had three mighty wars to main-

* VELL. PATERC. ibid. annal. l. i. c. i.

w DIO. l. lv. p. 557.

x TACIT.

tain, viz. one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* (S), a prince of extraordinary strength, which was a great merit among the *Germans*, of uncommon address, and great personal courage and experience in military affairs, having raised a formidable army, consisting of seventy thousand foot, and four thousand horse, threatened the countries lately subdued by *Tiberius*, nay, *Italy* itself, with an invasion. Against him *Tiberius* was sent *Tiberius*, who, arriving in *Illyricum*, divided the numerous forces he had under his command into two bodies. The one he put under the conduct of *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who, pursuant to *Tiberius*'s orders, taking his rout through the territories of the *Catti*, and opening himself a passage through the *Hercynian* forest (T), brought his legions to the confines of the *Marcomanni*, called by the antients *Boiohæmi*. As for *Tiberius* himself, he seemed to be in no great haste to enter the lists with the king of the *Marcomanni*; for, under various pretences, he put off his march, and continued in *Illyricum*, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or designed to spin out the war. *Augustus* was old, and *Tiberius*

Tiberius
sent against
Maroboduus king
of the
Marcomanni.

(S) The *Marcomanni* inhabited first that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Cochera*, and the *Necker*. From thence they passed with the *Harudes* and *Sedusii* into *Boiohæmia*, now *Bohemia*, and driving out the *Boii*, settled there. *Velleius Paterculus* gives us an account of their migration under the conduct of *Maroboduus* (39). They made themselves afterwards masters likewise of *Moravia*. They were in process of time driven out of *Bohemia* by the *Sclavonians*, whose descendants hold that kingdom to this day.

(T) *Julius Cæsar* speaks in his commentaries of this forest thus; *It is nine days journey over; we cannot otherwise describe it, because the Germans have no fixed measures of distances. It begins on the confines of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, (that is, of Switzerland, Basel, and Spire) and extends along the Danube to the borders of the Daci and Arnates (that is, to Transilvania); then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmost extent, though some have gone sixty days journey in it* (40) *Mela* gives this forest an immense length; for, according to him, it extended from the *Rhine* to the county of the antient *Sarmatæ*, which is at present a considerable part of *Muscovy*. In process of time the *Hercynian* forest was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The *Black Forest*, and the forest of *Bohemia*, were formerly parts of the *Hercynian*.

(39) *Vell. Patere. l. ii. c. 108.*
c. 25.

(40) *Cæsar comment. l. vi.*

The Pan-
nonians
and Dal-
matians
revolt.

Germani-
cus ap-
pointed to
make head
against
them.

Tiberius
leads his
army a-
gainst
them.

well knew how much it would be for his interest to have at his death an army under his command ready to second his ambitious views. Be that as it will, he passed great part of the summer in a state of inaction, at the head of a numerous and well-disciplined army. In the mean time *M. Valerius Messalinus*, having, by *Augustus's* orders, led the troops he commanded in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* into *Illyricum*, to reinforce *Tiberius's* army there, the inhabitants of those two countries, being now awed by no *Roman* garisons, conspired to shake off the yoke, and recover their antient liberties under the conduct of two chiefs of the same name. The two *Batos*, for so they were called, raised each in his own country a hundred thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, slew all the *Romans* who had settled in *Pannonia* or *Dalmatia*, over-ran the neighbouring countries subject to the *Romans*, and, penetrating into *Macedon*, committed there most dreadful ravages. The two chiefs had agreed to act jointly or separately, as occasion should require, and not to lay down their arms till they had delivered their respective countries, and all *Germany*, from the *Roman* bondage. This general and unexpected insurrection filled *Rome* with terror and confusion. The emperor, having assembled the senate, instead of lessening, magnified the danger, telling the conscript fathers, that unless a new army was raised with all possible expedition, they might, in ten days, see the enemy at the gates of *Rome*. Levies were therefore made without delay, the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed-men, but great numbers of slaves, were admitted into the legions. By this means a numerous army was raised, and the command of it given to *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus*, and nephew of *Tiberius*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments. As for *Augustus*, he left the capital, and went to reside at *Ariminum*, whence he could, with more ease and quickness, send his orders to the two generals, and assist them with his advice in the carrying on of a war, which he looked upon as the most dangerous one he had yet been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerous, well disciplined, and at no great distance from *Italy*, which, if any misfortune should happen either to *Tiberius* or *Germanicus*, they would not fail to invade, and might over-run before a new army could be raised. *Tiberius* no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command against the revolted *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, than he turned his arms against them, hoping he should be able to reduce them before the arrival of *Germanicus*,

^y Dio. l. lv. p. 569, & seq.

whom

whom he now looked upon as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory, which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting *Illyricum*, he incamped in the country which parted *Pannonia* from the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, to prevent the conjunction of the *Pannonians* and the *Marcomanni*. But in the mean time *Bato* the *Pannonian* laid siege to *Sirmium* (U); and, though defeated by *Cæcina Severus*, governor of *Mæsia*, had again recruited his army, and obliged *Cæcina* to quit the field. On the other hand, *Bato* the *Dalmatian* laid siege to *Salona* (W), and, though wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet *Messalinus*, whom *Tiberius* had detached against him, gave him battle, and put him to the rout. The *Roman* general being obliged in his retreat to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. However, he found means to make his escape without losing a man, which *Paterculus* magnifies as an exploit worthy of a triumph; but *Dion Cassius* assures us, that *Tiberius* ascribed it wholly to *Bato's* generosity, and that he afterwards acknowledged it as a favour, and rewarded him for it. However that be, the two *Batos* soon after united their forces,

The transf-
actions of
this cam-
paign.

(U) *Sirmium*, now *Sirmisch*, was in former times the metropolis of *Pannonia inferior*, and the place which the emperors chose for their residence, when the affairs of the empire called them into those parts. Many laws were published at *Sirmium* by the emperors, which *Jacobus Gothofredus* has with great pains collected. The emperor *Probus* was killed in this city, and *Theodosius*, if we believe *Aurelian Victor*, first saluted emperor by the *Romans* who were here in garison. The emperor *Decius* was born in a village called *Budalia*, or *Bubalia*, in the neighbourhood of this city. *Pliny* places it near the confluence of the *Save*, and a river which he calls the *Bacuntius* (41).

(W) *Salona*, one of the chief cities of *Illyricum*, stood on the *Adriatic* sea, at a small distance from the present city of *Spalatro*. It became afterwards a *Roman* colony, as appears from several ancient medals and inscriptions, in which it is called sometimes *Colonia Julia*, sometimes *Colonia Martia*, and sometimes *Colonia Claudia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Lucan* in the following verse;

Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas (42).

Salona was the native city of the emperor *Dioclesian*, who retired hither after he had abdicated the empire.

(41) *Plin. l. iii. c. 35.*

(42) *Lucan. l. iv. ver. 404.*

and incamping on mount *Almus* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country to a great distance under contribution. *Tiberius* detached *Rhymetalces*, a petty king of *Thrace*, against them, who gained indeed some advantages over them, but was not able, though joined by *A. Cæcina* governor of *Mæsia*, at the head of a considerable body of *Roman* troops, to dislodge them^a. At length *Tiberius*, who had hitherto acted only by his lieutenants, marched against them in person; but the enemy, not thinking it adviseable to engage him, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their post, and, dividing their numerous forces into several small bodies, retired by different ways into *Macedon*, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. As winter drew near, *Tiberius* did not pursue them; but *Rhymetalces* and his brother *Rasipolis*, at the head of the *Thracian* auxiliaries, followed them close, and, coming up with them on the confines of *Macedon*, gave them a great overthrow, and cut many thousands of them in pieces^a. These are the exploits of *Tiberius* in this campaign, which *Velleius* magnifies, and extols more with the partiality of a panegyrist, than the sincerity of an historian^b. As for *Germanicus*, he did not, it seems, enter *Dalmatia* this year.

Archelaus
deposed,
and ban-
ished.

Judæa re-
duced to a
Roman
province.

UPON the approach of winter, *Tiberius*, according to his custom, returned to *Rome*, where *M. Furius Camillus* and *Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus* were soon after raised to the consulate. During their administration ambassadors came to *Rome*, both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to accuse *Archelaus*, to whom *Augustus* had given the half of his father *Herod's* kingdom under the name of *ethnarchy*, of male-administration, tyranny, and oppression. Hereupon *Archelaus* being called to *Rome* to answer the charge brought against him, and not being able to justify himself before the emperor, he was by him deposed, his goods were confiscated, and he himself banished to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, where he ended his days. *Archelaus* being banished, *Augustus* appointed *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, who, according to the *Greek* way of writing that name^c, is, by *St. Luke*, called *Cyrenius*, to be president of *Syria*, and sent him into the east to seize on the countries over which *Archelaus* had reigned, that is, *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria*, and reduce them to a *Roman* province. *Coponius*, a *Roman* knight,

^a Dio. ibid. p. 569—571. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 114, &c.

^b Dio. ibid. ^c VELL. PATERC. ibid. ^c Vide STRABO,

l. xii. p. 569.

was sent with him to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of *Judæa*. These two arriving at *Jerusalem*, seized all *Archelaus's* effects and treasures, pursuant to the sentence passed against him by *Augustus*, and having in great part abolished the *Jewish* polity, introduced the *Roman* in its stead. *Coponius* took on him, in the name of *Augustus*, the administration, but in subordination to the president of *Syria*, *Judæa* being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken out of the hands of the *Jews*, and placed wholly in the *Roman* procurator and his subordinate officers. All taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* emperor, and the *Jews* might now say with truth what they were heard to say some years after, *We have no king but Cæsar*^d. But what disturbances attended this change of government, we have related at length elsewhere^e. While *Cyrenius* or *Quirinius* was in *Judæa*, he deposed the high-priest *Joazar*, the son of *Boethus*, and appointed *Annas*, the son of *Seth*, to succeed him in that office, which he held several years^f.

EARLY in the spring, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* took the field, the former against the *Pannonians*, and the latter against the *Dalmatians*. We read of no great advantages gained by *Tiberius*; but *Germanicus* obliged the *Dalmatians* to quit the field, and shelter themselves behind the walls of their cities and castles, some of which he besieged and took. We are told, that while he lay before one of their strong-holds, and was ready to abandon the enterprise, on account of the vigorous opposition he met with, a *German*, by name *Pulio*, who served under him, taking up a stone of an enormous size, threw it against the wall with such violence, that one of the battlements fell with the shock, and brought down a soldier, who was leaning against it; which struck the garison with such dread, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the citadel, which soon after submitted. While they were thus pressed by *Germanicus*, a famine, occasioned by the last and this year's ravages, began to rage all over their country, and was attended by various distempers, arising from their feeding on herbs and roots, to which they were not accustomed. In this extremity, *Bato*, the chief of the *Dalmatians*, began to think of submitting; and accordingly sent deputies to treat with *Tiberius*, who received both them and *Bato* *reduced*.

Exploits of
Germani-
cus.

The Dal-
matians
reduced.

^d DIO. l. iv. p. 561. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvii. c. 15. & de bell. Judaic. l. ii. LIGHTFOOT, in Johann. c. 18. ver. 31. ^e Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 283, & seq. ^f JOSEPH. ibid. l. xviii.

c. 3.

himself, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obliging manner. The *Roman* asked him from his tribunal, *What had induced him to revolt, and persist so long, and with such obstinacy, in his rebellion against Rome?* The *Romans*, answered *Bato* with great intrepidity, *who, instead of shepherds to protect and defend us, send wolves to devour us.* The kind treatment he met with from *Tiberius*, made such an impression upon his mind, that he was easily prevailed upon to turn his arms against his name-sake and ally, whom he defeated, and inhumanly murdered, having persuaded the garison of a castle, to which the unfortunate *Pannonian* had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death, the greater part of the *Pannonians* submitted; but some still continued in arms, whom *Sylvanus* was charged to reduce, and left for that purpose in *Pannonia*, with a considerable body of *Romans* ⁸.

Augustus
encourage
marriage.

His speech
to the un-
married
knights.

Augustus no sooner heard of the submission of one *Bato* and the death of the other, then he left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, against the law which he had published some years before, concerning unmarried persons and such as had no children. The knights, whose aversion to marriage proceeded from the looseness of their lives, as it generally does, were very pressing with the emperor to get this law abolished. Whereupon *Augustus*, having assembled the whole body of knights, ordered the married and unmarried persons among them to be placed separately; then, observing the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, he first addressed those who had complied with his law, telling them, that they alone had served the ends both of nature and civil society; that mankind was ordained male and female to prevent mortality; that as the species could not subsist without children, so no commonwealth could be supplied either with men for the wars, or for civil employments. He added, that they alone deserved the name of men and of fathers, and as such he praised them, promising to prefer them to such offices as they might transmit to their offspring. To the others he made a quite different speech, telling them, That he knew not by what name to call them; not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, since the city might perish for them; nor by that of *Romans*, for they seemed determined to extirpate the *Roman* race and name; but by what name soever he called them, their crime, he said, equalled all other crimes put together:

⁸ *Dio. l. lvi. 570, 571. VELL. PATERC. ibid.*

for they were guilty of murder in not suffering those to be born, who should proceed from them; of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their fathers and ancestors; of sacrilege, in destroying their species and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was consecrated to them: that, by leading a single life, they overturned as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods, dissolved the government by disobeying its laws, betrayed their country by making it barren and waste, and utterly demolished the city by depriving it of inhabitants. He added, that he was well apprised their leading a single life did not proceed from any sentiments of virtue, but from a looseness and wantonness, which ought not to be encouraged nor suffered in any civil government. Having ended his speech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried persons, allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which space, if they complied with the law, they were to be freed from the penalty. This law obliged all men to marry at a certain age, established great exemptions and privileges to such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all, who, after a certain age, continued single. It was called the *Papian-Popæan* law, because enacted by the consuls *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popæus Secundus*, to whom the consuls of this year *C. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* had resigned the fasces, after having held them only six months. It was also called the *Julian* law, as having been published by *Augustus's* order, who was of the *Julian* family. For the further encouragement of marriage, *Augustus* abrogated the *Voconian* law (X), forbidding married

The Papi-
an-Popæ-
an law.

(X) Nothing was more common, before the publication of this law, than for men to give excessive legacies to women, and to leave them by will the whole estate of a wealthy family. One of the laws of the twelve tables impowered all citizens to appoint whomsoever they pleased to be their heirs, without regard to sex or relations. This law was attended with inconveniencies; debauchery was increased by it, and it became more easy to debauch a sex, who are not always deaf to their interest. Besides it was no uncommon thing to see women, who were by legacies become richer than their husbands, insulting them, and behaving themselves in their families with great haughtiness. To remedy this evil, *Q. Voconius*, tribune of the people, drew up a new law, which he at last got passed in the comitia. The chief heads of this law were, 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any woman whatsoever universal legatee, even an only daughter not excepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father, was to be proportioned

married women to receive any legacies above a certain sum; yet, that he might not seem to discourage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as had vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges as upon mothers ^h.

New troubles in Dalmatia and Pannonia. DURING these transactions at *Rome*, the war broke out anew in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Bato*, who had submitted the year before, being the ringleader of the revolt, whether upon some new provocation, or merely from the fickleness of his temper, we know not. *Germanicus*, who had acquired in the last year's war a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in use among the rebels, was ordered to lead the same legions against them, which he had commanded the year before. He opened the campaign with the siege of *Rhatinum*, a strong city in *Dalmatia*, where he was in imminent danger of perishing, with the greatest part of his army; for the inhabitants having, after a faint resistance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, *Germanicus*, at the head of his legions, entered the place

^h DIO. l. lvi. p. 573—578.

to his estate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the estimation of prudent men; and, generally speaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of her father's estate. 3. It was enacted, that all the legacies of the testator should not exceed one half of his estate (43). This testamentary law had been preceded by another, which *C. Furius* tribune of the people, had got passed, and which was thence called the *Furian* law. It forbade, according to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Justinian*, any Roman citizen to leave by legacy above the value of one thousand asses to any one person, and at the same time condemned the legatee to pay four times the sum which was given him above what the law stipulated; so that the *Voconian* law ought to be looked upon as a supplement to this, which was probably grown out of use in the time of *Q. Voconius*. *Cato* the censor made a speech in favour of the *Voconian* law, which he inserted in his book *de originibus*, and which was in being in *Livy's* time. There are some fragments of it still extant in *Aulus Gellius*. *Cicero* fixes the passing of the *Voconian* law to the year of *Rome* 584, when *Quintus Marcius Philippus* and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio* were consuls (44). From that time it continued in force to the reign of *Augustus*, who revoked it in favour of *Livia*, to whom he was resolved, as *Dion Cassius* informs us, to devise by will great part of his estate; but that historian speaks so ambiguously of the *Voconian* law, that he has given the civilians occasion to put different interpretations upon it.

(43) *Cic. de finibus*, & *Verrina* 1. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. l. xx. c. 10.* *Pædian. in Var. 1.* (44) *Cic. de senect.*

with a design to attack the citadel; but while the *Romans* Germani- were busy in planting their machines and ladders, they saw *cus's troops* themselves all on a sudden surrounded by flames, the inhabi- *in great* tants having filled their houses with all sorts of combustible ma- *danger.* terials before they abandoned them, and appointed some resolute persons to set fire to them when the *Romans* were entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, crowded round the citadel, which stood at some distance from the houses: but, by avoiding one kind of death, they met with another; for the besieged plyed them with such showers of darts, arrows, and stones from the citadel, that the ground was in an instant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the *Romans* attempted to scale the fortrefs; but met with such a vigorous resistance as quite disheartened them. Nothing therefore now remained but to attempt a retreat through the flames, and this they effected, but with great loss, many of them being crushed by the ruins of the houses, suffocated by the smoke, or destroyed by the fire, which with great violence flamed our of the houses on either side the street through which they passed. In the night the besieged abandoned the fortrefs, which began to take fire, and concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods. Hereupon *Germanicus*, having *He reduces* waited till both the city and citadel were reduced to ashes, *several ci-* led his legions against *Seretium*, another city of great impor- *ties.* tance in the same country, which he invested, and reduced in a short time, though *Tiberius* had in vain attempted the reduction of it the year before. Being encouraged with this success, and no enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into several bodies, and laying siege to different places at the same time, made himself master of most of their strongholds. But, in the mean time, *Augustus*, impatient to see this war ended, ordered *Tiberius* to march likewise into *Dalmatia*, and hasten the final reduction of that country. *Tiberius*, without losing time in besieging and taking cities, went in search of *Bato*, who had under his command a considerable body of *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*; and having met him in the neighbourhood of *Anderium* or *Andetrium* (Y), a strong

(Y) This city is called by *Ptolemy* *Andecrium*, by *Dion Cassius* *Anderium*, but that its true name was *Andetrium*, is manifest from the following inscription to be seen in *Spon*:

*Item viam Gabiniam
Ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit
et munit per Leg. VII. (45)*

(45) *Vide Spon. misc. erud. antiq. p. 179.*

Pliny

The siege
of Ande-
trium by
Tiberius.

Bato sub-
mits.

Arduba
taken by
Germani-
cus.

strong castle, situated on a steep and inaccessible rock, offered him battle; but *Bato* declining an engagement, retired into the castle, and posted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, where he thought the enemy would scarce venture to attack them. *Tiberius* boldly advanced through the narrow passages among the mountains to the foot of the rock on which *Andetrium* stood, with a design to besiege it; but was greatly alarmed, when he saw himself all on a sudden surrounded by the enemy, who, descending from the mountains, had seized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at *Andetrium* the *Caudine Forks*; and truly he must have inevitably perished with his whole army, had the *Dalmatians* shewed as much bravery and resolution as the *Samnites* did on the like occasion; but while *Tiberius* gave all up for lost, as not being able either to retire or advance, the cowardly *Dalmatians*, seized with a panic, abandoned their posts, and, retreating in disorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the *Roman* general, who thereupon advancing without opposition to the foot of the rock on which the castle stood, summoned it to surrender. *Bato*, finding he could not depend upon his men, hearkened to the offers made him, and leaving the castle in the night, delivered himself up to *Tiberius*, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and allowed him to retire to what part of the world he pleased, after he had solemnly promised never to bear arms against the *Romans*. But the garrison of *Andetrium* still held out, and the place was not taken but after repeated assaults, in which great numbers of the *Romans* lost their lives. At length they capitulated, and surrendered upon honourable terms, which *Tiberius* religiously observed¹. At the same time *Germanicus* made himself master of *Arduba*, a town no-ways inferior in strength to *Andetrium*, and defended by as numerous a garrison; but the reduction of that important place was more owing to the disagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the *Romans*; for the greater part of the citizens being for surrendering and submitting to the

¹ Idem ibid. p. 578.-581.

Pliny likewise calls it *Andecrium* (46); but *Strabo*, *Andretrium*. It stood on a steep rock, and was surrounded on all sides by deep vallies and torrents, which rendered it almost inaccessible (47). It is now known by the name of *Cliffa* (48).

(46) *Plin. l. iii. c. 22.*
Spon. in itiner. l. ii, p. 82.

(47) *Dio. l. lvi. p. 579.*

(48)

yoke, the women, more fond of their antient laws and liberties than the men, joined some *Roman* deserters, and falling upon their husbands, made a great slaughter of them. But the men prevailing at length, submitted, and the unhappy women, disdaining to outlive the loss of their liberty, either threw themselves headlong from the walls, or setting fire to their houses, consumed themselves and their children in the flames. After this, the two *Roman* generals uniting their forces, over-ran all *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, restoring every where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments. The war being thus ended, to the great satisfaction of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours, and two triumphal arches, which by a decree of the senate were to be erected in *Pannonia*, and adorned with magnificent trophies. The title of imperator was conferred on *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to stand for the consulate before he attained the age required in other candidates, and to vote in the senate before the senators of consular dignity. As for *Tiberius*, it was decreed that his son *Drusus*, though he had no share in the war, should be admitted into the senate, and deliver his opinion, after he had executed the office of quæstor, before those who had been prætors. The lieutenants both of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were rewarded with prætorian honours, that is, were allowed all those honours and privileges which those enjoyed who had been prætors^k.

BUT the joy, which the total reduction of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* occasioned in *Rome*, was allayed and changed into the deepest melancholy by the dismal news of the intire defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*. *Quintilius Varus* was born, as *Velleius Paterculus* expresses it, rather of an illustrious than a noble family, had governed *Syria*, and been removed from thence into *Germany* to keep those countries in awe, which had been lately subdued by the *Romans*. When he first entered *Syria*, he found that province rich, says *Velleius*, and was himself poor; but when he came away, he was rich, and the province poor. In *Germany* he pursued the same methods of filling his coffers as in *Syria*, loading the people with heavy taxes, and selling without distinction to the natives those employments which his predecessors used freely to bestow on such as were nobly born, or had signalized their at-

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans by his extortions.

^k DIO. & VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid.*

Arminius
stirs up the
Germans
against the
Romans.

His
treachery.

tachment to the *Romans*. The *Germans*, before the arrival of *Varus*, had begun to bear the yoke with less reluctance; they had quitted their forests, built some cities, where they lived in a sociable manner, under the protection of the *Roman* laws, and forgetting their native savageness, had for some time applied themselves to the peaceable arts of husbandry. But the extortions and rapines of the new governor revived in that warlike nation their antient love of liberty, estranged their minds from *Rome*, and inspired them with an eager desire of shaking off a yoke which they could no longer bear. Among the *Germans* was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, of uncommon penetration, and great valour, named *Arminius*. He was the son of *Sigismer*, one of the most powerful lords of the *Catti*, had served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and been honoured by *Augustus* with the privileges of a *Roman* citizen and the title of knight. But the love he had for his country getting the better of his gratitude, he resolved to improve the general discontent which reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from the bondage of a foreign yoke. With this view he engaged underhand, by means of his friends and emissaries, in a conspiracy against the *Romans*, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*; and then to draw *Varus* from the neighbourhood of the former river, where he might with great ease and quickness receive succours from *Gaul*, he suggested to him the necessity of shewing himself to the inhabitants of the more distant provinces, and administering justice among them, and accustoming them by his example to live after the *Roman* manner, which, he said, would more effectually render them obedient to *Rome*, than the *Roman* sword. As *Varus* was a man of a peaceable temper, indolent, and a great lover of his ease, he readily came into the proposal of the crafty *Arminius*, and, quitting the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, marched into the country of the *Cherusci*. There he made it his whole business to civilize the barbarians, by introducing among them the *Roman* laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing causes, and deciding civil controversies; insomuch that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a prætor, than the prætorium of a general. And indeed this was a more suitable employment to the genius of *Varus*, than military expeditions; not that he wanted courage, but because he loved his ease, and thought he could better tame the barbarians by acting the law-giver than the general. In the mean time the conspiracy being ripe for execution, and the *Germans* ready to rise upon the first notice,

tice, *Arminius*, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping some places in awe, as if they designed to revolt, persuaded *Varus* to send out several detachments, by which means his army being weakened, some distant nations in *Germany* rose up in arms by *Arminius*'s directions, while those, through which he was to pass in marching against them, pretended to be in a state of profound tranquillity, and ready to join the *Romans* against their rebellious countrymen. *Varus*, upon the first news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a considerable body of horse, and six cohorts, to reduce the rebels, being attended by *Arminius* and his father *Sigismer*, who, taking upon them to be his guides, led him into a thick forest, surrounded on all sides with steep hills and marshy grounds. There, while the legionaries were busy in cutting down trees to open themselves a passage through the forest, and no-ways upon their guard, as not suspecting any treachery, a great body of *Germans* appeared unexpectedly, and, discharging upon them a shower of darts, killed a great number of them before they could rally, and put themselves in a posture of defence. However, they formed themselves at last in order of battle, so far as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almost quite useless, and the barbarians pouring in upon them hourly in vast crouds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley; but finding all the avenues beset with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, exposed to the darts and arrows which the barbarians incessantly showered upon them. In this extremity *Varus*, giving up all for lost, and being dangerously wounded, put an end to his life with his own sword, following therein the example of his father and grandfather, who had both fallen by their own hands, the former after the battle of *Philippi*, and the latter after that of *Pharsalia*, or, as some writers will have it, after the defeat of *Domitius* in *Africa*. Most of the chief officers scorning to outlive their general, or to be made prisoners by the barbarians, laid violent hands on themselves. The greatest part of the cavalry opened themselves a way through the enemy sword in hand, and made their escape; with them *Vala Numonius*, one of *Varus*'s lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he commanded, arrived safe at the *Rhine*, where he soon after perished as a deserter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Cesonius*, another of *Varus*'s lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, and the death of *Varus*, and most of the other officers, was for surrendering at discretion. But this motion cost him dear;

Varus and his legions surprised and surrounded.

Varus and most of the officers lay violent hands on themselves.

Most of the
legionaries
cut in
pieces.
Year after
the flood,
2010.
After
Christ, 11.
Of Rome,
759.
The con-
cern of
Augustus
for this
overthrow

The head
of Varus
sent to
Rome.

for he was immediately tried as a coward by the surviving officers, sentenced to death, and executed; to such a degree were cowards abhorred in the *Roman* armies. And now a very small number of the legionaries, and scarce any officers, being left alive, the enemy abandoned them as it grew dark, and fell upon the baggage. In the mean time the *Roman* trumpets sounding, probably to call those together who were dispersed up and down the forest, the barbarians imagined, that *Asprenas*, who was quartered at a small distance from that neighbourhood, was come to the assistance of his countrymen; and therefore, after having plundered the baggage, they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of saving themselves by flight. Thus were three complete legions and six cohorts almost intirely cut off, the greatest overthrow, if *Velleius* is to be credited, the *Romans* had received ever since the defeat of *Crassus* by the *Parthians*¹. The legions that perished on this occasion were the best of the whole empire for valour, discipline, and experience; so that the news of this loss threw the city into the utmost consternation, there being few families there that had not a share in the common misfortune. As for *Augustus*, he set no bounds to his grief, but upon the first news of so dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, he tore his garment, and, like one beside himself, knocked his head against the wall, crying out, *Restore the legions, Varus*. This he was observed to do in the transports of his grief for several months, letting in the mean time his hair and beard grow, and abandoning himself intirely to grief and sorrow. However, he did not forget to provide with all possible care for the safety of *Rome* and *Italy*: he placed guards in all the quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and disturbances; he raised new levies, obliging all the *Roman* youth, who were able to bear arms, to list themselves, confiscating the estates of such as refused to give in their names, and even threatening the most refractory with death: he vowed the great games to *Jupiter*, as had been formerly done in the wars with the *Marfi* and *Cimbri*: in short, *Augustus* never forgot this fatal day, but observed it the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning. Some time after the news of this misfortune had reached *Rome*, the head of *Quintilius Varus* was sent to *Augustus* by *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni*; but what induced him to make that present to the emperor, history does not inform us. From his having the

¹ DIO. p. 582—585. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 117. TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 62.

head of the deceased general, it was concluded at *Rome*, that he had contributed to his destruction. However that be, the emperor, though he had great reason to be displeased with *Varus*, received his remains with great respect, and caused them to be honourably interred in the tomb of his ancestors^m. *Dion* tells us, that when news of this defeat was first brought to *Rome*, no-body doubted there, but the *Germans*, after so complete a victory, would pass the *Rhine*, and invade at the same time *Gaul* and *Italy*; but that the fear and consternation which had seized the city were much abated, when they understood, that *Lucius Asprenas*, nephew to *Varus*, guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, and that the barbarians, satisfied with the advantages they had gained, neglected to improve them. However, as the emperor ascribed this fatal overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to several pretended prodigies (Z), which were related to him, his fears were not quite removed till the ensuing year, when *Ti-* Tiberius
berius, after the election of the new consuls, *P. Cornelius* sent into
Dolabella and *C. Junius Silanus*, leaving *Rome*, passed the Germany.
Alps, and entering *Germany*, obliged the rebels, though elated with their late success, to retire from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and lay aside all thoughts of raising disturbances in *Gaul*. *Velleius Paterculus* tells us, that he over-ran great part of the country, that he forced *Arminius* to fly before him, that he penetrated into the countries of the *Catti* and *Cherusci*, which he laid waste with fire and sword, and, in short, that he fully revenged the death of *Varus*, and the slaughter of his legionsⁿ. But whatever that biased historian may write in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he never attempted to bring back to their duty any of the revolted nations, but kept his troops in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, not daring to stir from that river for fear of some surprize. In the latter end of the year he celebrated

^m DIO. *ibid.* Suet. in Octav. p. 184.
TERC. *ibid.*

ⁿ VELL. PAT-

(Z) The temple of *Mars* was struck with lightning: a swarm of grasshoppers appeared over the city, and were dispersed by the swallows: great rocks fell from the top of the *Alps*, and fire was seen to issue out of the ground in various places: a statue of *Victory* on the confines of *Germany*, with its face towards that country, changed its posture, and turned its face towards *Italy*. These pretended prodigies gave the old emperor great uneasiness, which was not removed till the next year, when *Tiberius* entered *Germany* at the head of a numerous army.

the birth-day of *Augustus* in his camp with public games, and then returned to *Rome* °.

The poet
Ovid banished.

THIS year the ingenious and celebrated poet *Ovid* was banished to *Tomos* (A), for seeing some lewd and scandalous action of *Augustus*, who had not even in his old age renounced the vices of his youth. That this was the true cause of his disgrace and misfortune, the poet himself tells us in express terms : *Why did I see, says he, what I ought not to have seen ? Why did I make my eyes criminal* ^p ? (B). Fear restrained him, as is evident, from explaining himself any farther, and letting his readers into the particulars of this my-

° *Dio. ibid. p. 586.*

^p *OVID. Trist. l. ii. ad August.*

(A) *Tomos*, *Tomi*, or *Tomis*, stood on the *Euxine* sea, and was the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia* : for *Mæsia* extended from the confluence of the *Save* and the *Danube* to the *Euxine* sea, being bounded to the south by the mountains of *Dalmatia*, and to the north by mount *Hæmus* ; and was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Mæsia* ; the former contained all the country that lies between the *Ciabrus*, now the *Morava*, and the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, and the latter the rest of the country to the *Euxine* sea ; so that the *Upper Mæsia* comprehended part of *Bosnia* and *Servia*, and the *Lower Bulgaria*. The antients comprised under the name of *Pontus* that part of *Lower Mæsia* which bordered on the *Pontus Euxinus* ; and hence the city of *Tomi* is by them called a city of *Pontus*, though it did not belong to the kingdom of *Pontus* properly so called, which we have elsewhere described at length (49). The ancient city of *Tomos* is at present, according to *Niger* called *Constantia* ; according to *Cælius Caliginus*, *Tomiswar* ; according to *Giosanius*, *Kiorw* or *Kiowia*, there being in the neighbourhood of this last city a lake called by the inhabitants *Oviduæ jezero*, that is, *Ovid's lake*. Whence it was called *Tomos*, is well known from the following distich out of *Ovid*.

*Inde Tomos dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo
Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui* (50).

The poet speaks of *Medea*.

(B) His words are ;

*Cur aliquid vidi ? cur noxia lumina feci ?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi ?*

(49) *Vide Histor. Univers. Vol IX. p. 233, & seq. Trist. l. iii. eleg. 9.*

(50) *Ovid.*

story

stery (C). The pretence *Augustus* made use of for banishing him was, the poisonous books he had wrote of the *art of love*, whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* and others ascribe his disgrace to the lewdness of his muse, as he does himself in several places of his works out of complaisance to *Augustus*, and to prevent any farther inquiries. But it is very certain, that he was in high favour with *Augustus* long after he had published his books of *love*; for which we cannot persuade ourselves, that the emperor would have inflicted so severe a punishment on the poet, after he had written himself verses of that nature, some of which have reached our times, and are more scandalous than any we read in *Ovid*. As for *Julia*, *Augustus's* daughter, she had been many years in banishment before *Ovid's* misfortune, and all the accomplices of her debaucheries punished with the utmost severity. But whatever was the true cause of his disgrace and banishment, he was confined to an inhospitable climate, and there lived, or rather pined, to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to

(C) *Augustus*, though stricken in years, had not yet renounced the vices of his youth, but carried on an amour with a lady of great distinction, whose name has not been transmitted to us. The lady's husband, either out of fear or complaisance, pretended for a long time to be quite unacquainted with the whole affair; but at length the scandal becoming public, he grew very uneasy, and imparted his concern, and the cause of it, to one *Athenodorus*, who had been preceptor to *Tiberius*, and was in great favour with *Augustus*. Not long after *Augustus* sent a covered litter for the lady, and *Athenodorus*, who happened to be with the husband when the messenger arrived, in order to deter *Augustus* from such scandalous practices, and warn him of the danger, to which they exposed him, disguised himself in the lady's dress, and covering his face, placed himself in the litter, and was conveyed in that attire to the emperor's apartment, who was no less frightened than surprised to see, instead of the lady, whom he impatiently expected, a man with a drawn sword in his hand start out of the litter; but *Athenodorus*, discovering himself in that instant, *You see*, said he, *to what dangers your unseasonable passion exposes you; an enemy instead of a friend might have laid hold of this opportunity to deprive the republic of so gracious a prince.* *Augustus* took his advice in good part, and returned him thanks; but whether he reformed his conduct we know not (51). Some writers conjecture, that to this adventure was owing *Ovid's* misfortune, who, as he had free access to the emperor, might have been an eye-witness of his fright and surprise; a conjecture which we dare neither warrant nor reject.

(51) *Zonar. l. x. sub. fin.*

mitigate the rigour of the first sentence by removing him to a more friendly climate (D).

THE

(D) Ovid was born in the consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, as he himself attests, and consequently was fifty complete when he was banished. This he designed to tell us in the following lines :

*Postque meos ortus Pisæa vinetis oliua,
Abstulerat decies præmia victor eques ;
Cum maris Euxini positos ad læva Tomitas
Quærere me læsi principis ira jubet. (52).*

That is, as he expresses himself better in his book, *In Iben*, which he wrote on his first going to *Tomos* against his accusers ;

Tempus ad hoc lustris mihi jam bis quinque peractis.

For by no small mistake he frequently confounds the olympiads, which contained the space of four years, with the *Roman* lustra, containing the space of five. Had he lived but ten olympiads, he had been only forty, but ten lustra make him fifty. In his third book *Tristium*, he tells us, that he had passed his first winter in *Pontus*, that is, the first year of his banishment ; for he had spent the former winter in his journey :

*Frigora jam zephyri minuent ; annoque peracto,
Longior antiquis visa Mæotis hyems :
Impositamque sibi quæ non bene pertulit Hellen,
Tempora nocturnis æqua diurna facit (53).*

In the sixth book he speaks of the second year of his banishment ;

*Ut patria careo, bis frugibus area trita est ;
Dissiluit nudo pressa bis uva pede (54).*

In his fifth book he mentions the beginning of his third winter in *Pontus* :

*Ut sumus in Ponto, ter frigore constitit Ister ;
Facta est Euxini dura ter unda maris (55).*

In his first book of *Pontus* he takes notice of the fourth winter he lived in exile in the following lines :

*Hic me pugnantem cum frigore, cumque sagittis,
Cumque meo fato, quarta fatigat hyems (56).*

(52) Ovid. *Trist.* l. iv. eleg. ultima. (53) *Idem Trist.* l. iii. eleg. 12. (54) *Idem*, l. vi. *ibid.* eleg. 4. (55) *Eleg.* 10. (56) *Eleg.* 2.
The

THE next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *T. Statilius Severus* being consuls, *Augustus* published an edict, forbidding laws published by all augurs, astrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either *liber* by in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of *Augustus*; any person whatsoever; not that he was under any apprehension himself, says our historian, for he had caused his nativity to be calculated, and publicly exposed, but on account of the disturbances which these impostors had occasioned in some noble families. He likewise revived the edict forbidding any of the equestrian order to fight in the *arena*, threatening such as should dare to transgress it, with infamy, the confiscation

The fifth elegy of the fourth book *De Ponto* is addressed to *Sextus Pompeius*, who with *Sextus Apuleius* was consul the year *Augustus* died, and in the sixth of the same book, inscribed to *Brutus*, he mentions the death of *Augustus*, and also of *Fabius Maximus*, who died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (57), in the first year of *Tiberius*'s reign; at which time the poet had passed the fifth year of his banishment, and was then in the sixth, as appears from the following verses;

*In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta est,
Jam tempus lustri transit in alterius.*

The sixth year he mentions also in the beginning of the tenth elegy to *Albinovanus*;

*Hæc mihi Cimmerico bis tertia ducitur ætas
Littore, pellitos inter agenda Getas.*

And in the thirteenth to *Carus*;

— *sed me jam, Care, nivali,
Sexta relegatum bruma' sub axe videt.*

In the same elegy he speaks of a poem, written by him on the apotheosis of *Augustus* in the language of the *Getæ*;

*Ab I pudet, & Getico scripsi sermone libellum,
Struæque sunt nostris barbara verba modis.
Et placui, gratare mihi, cæpique poetæ
Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.*

He died in the seventh, or, as others will have it, in the eighth year, of his banishment, and was buried near the city of *Tomos* (58).

(57) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 5.*

(58) *Hieronym. in Chronico.*

of their estates, and death itself. He extended his care to the distant provinces, ordering, that no public honours should be bestowed on the governors sent thither, during the time of their administration, nor within sixty days after their departure. The haughty and imperious airs which some proconsuls and proprætors had assumed, gave rise to this edict, the emperor judging that the extraordinary honours, which were often conferred upon them, inspired them with pride, and made them look upon those, over whom they were placed, with an eye of contempt. As there were this year sixteen persons of distinction who stood for the prætorship, *Augustus*, unwilling to disgust any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity, but the next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raised *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius* by his first wife *Vipsania Agrippina*, to the quæstorship, though he had not yet attained the age required for the discharge of that employment, and named *Germanicus* consul for the ensuing year¹.

Tiberius and Germanicus sent into Germany.

After this he sent both *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* into *Germany* at the head of two very numerous armies, but, during the whole campaign, they did nothing which historians have thought worth recording: they passed the summer on, or near, the banks of the *Rhine*, contenting themselves to keep the *Germans* in awe at a distance, and to prevent them from invading *Gaul*. About the middle of the autumn, they re-passed the *Alps*, and returned to the capital, without having so much as attempted the reduction of the provinces, which had shaken off the yoke, and brought so dreadful a calamity upon *Rome*. Upon their return *Augustus* honoured *Tiberius*, for what exploits we know not, with a triumph, which he had formerly refused him, when he had a far better claim to it².

Tiberius triumphs.

AND now *Augustus*, not being able, on account of his great age to bear the whole burden of public affairs, assumed *Tiberius*, we may say, for his colleague in the sovereign power, by *Augustus* for his colleague in the sovereign power, investing him with a far more ample and extensive authority, than he had ever granted to his son-in-law and faithful minister *Agrippa*. The decree which the conscript fathers passed, at the emperor's request, in favour of *Tiberius*, was couched in the following terms: *At the request of the people of Rome we grant to Caius Julius Cæsar Tiberius the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the Roman state, which Augustus has held, which he still retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy*³. This decree, which put

Is assumed by Augustus for his colleague in the sovereign power.

¹ DIO. *ibid.* p. 586. ² SUT. DIO. *ibid.* ³ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii, c. 121.

Tiberius in a manner, upon the level with *Augustus*, was proposed, according to *Suetonius*, by the consuls^c, no doubt at the request, or rather by the command, of *Augustus*. The next year, *Germanicus Cæsar* and *Fonteius Capito* being consuls, *Augustus*, by a special edict, declared the authors of all lampoons, and satirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any person whatsoever, guilty of high treason, and punishable with death. In the times of the republic actions indeed were punished, says *Tacitus*, but words were free; *Augustus* was the first who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty, or of treason^c. By the same edict, the ædiles in the city, and the governors in the colonies and municipia were strictly enjoined to make a diligent search after all libels and lampoons, to commit them to the flames, and to proceed with the utmost rigour against the authors of them. This put a stop to the liberty or rather licentiousness of the libellers, but was attended by most dreadful consequences under the succeeding emperors, who abused this wrested law to the destruction of many innocent persons, whom on other accounts they disliked. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus* wrote two letters, one to the senate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conscript fathers, and another to *Tiberius*, recommending the senate to him, which was generally looked upon as an open declaration on the part of *Augustus*, that he designed to leave the same authority to *Tiberius* over the senate, which he himself had enjoyed, but would have all others, those of his own family not excepted, to pay an intire obedience to that venerable body. In his letter to the senate he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble for the future of waiting upon him, according to their custom, at his house, adding, that he hoped they would dispense with him for not attending in the senate-house as formerly, such an attendance being very inconvenient to him by reason of his age; he desired they would appoint him twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters of importance relating to the state; the senate readily granted him his request, and moreover decreed, that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate^d. The following year, when *C. Silius* and *L. Munacius Plancus* were consuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near

Libels brought under the law of majesty.

Augustus recommends the senate to Tiberius, and Germanicus to the senate.

^c Suet. in Tiber. & Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 3. ^d Tacit. annal. l. i. ^e Dio. ibid. p. 588.

*Renews
his term of
ten years
the fifth
time.*

*Sends
Germani-
cus into
Germany.*

*Makes a
third cen-
sus.*

ended, he accepted, though much against his will, says *Dion Cassius*, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and at the same time renewed the tribunitial power in favour of *Tiberius* for the like space of years ^w. As for *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, he impowered him to stand for the consulate after two years, though he had not yet discharged the office of prætor; but as both he and *Germanicus* had places in the senate, and it was natural to suppose that their sentiments were those of *Augustus*, which none of the conscript fathers would dare to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or any ways declare their opinion, in such matters as were debated by the conscript fathers. *Augustus* having thus settled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the vestal virgins, resolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging the death of *Varus*, and the loss of his legions. With this view he raised two numerous armies, the one to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. The latter was ordered to march this very year into *Gaul*, and from thence to invade the countries, which at the instigation of *Arminius* had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. As for *Tiberius*, he was appointed to lead his army into *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that side into the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, which the *Romans* had not yet subdued. *Augustus* however kept him at *Rome* all this and part of the following year, when *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* were raised to the consulate: the former was grandson to the famous *Sextus Pompeius*, whose war with *Augustus* we have described in this volume: his colleague *Apuleius* was one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and is said to have prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death, which he first pronounced against *Ovid*, into that of perpetual banishment. During their administration, *Augustus*, taking *Tiberius* for his colleague in the censorship, made a third census, by which it appeared, that the number of the *Roman* people amounted to four millions one hundred and thirty seven thousand, counting women and children as well as men ^x. *Eusebius* makes the number of *Roman* citizens amount to nine millions three hundred and seventy thousand, counting probably those who lived both at *Rome*, and in the provinces^y. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was observed to fly several times round *Augustus*, and then light on a neighbouring temple over the first letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon not only by the

^w Idem ibid.
230.

^x Suet. l. ii. c. 97. GRUTER. inscript. p.
^y EUSEB. in chron.

multitude, but by *Augustus* himself, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his colleague *Tiberius* to make the vows which were usual at the time of the census, for the safety of the Roman state, and the prosperity of the citizens, saying, that he would not make vows which he should not live to perform^a. He was confirmed in this opinion by several other prodigies: the first letter of his name in an inscription on the pedestal of one of his statues was struck off with lightning, and the sooth-sayers, who were consulted on that occasion, declared, that he had only a hundred days to live, the letter C standing for that number among the *Latins*; they added, that after his death he would be ranked among the gods, the word *æsar*, which was the remaining part of his name, signifying a god in the *Hetruscan* language^a. To these two omens *Dion Cassius* adds a third, which in his opinion plainly presaged his imminent death. It had been customary ever since the death of *Julius Cæsar*, to place his chair with a crown upon it at the public sports. In this chair *Augustus* used to sit, when he assisted at the shows; but it happening to be empty while the sports were exhibiting this year in honour of *Augustus*, a fool placed himself in it, and taking up the crown, put it upon his head; and hence it was concluded, that the sovereign power, signified by the crown, would soon pass into other hands^b. In the mean time, *Augustus* wrote a short account of the chief actions of his life, which he caused to be engraved on brass, and placed over his tomb^c. Great part of this valuable monument has been transmitted to us in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, and is to be seen in the inscriptions of the learned *Gruter*^d.

*Prodigies
presaging
his death.*

As *Augustus* visibly declined every day both in his health and strength, so that no body could doubt but his end was at hand, some few there were who began to talk of restoring the republic to its former liberty; but far the greater part, dreading a civil war, were for tamely submitting to the person, whom *Augustus* should think fit to place over them. All the zealous republicans had been slain in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*; their posterity had been long inured to the yoke, there being scarce any living now who had beheld the old free state, and as for the *Roman* people, they were become a mere mob, addicted to idleness, void of all sentiments of honour or virtue, without any traces of the antient *Roman* spirit, or any attachment to the virtuous institutions of their an-

*The Romans lay
aside all
thoughts of
attempting
the recovery
of
their li-
berty.*

^a Suet. ib. ^a Idem ibid. Dio. l. vi. p. 589. ^b Dio.
ibid. ^c Suet. l. ii. cap. ult. Dio. p. 591. ^d Gruter.
inscript. p. 220.

cestors. The zealous republicans therefore, who were very few, despairing of success, and laying aside all hopes of ever seeing the antient free state restored, resolved to submit to the heir and successor whom *Augustus* should name, and bear with patience the evils which it was not in their power to prevent or redress ^e.

*Augustus
goes to
Naples.*

AND now it being high time for *Tiberius* to leave *Rome*, and set out for *Illyricum*, *Augustus*, to the great surprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as far as *Beneventum*, and pursuing his journey from thence to *Naples* in *Campania*, in order to assist at the solemn sports which were to be exhibited there on his approaching birthday. As he found his strength decaying apace, he promised himself no small benefit from the wholesome air of *Campania*, especially of *Naples*, whither many *Romans* used to resort, even in those days, for the recovery of their health; and this was, as is supposed, the true motive of this sudden and unexpected resolution, though he did not think fit to own it. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulness and alacrity, being attended by his beloved *Livia*, who, as we may well imagine, was very assiduous about him in so critical a juncture. At *Beneventum* he parted with *Tiberius*, and pursued his journey to *Naples*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. After he had spent some time at *Naples* very agreeably, and assisted there at the public sports, he was seized with a diarrhæa, a dangerous distemper in a person of his years. He therefore resolved, before his strength failed him, to return to *Rome*, and accordingly, leaving *Naples*, set out for his capital; but his illness increasing in spite of all the remedies prescribed him by the physicians who attended him, he was obliged to stop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there betake himself to his bed. In the mean time, *Livia*, well apprised that his end was at hand, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the state of the emperor's health, and pressing him to return with all possible expedition. *Tiberius*, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately left *Illyricum*, and flew to *Nola*, not with any private views, says *Velleius*, but merely out of the great tenderness and filial affection he had for *Augustus*, whom he found alive, if that author is to be credited, and had long conferences with him: in one of which, the dying emperor, after having publicly declared him his successor in the sovereign power, desired him to maintain all his acts in their full vigour, and to pursue the same methods

*Is taken
ill on his
return.*

*Tiberius
sent for by
Livia.*

^e TACIT. annal. l. i.

of government which he had used^f. But *Tacitus* tells us, that it was never well known, whether *Tiberius* on his arrival at *Nola* found the emperor dead, or still alive; *Livia* having carefully beset the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards, and given out from time to time good news of the emperor's recovery. He adds, that when she had taken all necessary measures in so nice a juncture, in one and the same moment were published the death of *Augustus*, and accession of *Tiberius*^g. But to return to *Augustus*; finding his end approaching, he looked death in the face with greater intrepidity than was expected from one who had ever carefully avoided it in the field. He discoursed very cheerfully with his intimate friends and chief favourites, giving them many wise and useful instructions, relating to the management of their private affairs, and those of the public. In speaking of his own actions, he told them, that *he had found Rome of brick, but left it of marble*; alluding by this expression, says *Dion Cassius*, not so much to the beauty and stateliness of the buildings, as to the majesty, grandeur, and firmness of the empire. And now finding his strength quite failed him; he called for a looking-glass, and having caused his hair to be set in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be smoothed, as was customary among the stage-players, he asked his friends with a languishing voice; *Whether he had acted his part well?* and they answering, *he had*, Then clap me said he, *for I have ended my part*. After this fixing his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, he desired her *to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts so long united*, and then quietly expired^h. Thus died the celebrated *Augustus* on the nineteenth of *August*, which month was so named from him, the same day on which he had entered upon his first consulship. He had lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned from his first consulship fifty-six years, but from the battle of *Actium* only forty-three. *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* observe one very remarkable circumstance of his death; for he died in the same town, as these two writers tell us, in the same house; and in the same chamber, where his father *Octavius* diedⁱ. *Livia* was suspected of having hastened the emperor's death; fearing he might be reconciled on his return to *Rome* with his grandson *Agrippa Posthumus*, whom he had privately visited some months before, sailing over to

He dies at
Nola.

Year of the
flood, 2014.

After
Christ, 15.
Of Rome,
763.

Livia sus-
pected of
having ha-
stened his
death.

^f VELL. PATERCUL I ii. c. 128.

^g TACIT. annal. l. i c. 5.

^h SUET. ibid. c. 98. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. Dio. p. 590

ⁱ TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 5. Dio, p. 589.

His body
conveyed to
Rome.

the island of *Planasia* with *Fabius Maximus* alone, without the privity of *Livia*, *Tiberius*, or any other of his most faithful and trusty favourites. This *Fabius* disclosed to his wife *Martia*, and she to *Livia*, and thence the emperor knew that the secret was betrayed; which so provoked him against *Fabius*, that he banished him his presence for ever, bidding him, when he came to wait upon him the next morning, an eternal farewell. *Fabius* did not long survive his disgrace; but soon after laid violent hands on himself^k. We are told, that, in the interview between *Augustus* and his grandson *Agrippa*, many tears were shed on both sides, and many tokens of mutual tenderness shewn, which gave the unhappy youth hopes of being restored to his own place in his grandfather's family. This *Livia* dreaded, and in order to prevent it, hastened her husband's death, as some authors write, with poisoned figs^l. The body of the deceased emperor was carried from *Nola* to *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, on the shoulders of the chief magistrates of the colonies and municipal towns on the road. At *Bovillæ* it was received by the Roman knights, and by them conveyed to *Rome*, and exposed in the porch of the imperial palace on mount *Palatine*. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was invested, appointed the senate to meet the next day, but would suffer no other business to be transacted, except what related to the funeral of his deceased father. In the first place, his last will was brought in by the vestal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius* one of *Augustus*'s freedmen. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grandchildren Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my heir, &c.* (E). By the

^k TACIT. *ibid.* ^l TACIT. *ibid.* Anonym. *de vita Aug.* & l. *de garrulitate.* OROS. ZONAR. &c.

(E) From this preamble it is manifest, that *Augustus* would never have adopted *Tiberius*, or appointed him his successor, had those two young princes, or either of them, lived. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* was well acquainted with the bad qualities and tyrannical temper of *Tiberius*, and that on his death-bed he could not help pitying the Roman people, who, to use the expressions ascribed to him, *Were to be under so slow a pair of grinders; Miserum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.* What then prompted him to adopt for his son, and name for his successor, one whom he knew to be no ways qualified for so great a charge? To this question some writers answer, that the promotion of *Tiberius* was intirely owing to his mother *Livia*, who had gained an absolute ascendant over *Augustus*, especially in his old age: others say, that he was acted

the same will *Tiberius* and *Livia* were appointed his first *His will*. heirs, his grandchildren and their children his second, and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs: *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Augusta*. As for the great men of *Rome*, *Tacitus* tells us, that

acted therein by a secret ambition of making his death more regretted by the badness of his successor. But *Suetonius* cannot persuade himself, that a prince of *Augustus's* sagacity and prudence could proceed upon motives of this nature, in an affair of so great importance; he is rather inclined to believe, that having weighed both his vices and virtues, he thought the latter overbalanced the former; and hence, when he adopted him, he solemnly declared upon oath, that he was prompted thereunto by no other motive but that of the public welfare, and often commended him in his letters not only as an excellent commander, but as the only stay and support of the *Roman* people. Out of these letters *Suetonius* instances some of his expressions: Farewel, says he, in one of them, my dear *Tiberius*; may you be happy in your enterprises, fighting, as you do for me and the muses: may I be happy, as you are a most valiant and accomplished commander. Farewel, take care of your summer-quarters: as for my own part, my dear *Tiberius*, I confidently believe, that amongst so many difficulties and disorders, in the midst of so much remissness and cowardice in the army, no man could have behaved with more prudence than you have done; inasmuch, that all those, who have had the honour of attending you, do unanimously acknowledge, that this verse cannot more properly be applied to any man living, than to yourself:

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

And in another letter; Whether I seriously consider of an affair, or any thing falls out which I ought to resent, I want my *Tiberius* immediately, and this saying comes constantly into my mind, By this man's conduct and prudence we might both escape even out of the fire. As often as I am told how much you are fallen away by your indefatigable labour, may I perish if I do not tremble to hear it. Let me desire you therefore to have more care of yourself for the future, lest the first news of your sickness be the death of your mother and me, and the people of *Rome* be in great danger of losing their empire. I do not value my own health, unless you be well too. I beg the gods to preserve you for our good, if they bear no prejudice or grudge to the *Roman* people (59). From these letters it plainly appears, that *Augustus* had a real value and sincere affection for *Tiberius*, that he looked upon him as the only person capable of supporting with dignity the title of emperor, and consequently that it was not out of complaisance to *Livia*, nor a secret ambition of enhancing his own reputation with posterity by the badness of his successor, that he chose him.

(59) *Suet. in Tiber.*

he

And legacies.

Four writings left by him.

Opinions of the senators relating to his funeral honours.

he hated them, but nevertheless named them out of vanity. To the *Roman* people he left by way of legacy four hundred thousand great sesterces; to the populace thirty five thousand; to every common soldier of the prætorian guards a thousand small sesterces; and to every soldier of the *Roman* legions three hundred. His last will being read, *Drusus* produced to the conscript fathers four small books wrote by the deceased emperor; the first of which contained regulations relating to the ceremony of his obsequies; the second was a journal of the most memorable actions of his life, which by his last will he ordered to be engraved on the pillars of brass, which supported the frontispiece of his stately mausoleum. Great part of this journal has been preserved in an ancient marble found about a hundred and fifty years since in the city of *Ancyra*^m. The third book contained a summary of the strength and income of the empire, the number of the *Romans* and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the several kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the state of the treasury, the expences of the empire, and the demands upon the public. This register, as we may call it, was all writ with *Augustus*'s own hand. The fourth book was a collection of instructions for the use of *Tiberius*, and the other governors and magistrates of the republic, whom he advised to lay aside all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conquestsⁿ. But whether this advice was dictated by his love for the public, says *Tacitus*, or by envy and jealousy of the glory of his successors, is uncertain^o.

The funeral honours were next considered, when *Asinius Gallus* moved, that the funeral should pass through the triumphal gate; *Lucius Arruntius*, that the titles of all the laws he had made, and the names of all the nations he had conquered should be carried before the corpse; some were of opinion, that on the day of his funeral all the magistrates and knights should, in token of their grief, wear iron rings instead of their gold ones, and that, to eternalize his memory, not only the month *Sextilis*, but the whole time he had lived, should bear his name, and be styled *Seculum Augustum*, that is, the age of *Augustus*. *Valerius Messala*, departing from the matter in question, added, that the oath of allegiance to *Tiberius* should be renewed every year. *Tiberius*, surprised at this unexpected proposal, asked him, whether he had made that motion at his instigation? *I spoke it*, answered

^m Vide GRUTER. inscript. p. 130.

ⁿ DIO. SUET. ibid.

• TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 11.

Messala,

Messala, with a new turn of flattery, as my own opinion, nor will I ever be controuled by any man in things which concern the welfare of the public, let who will be provoked at my freedom^p. The senators at length all agreed to carry the body of the deceased emperor to the funeral pile on their shoulders; but this *Tiberius* would not suffer; nay he cautioned the people by an edict to refrain their zeal, and not to insist upon having his body burnt, as *Julius Cæsar*'s had been, rather in the forum, than in the field of *Mars*, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was performed with the greatest pomp and magnificence, that had ever been seen in *Rome*. *Drusus* read from the rostra a short elogium of the deceased emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applause it well deserved, it being a master-piece of the kind^q. When fire was set to his pile, an eagle was let loose from the top of it, as it were to carry his soul to heaven. *Livia*, and with her some of the chief men among the knights, continued for five days together in the field of *Mars*, gathering up the ashes and the bones which the flames had spared. These *Livia* put into an urn of gold, which she repositied in the magnificent mausolæum, which *Augustus* had long before built for himself in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. It was decreed that men should mourn for him according to custom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably for *Livia*'s sake. As soon as the funeral was over, divine worship was decreed him with a temple and priests: the house, in which he was born, that in which he died, and most of the houses, in which he had lived, were changed into sanctuaries. *Livia*, now *Julia Augusta*, took upon her to be the chief priestess of the new deity, and made a present of ten thousand great sesterces to a senator, named *Numerius Atticus*, who solemnly declared upon his oath, that he had seen the soul of *Augustus* ascend up to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which *Julius Proculus* had many ages before published concerning *Romulus*, was soon spread and credited in all the provinces subject to *Rome*: temples were every-where erected in honour of the deified *Augustus*, and a new order of priests instituted. *Tiberius* consecrated a sanctuary to his deceased father in his own palace, and chose twenty one priests from among the senators, naming himself, his son *Drusus*, and his nephew *Germanicus*, among the first^r. It was not out of any principle of religion, or any regard to *Augustus*, as *Tacitus*

Divine honours decreed him.

^p Idem ibid.^q Vide DIO. l. lvi. p. 598.^r DIO. p. 593

—500. TACIT. ibid. c. 11. 15. 78.

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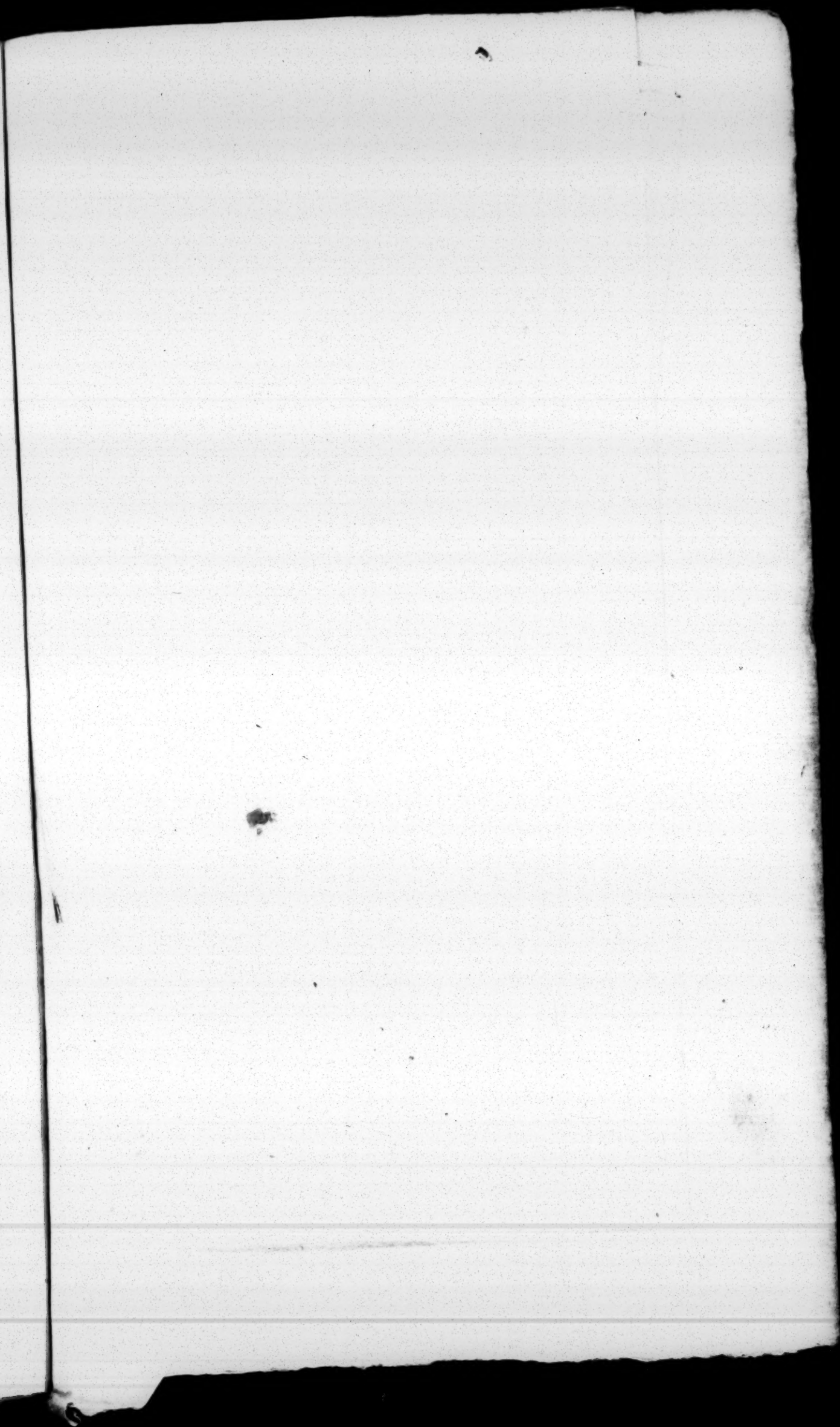
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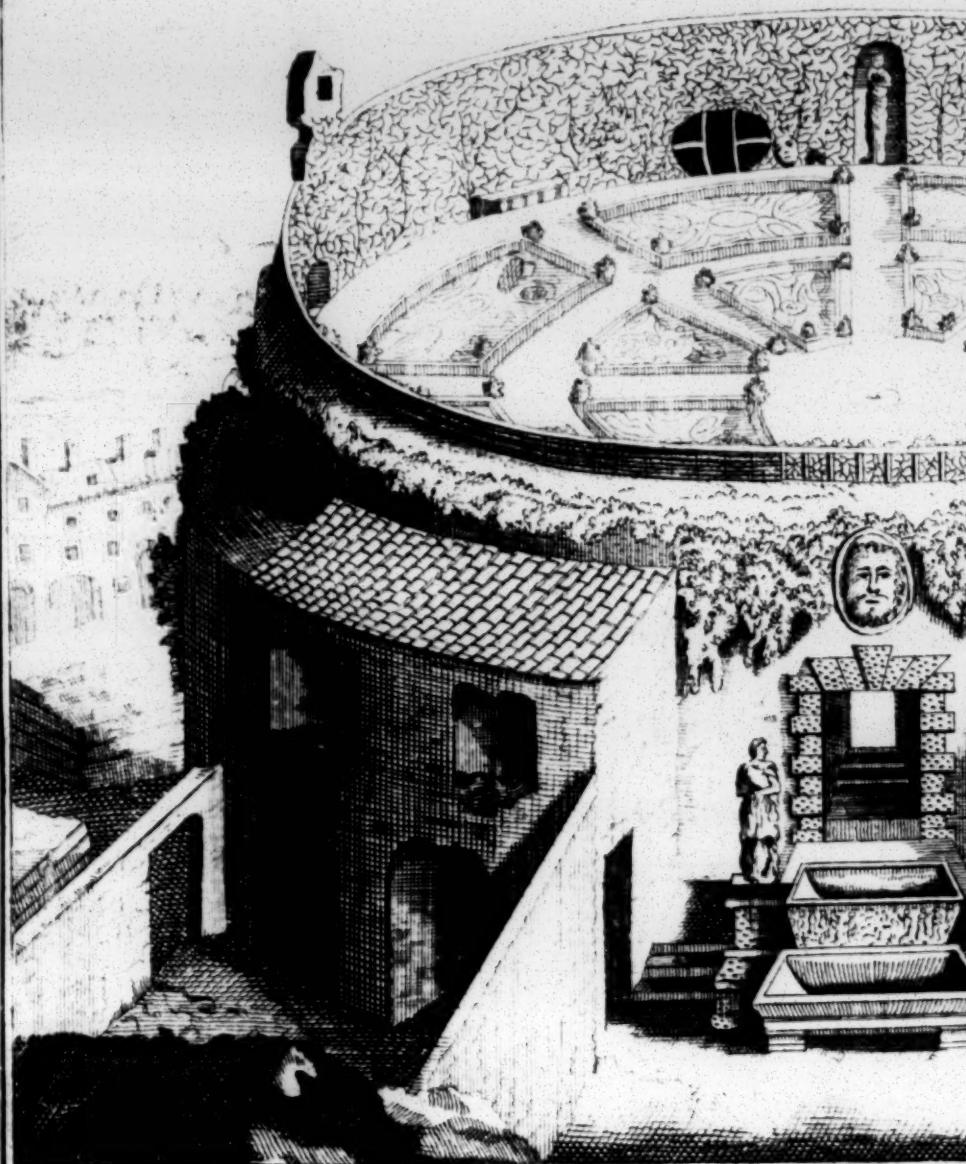
well observes, that *Tiberius* procured the deification of *Augustus*, but because it nearly concerned him, to have all the laws and acts of one who had left him his successor pass for sacred. Besides, in promoting this kind of superstition, he had another view, which was to rivet the public slavery, evidently included in religious worship paid to a prince who had intralled his country.

His character.

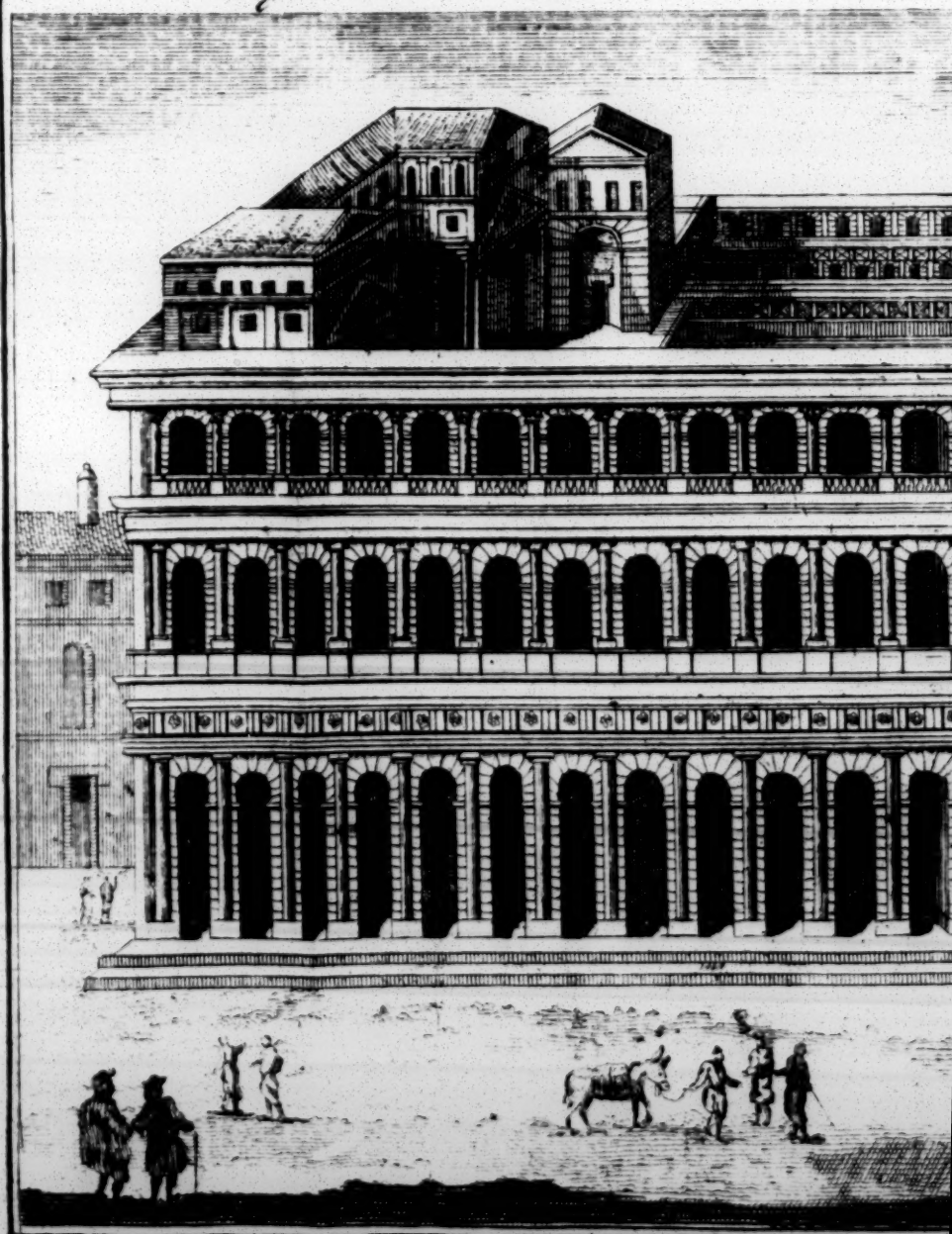
Augustus was a man of a sound judgment, and great penetration, had a particular turn for business, and a wonderful talent in improving opportunities, and applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of rising, and acquiring fame, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite destitute of the former, being bold indeed in council, but a coward in the field; and as to his eloquence, it was, according to *Tacitus*, easy and flowing, such as became a prince, but no-ways fit to move or controul the spirit of republicans. He did not make his way to the throne, but found it already made by his great uncle *Julius*, who happily accomplished what he would never have thought of attempting. He had, 'tis true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himself. Thus by the bravery of *Antony* he conquered *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by the valour of *Agrippa* he conquered *Antony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it, the Roman spirit being intirely broken, and all those cut off either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*, or by bloody proscriptions, who had courage enough to stand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to satisfy his revenge, which the great heart of *Cæsar* would have scorned. We meet with no instances of his so much boasted clemency and moderation, till he had sacrificed to his jealousy all those whom he either feared or suspected. When he had thoroughly mastered the state, utterly extinguished all maxims of liberty, and inhumanly massacred such as he thought capable of thwarting his designs, or disturbing him in the possession of his usurped power, he then governed with great mildness, and discharged all the duties of an excellent prince; which gave rise to the saying, that he should never have been born, or never have died. As he stuck at no wickedness to gain power, we cannot help thinking but that he would have committed more to maintain it, if he had found more to be necessary. He made, 'tis true, a feint or two to abdicate the sovereignty; had he been in earnest, he might at least have left for a legacy to the Roman people



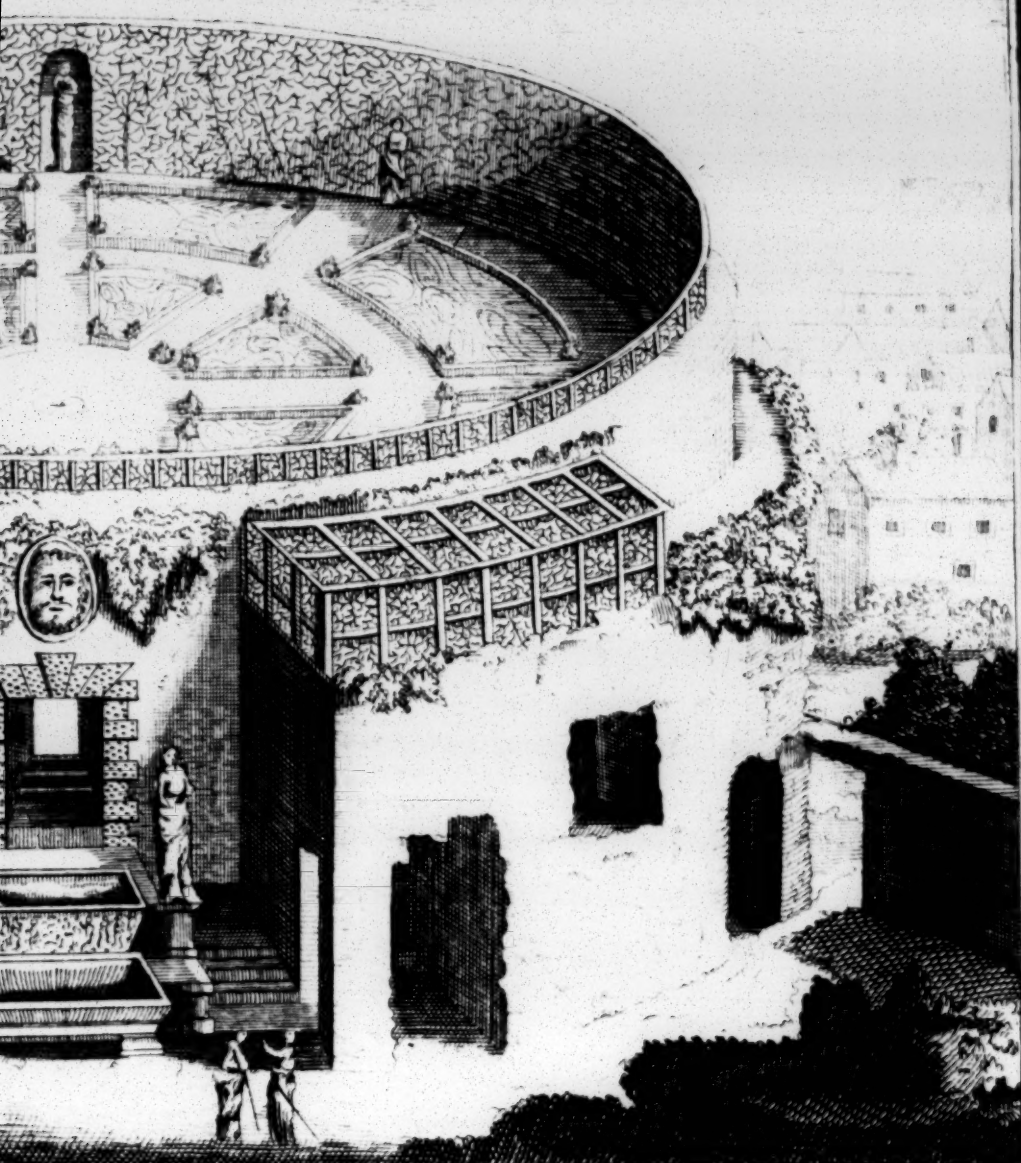
The Mausoleum



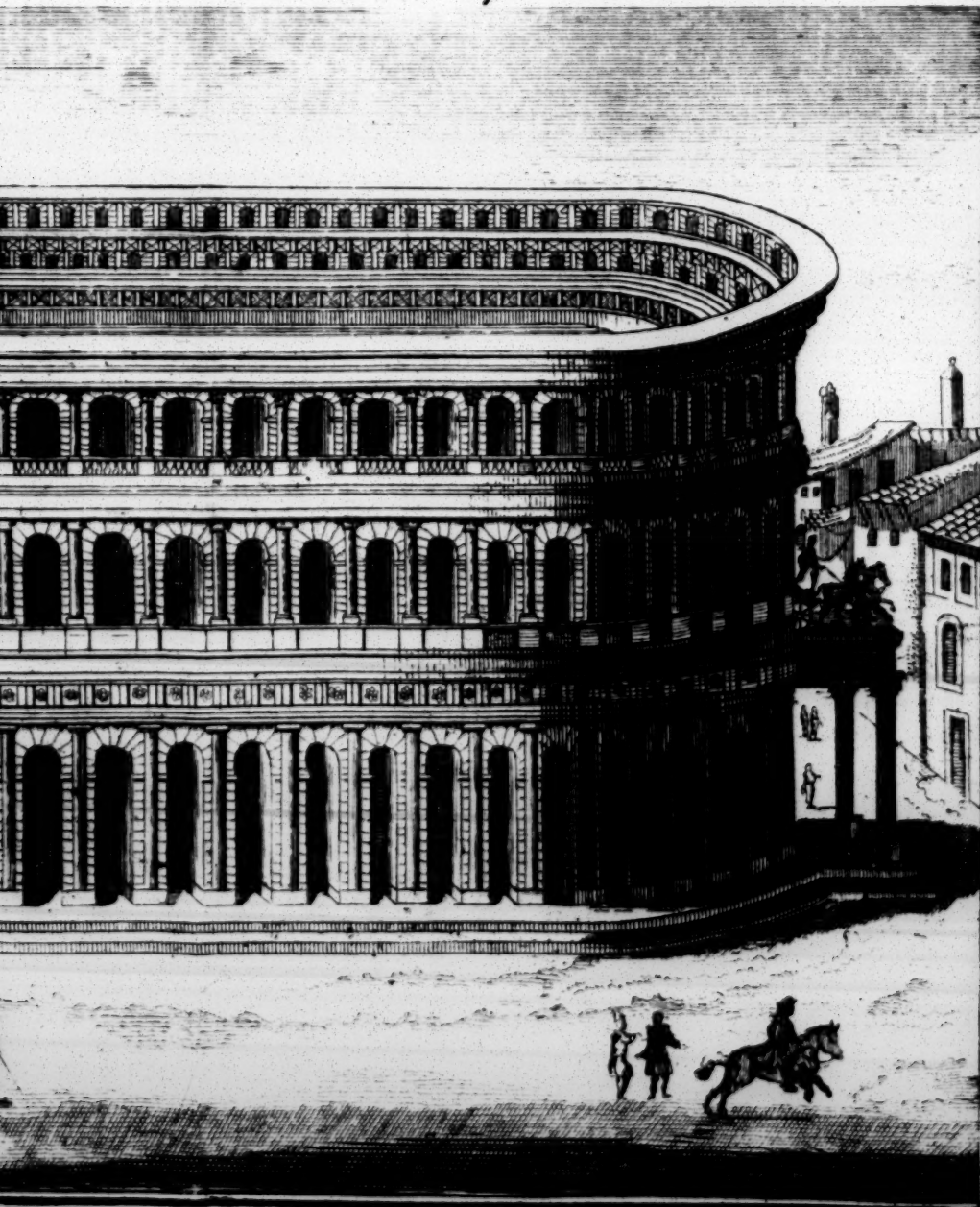
Augustus's Theatre erected



Circus of Augustus



Constructed in Honour of Marcellus



Pomarede Sculp.



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people that liberty of which he had robbed them. But instead of restoring to them that dominion over themselves, which none but themselves had any right to exercise, he provided by a long train of successors against any possible recovery of liberty. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the sons of his wife, and their sons; which plainly shews, that he was determined to intail slavery upon his country, and extend his usurpation even beyond his grave. Some writers to excuse him tell us, that the state was irretrievable, and that it was therefore absolutely necessary the sovereign power should be lodged in one man. But *Augustus* himself judged otherwise; for by proposing to resign, however insincere this proposal was, he at least shewed that he thought the resettling of the republic practicable. *Drusus*, brother to *Tiberius*, declared his design to effect it; nay, it was what *Tiberius* himself, after he was emperor, pretended to do. *Augustus* might, without all doubt, by his absolute authority have reduced the commonwealth to her first principles and firmness. This would have been true glory, the only true use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it. But instead of restoring the state to its antient lustre, he did all that lay in his power to perpetuate slavery, to extinguish all maxims of liberty, and to render his successors as absolute as himself. But not to dwell any longer on this subject, we shall conclude with *Dion Cassius*, that *Augustus* would have been deservedly esteemed one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre, had he not usurped, but received, the sovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his ancestors. But whether the wise laws he published, and the mildness with which he governed, after his sovereignty was thoroughly established, sufficiently atoned for his usurpation, and the many crimes attending it, is what we submit to the judgment of our readers (F).

THE

(F) The news of *Augustus*'s death, when first brought to *Rome*, gave occasion to various discourses and observations concerning him, which it would be an unpardonable omission in us not to take notice of, since they acquaint us with the sentiments, which his friends as well as his enemies entertained of him, and have been transmitted to us by one of the most judicious and accurate writers of antiquity (60), in whose words we shall deliver them. 'The superstitious multitude, says that writer, admired the fortuitous events of his

(60) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 6.*

C c c 2 .

' life,

Tiberius. THE first feat of the reign of *Tiberius* was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom he caused to be dispatched by

life, the last day of which and the first of his reign was the same; he died at *Nola*, in the same town, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where his father *Octavius* died. They observed to his glory his many consulships, equal in number to those of *Valerius Corvinus* and *Caius Marius* put together; that he had exercised the tribunitial power for thirty seven years successively; that he had been proclaimed emperor twenty one times, and that he had enjoyed many honours, some of which had been conferred upon others, and some created for him. Men of penetration entered further into his life, but differed about it. His admirers said, that his filial piety, and the disorders which reigned in the republic, and had got the better of the laws, forced him to enter into a civil war, which can never be carried on without dreadful disturbances; that to be revenged on those who had murdered his father, he had been obliged to comply with the violent temper of his colleagues, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and give up to their revenge and jealousy many illustrious citizens; that when *Antony* was lost in sensuality, and *Lepidus* in sloth and idleness, there was no other remedy for the distracted state, rent into parties and factions, but the sovereignty of one; *Augustus*, however, did never take upon him to rule over his country as king or dictator, but settled the government under the legal title of prince of the senate; he extended the bounds of the empire, and set for its limits the distant ocean, and remote rivers; the several parts and forces of the state, the legions, the provinces, and the navy, were well connected and governed; the citizens lived peaceably under the protection of the laws, the allies respected the Roman name, and *Rome* herself was adorned with magnificent structures; he had indeed on some occasions exerted his arbitrary power, but in very few, and then only to secure the peace of the whole. In answer to all this, others, who did not entertain so good an opinion of the deceased emperor, urged, that his filial piety, and the distractions of the republic, were mere pretences; but his lust of reigning the true and only motive, which prompted him to kindle a civil war in the bowels of his country; that in order to get the whole power of the state into his hands, he gained over by bribery a body of veterans; and though a private youth, levied an army in defiance of the laws; that for the base purpose of power, he debauched the Roman legions under the command of the consuls, as if he designed to join *Pompey's* republican party; that soon after, when he had obtained of the senate, or rather usurped, the prætorship, the two consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* being slain, he seized both their armies; that it was doubted whether the consuls were killed by the enemy, or their own men, *Hirtius*

in

by a military tribune, in whose custody he was at that Agrippa time, before he suffered *Augustus's* death to be made public. *Posthumus* murdered.

in the battle, and *Pansa* after it, by having poison poured into his wounds, and whether young *Cæsar* was not the author of this execrable treason ; that he extorted the consulship in spite of the senate, and employed against the commonwealth the very arms with which she had trusted him for her defence against *Antony*. To all this they added, his bloody proscriptions, the massacre of numberless citizens, his robbing the public of so many lands and possessions, and distributing them among his own creatures ; a piece of injustice so notorious, that even those who were gainers by it, could not help condemning it. But allowing him to have had no other view in the destructive war he carried on against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but to revenge by their death the murder of the dictator, though it had been more to his reputation to sacrifice his private resentment to the public welfare, did he not betray young *Pompey* by a deceitful peace ? Did he not ensnare *Antony* first by treaties, viz. of *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, then by a marriage, that of his sister *Octavia* ? And did not this perfidious alliance at length cost *Antony* his life ? After this, 'tis true, there was peace, but a bloody peace in the defeat of *Lollius* and *Varus* in *Germany* ; and at *Rome* the *Varrones*, the *Egnatii*, the *Julii*, illustrious citizens, were put to death. Neither was his domestic life spared on this occasion ; he had arbitrarily robbed *Nero* of his wife, when she was big with child, and in derision of the gods consulted the priests, whether he might marry her before, or was obliged to wait till after her delivery. His favourites, *Tedius* and *Vedius Pollio* had lived in excessive luxury ; his wife *Livia*, who had an absolute sway over him, had proved a cruel governess to the republic, and a more cruel step-mother to the *Julian* family ; he had even usurped honours peculiar to the gods, and, raising temples to himself, would be adored as a deity with all the solemnity of priests and sacrifices ; he adopted *Tiberius* for his successor, not out of affection to him, or any concern for the republic, but having discovered in him a cruel and haughty temper, he sought glory from the comparison of their reigns. Such were the sentiments and observations of the *Romans* on the deceased emperor. But after all, it must be owned, that *Augustus*, whether we consider him as a magistrate at the helm of the republic, or as a private citizen in his domestic life, had many good qualities, which few persons in either station have ever since his time possessed in so eminent a degree. These together with his vices we shall here without any prejudice or partiality expose to the consideration of our readers, that they may the better be able to form a right judgment of the famous and so much celebrated *Augustus*.

In

lic. *Tiberius* avoided mentioning this transaction in the senate, and would have the world believe, that it was done by the

In the first place, when his authority was once thoroughly established, he made it his whole study to redress the public grievances, to suppress the disorders which had been introduced by the licentiousness of the soldiery during the civil wars, to settle in all the provinces a lasting peace, and to promote the happiness and welfare of his subjects. That he had nothing more at heart than to see the republic flourish, he frequently declared in his private discourse, but more remarkably in one of his edicts in the following words: *I wish I may be able to establish the commonwealth on its proper basis, and reap such fruits of my labour as I desire, that I may hereafter be reputed the founder of so excellent a fabric, and carry this hope with me to the grave, that the commonwealth will continue and flourish upon the foundations which I have laid.* Some writers have thought, that he would have resigned after his first illness, or at least left *Rome* free at his death, had he not been persuaded, that other pretenders would have risen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners, and extirpation of vice; and it may be truly said, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His sumptuary laws, his laws against bribery, adultery, unnatural lust, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himself wholly to the embellishing of the city. In order to this, he raised many public buildings, among which the chief were, the *forum*, or court of justice, the temple of *Mars the avenger*, the temple of *Apollo in Palatio*, the temple of *Jupiter the thunderer* in the capitol, the portico of *Lucius and Caius*, the palaces of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the theatre of *Marcellus*. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt many, which had been destroyed either by time or fire, enriching both them and the rest with most magnificent presents. To the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, not to mention others, he gave at once sixteen thousand pounds weight of gold, besides jewels and precious stones, to the value of fifty millions of sesterces. He often exhorted the principal and most wealthy citizens to repair or erect some monument or other, which might serve as an ornament to the city: and upon his persuasion *Marcus Philippus* built the temple of *Hercules Musarum*, *L. Cornificius* the temple of *Diana*, *Asinius Pollio* the court of liberty, *Munatius Plancus* the temple of *Saturn*, *Cornelius Balbus* a theatre, *Statilius Taurus* an amphitheatre, and *Marcus Agrippa* a great number of most stately and magnificent structures. In order to secure the city, thus embellished, against fires and inundations, to which it was subject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointing a peculiar magistrate for each ward, and committing the

care

the command of *Augustus*, as if he had transmittted orders to the tribune, who guarded the youth, to dispatch him upon

care of each street to some citizen of distinction. These had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other disorders; against the inundations of the *Tiber*, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleansed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbish, and the ruins of houses; and, that the city might be the more accessible on all sides, he took upon himself the reparation of the *Flaminian* way as far as *Ariminum*, leaving the rest of the public ways to be mended by such as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the spoils of the enemy.

He shewed high regard for the *Roman* name, and was sparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of citizens; whereof we have the two following instances; *Tiberius* having desired him to grant the citizenship of *Rome* to a certain *Greek*, who was one of his clients, he wrote him this answer; that *he would not comply with his request, unless he came himself, and satisfied him of the justice of it*: in like manner *Livia* interceding for a *Gaul*, he peremptorily rejected her petition, but granted the *Gaul* an exemption from his tribute, with this declaration; that *he would rather condescend to a diminution of the public revenue, than to prostitute the honour of the Roman name*. As he had a particular veneration for the memory of those heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the *Roman* empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inscriptions, and dedicating their statues in the two portico's of his forum; on which occasion he declared in an edict, that *his design was to propose them as a pattern and example, by which he himself, and the princes, who should succeed him, might frame themselves, and regulate their conduct*.

As he had no great talent for war, he commanded the army in person but twice against a foreign enemy, viz. in *Dalmatia*, when he was but young, and in his expedition against the *Cantabrians*. The other wars he managed by his lieutenants, who under his auspices, reduced the *Cantabrians*, *Aquitans*, *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Illyrians*, *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, *Salassians*, and the *Germans* inhabiting the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loss feared; *for those who hazard much, said he, to gain but little, are like men who fish with hooks of gold, the loss of which will hardly be repaired by what they catch*. He used to say, that rashness and precipitancy were the greatest faults in a general; whence he had this saying frequently in his mouth, *Festina lente*, which is much the same in sense with our common proverb, *No more haste than good speed*. He was very severe in keeping

on the first intelligence of his death. The better to support this story, when the tribune, according to the custom of

keeping the soldiers to their duty, not suffering, but with much difficulty, even his lieutenants to quit the camp, and return to *Rome*; and that only when the troops were in winter-quarters. A *Roman* knight, having cut off the thumbs of two of his sons, to disable them from serving, he condemned him to be sold for a slave, and confiscated his estate. He disbanded the tenth legion only for betraying an unwillingness to obey his commands, and dismissed others, without the rewards due to veterans, for having demanded their discharge. If in an engagement any cohort or legion gave ground, or were even put into confusion, he ordered every tenth man by lot to be executed, and allowed the rest nothing but barley. The centurions and tribunes likewise, abandoning their posts, were immediately punished with death. For small offences he contented himself with condemning them to stand all day before his prætorium, sometimes ungirt in their tunics only, and sometimes with long poles in their hands. After the civil wars he never called those who served under him *fellow-soldiers*, but only *soldiers*, nor would he suffer his own or his wife's children to call them otherwise, thinking it inconsistent with military discipline, with the tranquillity of those times, and the grandeur of his family, to treat them with familiarity.

He was no less careful in administering justice, than severe in exacting military discipline; for he not only appointed such judges as were men of known integrity, but was himself very assiduous in hearing causes, often sitting up with great patience the best part of the night; when he was by any indisposition confined to his palace, he used then to hear causes in his own room lying upon a couch, thinking the administration of justice the chief and indispensable duty of a prince. Notwithstanding his assiduity in hearing causes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meanest of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and because one presented him his request somewhat timorously, he pleasantly rebuked him, saying, *That he had delivered his petition to him, as if he had been presenting something to an elephant.* To encourage persons of all ranks to recur freely to him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur; hence he very seldom entered, or left any city, but in the night-time, to avoid all formalities, and the attendance of the inhabitants. He never went to the senate without saluting all the senators, in the order they sat, each of them by his own name; and at his departure took his leave of them in the same manner. He assisted in person at all public and private feasts and entertainments till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniencies of a croud. He had so great an aversion to the title of *dominus* or *lord*, that he looked upon it as a reproach

of the army, acquainted *Tiberius*, that his commands were executed, he answered, that he had given no such commands, and

reproach, and even published an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grand children not excepted, to give him that title. In the assemblies held for the election of magistrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and in the courts of judicature, he not only suffered himself to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates, of the adverse party, to object against his deposition. How great and powerful soever his favourites were in *Rome*, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accused persons in his time, he saved but one, by whose means he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him, and him he preserved by prevailing, with his intreaties, upon his accuser to withdraw his accusation. The antients give us several instances even of his clemency, after his authority was thoroughly established. One *Junius Novatus* published a letter full of bitter invectives against him in the name of young *Agrippa*, for which offence *Augustus* only laid a small fine upon him. One *Cassius Patavinus* declared boldly at a public entertainment, that *he neither wanted will nor courage to rid Rome of her new monarch*; and *Augustus* contented himself only with ordering him to depart *Rome*. *Æmilius Ælianus* being accused among other things of speaking of him with great contempt, the emperor turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, *I wish with all my heart you could prove it*, said he: *if you did, I would make Ælianus know, that I have a tongue as well as he, and can say twice as much of him*; and resented it no further. *Tiberius* likewise complaining in a letter to him of the insolence of *Ælianus*, he returned him this answer; *Do not, my dear Tiberius, indulge too much in this case your passion; let us despise words, and think ourselves happy if they can do us no greater harm*.

As for his liberality, it knew no bounds; he constantly supplied with corn above a hundred thousand families, which he caused to be distributed monthly among them: he frequently presented the people with large sums, giving them sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes four hundred sesterces a-head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend without interest, any sum to such persons as were able to secure him his principle by double the value. When he published the law excluding from the senate such as were not worth twelve hundred thousand sesterces, out of compassion for many noble families, he made up that sum with his own money. He exhibited at an immense charge twenty-four shows in his own name, and twenty-three for other magistrates who were either absent, or not able to bear the expence attending them.

and that he should be answerable to the senate for what he had

Thus far of *Augustus* as a public magistrate : as to his domestic and private life, *Suetonius* represents him as a tender and careful parent, a constant friend, and both a severe and gentle master. He brought up his daughter and her children with the utmost care, not allowing any but persons of unblemished characters to have access to them : his grandchildren he taught himself the rudiments of learning, promising himself great happiness from his issue, and the care he took of their education ; but he was therein, to his inexpressible grief, greatly disappointed, as we have related in the history of his reign. His friendship, when once acquired, was firm and constant : he not only rewarded his friends services, but patiently bore with their faults. Of all of them none ever received any ill treatment at his hands, except *Salvidienus Rufus*, and the famous poet *Cornelius Gallus*, who well deserved it, as we have related above. The rest of his favourites flourished in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domestics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon such of them as behaved well ; but *Proculus*, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he caused to be put to death, for carrying on intrigues with married women. *Tballus*, another freedman, and his amanuensis, having betrayed some secrets for five hundred *denarii*, had his legs broke by his order. Several of his grandson *Caius's* attendants he ordered to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money in their master's province without his knowledge. He chose rather to turn into mirth the timorousness of *Diomedes*, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious design, when walking with him alone, a wild boar coming suddenly upon them, *Diomedes*, to secure himself, made bold to thrust his master to the boar.

He applied himself from his youth to the study of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of *Modena* he is said not to have passed a day in the midst of his most important affairs without reading, writing, and declaiming. He wrote several books upon different subjects ; viz. *An answer to Brutus's Cato* ; *exhortations to the study of philosophy* ; *the history of his life to the Cantabrian war* in thirteen books ; an epic poem intitled *Sicilia* ; and a book of epigrams, which he composed for the most part in his baths : he began a tragedy in a lofty style, but finding he could not hold out at that rate, he expunged what he had wrote, and being asked by his friends what was become of *Ajax*, who was the subject of the performance, he answered, *Ajax has dispatched himself with a sponge*. Though he was well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, yet he neither spoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compose any thing in it ; when he was obliged to use that language, he first wrote down in *Latin* what he had a mind to say, and then gave it to another to translate into *Greek*. In perusing the authors of both languages, his chief observation was what precepts and examples he might collect

collect for the public or private instruction of his subjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he copied them word for word, and sent them to his domestics, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, as any of them wanted admonition; nay, sometimes he read whole books to the senate, and recommended them afterwards to the people by proclamation. His generosity to men of learning knew no bounds, and hence so many famous writers flourished in his time, that the age of *Augustus* will ever be looked upon as the age of elegance and politeness; and every admirer of the poets and historians, who flourished in those days, will be an admirer of *Augustus*, who was so generous to them, and is the chief subject of their panegyrics.

But his virtues were not without the allay of some vices highly unbecoming a person in his station. He abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, without renouncing even in his old age the vices of his youth: his severe laws against adultery were no check upon him, no more than the sacred ties of friendship; for he did not spare the wife even of his own favourite and faithful counsellor *Mæcenæ*. It was not extreme prudence in so great a politician to be daily violating his own laws, especially after he had, by sentencing those to death, who were guilty of adultery, declared how heinous and unpardonable a crime he thought it. *Marc Antony* in one of his letters to him before they quarrelled, rallies him upon his intrigues with several married women of great distinction, whom he names. His friends, to excuse those scandalous practices, which were too notorious to be denied, pretended, that he courted the favour of the wives to discover by their means the plots and designs of their husbands. He is said to have divorced *Scribonia* for resenting the authority of one of his concubines: As for *Livia*, she out of policy indulged his vicious inclinations so far, as to make it her business to bring him acquainted with such women as she thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the same vile ministry, which gave occasion to several lampoons and sharp satyres. *Marc Antony* reproached him with having gained the favour of his great uncle *Julius Cæsar* at the expence of his modesty, and his brother *Lucius Antonius* charged him with abandoning himself, while he was in *Spain*, to the will of *A. Hirtius*, who was afterwards consul, for three hundred thousand sesterces; hence the people at a comedy not only interpreted to his dishonour, but applauded, the following expression spoke of a priest of *Cybele*, playing upon his timbrel, as if it had been spoken of him, *Vide ne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet?* Don't you see how the catamite governs the world with one finger? Some writers have also represented him as covetous of rich furniture, especially of *Corinthian* vessels; and tell us, that in the time of the proscription the following pasquinade was writ under his statue, *Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarum*, that is, *My father deals in money, and I in Corinthian vessels*; for it was supposed, that several persons had been proscribed for their plate, and that his father had been a banker, which last supposition was entirely groundless, for his father was raised very early to the high-

est honous in the republic. As for his immoderate desire of rich furniture, *Suetonius* clears him from this imputation, by telling us, that the goods and furniture, of his house, which were still to be seen in his time, were not rich enough for a private person of any taste, and adding, that at the taking of *Alexandria*, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reserved for himself only a porcelain cup. He was given to gaming, and took great pleasure in playing at dice, which gave occasion to the following distich, which was made during the war in *Sicily* :

*Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

That is, *having lost his fleet twice at sea, he plays daily, that he may at last win.* But *Suetonius* tells us, that he played only for his diversion, and not out of a desire of winning his friends money ; to this purpose he quotes one of his letters to *Tiberius*, wherein he tells him, that he had passed the feast of *Minerva* merrily, and played every day at dice ; Your brother, says he to *Tiberius*, was at first a great loser, but in the end came off pretty well, having recovered himself beyond expectation : I lost twenty thousand sesterces ; but had I exacted what was owing to me, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand. He was naturally very superstitious, a great observer of dreams, and looked upon the flight or chattering of birds as infallible prefaces. If in the morning his shoes were given him wrong, or the right foot shoe presented to him for the left, he counted it ominous. If it rained when he was setting out on a journey, he reckoned it a sign of a speedy and happy return : he would never begin a journey the day after the *mundinæ*, nor undertake any business of consequence upon the *nones* ; he was so afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a seal's skin always about him, imagining, as was then generally believed, that it had we know not what secret virtue against thunder ; but nevertheless, for his greater security, upon the least apprehension of an extraordinary storm, he used to seek for shelter in a vault or cellar under-ground.

Such were the virtues, such the vices of the famous *Augustus*. As for his conduct during the civil war, it was such as brought, we may say, disgrace upon usurpation itself. He stuck at no crime, however heinous ; but after he had, either by public proscriptions, or private assassinations, cut off all those who gave him umbrage, he reigned with moderation over the rest. He reigned long, and established a lasting peace, a great relief after so long and destructive a war. In this long tranquility, the calamities which had been occasioned by the war were forgot, and *Augustus* cried up as the author of the blessings they enjoyed in a profound peace at home. Besides, the badness of his successors was a signal advantage to his name and memory ; for in proportion as they were detested, he was regretted.

(G)

had done. This alarmed *Crispus Sallustius* (G), who was privy to all the secret counsels of *Tiberius*, and had sent the tribune the warrant : he knew it was equally dangerous to confess the truth, and charge the emperor, or to clear the emperor, and accuse himself. In this perplexity he had recourse to *Livia*, advising her, *by no means to divulge the secrets of the palace, the counsels of the ministers, or the services of the soldiery, adding, that Tiberius should beware of weakening the sovereign authority by referring all things to the senate, the nature of absolute power being such as could not be preserved intire but in one person*^c. *Livia* followed the advice of *Sallustius*, and no further mention was made of the murder of the young prince (H).

As

^c TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 6. DIO. l. lvi. p. 590.

(G) *Crispus Sallustius* was born of an equestrian family, great-nephew by a sister to the famous historian *Caius Sallustius*, and by him adopted ; he might have risen to the greatest honours in the state, but in imitation of *Mæcenæ*, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, he contented himself with the title of a *Roman knight*, though he excelled in power many, who had been distinguished with consulships and triumphs. In *Mæcenæ*'s life-time he was next in favour with *Augustus*, and upon the death of that faithful counsellor, he became the chief confident first of *Augustus*, and afterwards of *Tiberius*, who reposed an intire confidence in him : he was extreme nice in his dress, expensive in his manner of living, and no ways inferior in luxury and magnificence to *Mæcenæ* himself ; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greatest affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and sloth (62).

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Agrippa* was killed by a military tribune, in whose custody he was at that time, after he had read the warrant for his execution to him ; which warrant, adds that writer, whether left by *Augustus* when he died, to prevent any troubles which might happen upon his death, or contrived by *Livia* in *Augustus*'s name, with or without the privy of *Tiberius*, is a thing uncertain to this day (63). But *Tacitus* tells us in express terms, that *Augustus* never dipt his hands in his own blood ; neither does he think it credible, that he would barbarously sacrifice the life of his grandson to the security of his step-son. It is therefore more probable, says that author, that this hasty murder was purely the work of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and that the young prince fell thus untimely to satiate the hatred which *Livia* bore him, and to deliver *Tiberius* from a troublesome rival. Though the assassin, who was charged with the execution of this cruel order, was a bold and resolute cen-

(62) Tacit. annal. l. i.

(63) Suet. in Tiber. c. 22.

Tiberius
affects mo-
desty.

He affects
to decline
the sove-
reign
power.

As soon as the death of *Augustus* was known at *Rome*, the consuls, senators, and knights, ran headlong into slavery, as *Tacitus* expresses it. With servile flattery they took care to frame their faces so as to reconcile false joy for the accession of *Tiberius*, with feigned grief for the loss of *Augustus*. The two consuls *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* took first the oath of fidelity to *Tiberius*, and then administered it to the senate, the people, and the soldiery; for *Tiberius* affected to derive all his authority from the consuls and senate, as if the antient republic still subsisted, and he were yet in suspense about accepting or rejecting the sovereign power: he even owned in his edict for summoning the senate, that he issued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under *Augustus*, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title for having a share in the public administration. But notwithstanding this pretended modesty, from the moment *Augustus* expired, he assumed all the prerogatives of an absolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his person, went guarded in the streets, and to the senate, and writ letters to the several armies in the undisguised style of one who was already master of the *Roman* empire, and had under his command all its forces. This he did to prevent the armies in distant provinces from declaring for *Germanicus*, who was then in *Germany* at the head of seven legions, and a great body of allies. But with the senate he proceeded in a quite different manner; when the conscript fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuse it, though he had already secured it to himself, and with a great deal of artifice began to discourse of the greatness of the *Roman* empire, and in modest terms of his own insufficiency; telling them, *That the divine genius of Augustus alone was equal to so great a charge; that as for himself, he knew by experience, having borne part of Augustus's cares, how many difficulties, contingencies and dangers, are inseparably annexed to rule and sovereignty; that since the city was so happily replenished with great numbers of illustrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden of the administration upon one person, but divide it among many, &c.* When he had ended his speech, the senators, who dreaded nothing so much as to seem to understand him, burst into tears, and throwing themselves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him in the most low and servile manner

turion, or tribune, as *Suetonius* calls him, and found young *Agrippa* unarmed, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he dispatched him. In him ended the family of *Augustus*.

imaginable

imaginable not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himself was equal. Then *Tiberius*, pretending to yield to their importunity, *I am*, said he, *unequal to the weight of the whole government; but if you think fit to intrust me with any particular part, whatever it be, I am ready to undertake it.* Hereupon *Asinius Gallus* (I) rising up, *I beg to know*, *Cæsar*, said he, *what part of the government you desire for your share?* This unexpected demand startled *Tiberius*, who for a while stood mute; but recovering himself, answered, that it ill became his modesty to chuse or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired to be excused from the whole. *Gallus*, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible, but to convince him by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could not be governed but by the wisdom of one person: then continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of *Tiberius*, of his many victories and conquests, of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation, &c. but this did not assuage the wrath of *Tiberius*, who had long hated *Gallus* for having married *Vipsania Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, whom *Tibe-*

Several
senators
incur his
displeasure.

(I) *Asinius Gallus* was the son of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, the favourite of *Augustus*, and great patron of learning, and men of letters. He had been consul eleven years before, with *Caius Marcius Censorinus*, and had also borne the office of *triumvir monetalis*, or overseer of the coinage, as appears from one of *Augustus's* medals with this legend on the reverse, *C. Asinius Gallus III. vir. A. A. A. F. F.* that is *triumvir, auro, argento, ære, flando, feriundo*. At first the consuls took upon themselves the care of the mint, and joined two senators with them in this office; but afterwards the heads of the republic were eased of this trouble, and sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four, persons were appointed to direct and inspect the coinage, and were called, according to their number, *duumviri, triumviri, quatuorviri monetales, æris, argenti, auri, flatores* (64). These magistrates are sometimes described on medals which were probably the current coin of the Romans, thus; *Cur. X. Fl.* that is, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*, and they were so called till the *triumviri monetales* were created. But to return to *Asinius Gallus*, *Suetonius* ascribes to him a small performance, containing a parallel or comparison of *Cicero* and his father *Asinius Pollio*, in which he gave the preference to the latter; in answer to this work, the emperor *Claudius* published a book which he intitled, *A Defence of Cicero against the writings of Gallus*.

(64) *Vide Pompon. l. ii. de orig. juris.*

rius had been obliged by *Augustus* to divorce, to make room for his daughter *Julia*. He suspected that *Asinius Gallus* by this match designed to raise himself above the rank of a subject, and therefore upon this new provocation resolved to seize the first opportunity of delivering himself from his fears by the death of his supposed rival. *Lucius Arruntius* (K), *Quintus Haterius*, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, likewise incurred on this occasion the displeasure of *Tiberius*; *Arruntius*, by a speech not much unlike that of *Gallus*; *Hirtius*, by asking him, *How long, Cæsar, will you suffer the commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?* and *Scaurus*, for saying by way of raillery, *There is room to hope, that Tiberius will at length yield to the intreaties and prayers of the senate, since he has not opposed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial power, the motion of the consuls in his behalf.* The ill-timed pleasure, which these illustrious citizens took in shewing themselves well apprised of *Tiberius's* real intentions, cost them dear; for he afterwards sacrificed them all, under various pretences, to his jealousy and suspicions. Some other senators spoke still more boldly; and yet we do not find that *Tiberius* ever reſented the liberty they had taken; they were not, in all likelihood, so considerable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of these one, no longer able to bear the ambiguity of his answers, with which he held [the senate in suspense, who were all the while at his feet, cried out,

The bold-
ness of
some sena-
tors.

(K) *A. Lucius Arruntius* was descended of an antient and noble family, indowed with extraordinary talents, possessed of great wealth, and in high favour with the people. *Augustus* was well acquainted with his abilities, and not long before his death, in a familiar conversation with his friends, declared his opinion of him; for the discourse turning upon the great men in *Rome*, who were equal to the supreme power, and some naming *Marcus Lepidus*, others *Asinius Gallus*, and some *Lucius Arruntius*; *Marcus Lepidus* replied *Augustus, is indeed capable of the supreme power, but will not, in my opinion, accept of it; Asinius Gallus will aspire at it, but is not qualified for it; as for Lucius Arruntius, he is both equal to so great a charge, and will not fail, upon a proper occasion, to seize it* (65). That he spoke thus of *Lepidus* and *Asinius* is agreed on all hands, but some writers, quoted by *Tacitus*, instead of *Arruntius* name *Cneius Piso*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of this reign. All these great men, except *Lepidus*, were soon cut off by *Tiberius's* orders, being charged with various crimes feigned by him on purpose to get rid of all competitors to the soveregn power (66).

(65) *Tacit. ibid.*

(66) *Idem ibid.*

Let



Let Tiberius either accept of the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejects it. Another boldly addressing him, *Other men, said he, perform slowly what they readily promise; but you promise slowly what you have already performed.* And indeed he reigned already, having from the moment *Augustus* expired assumed all the prerogatives of a sovereign; but in this mysterious way of dealing with the senate, he had two things in view; the first was to make the world believe that he had been by the commonwealth chosen, and called to the empire, which was more glorious for him than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a superannuated prince; the second thing he had in view was to discover the designs and intentions of the great men, and by that means be able to distinguish his friends from his foes^u. At length pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conscript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he began to yield by degrees to their request, and in the end accepted the government, but so as to give them hopes that he would one day resign it; his words were, *I accept the empire, and will hold it till such time as you conscript fathers in your great prudence shall think fit to give repose to my old age.* Thus was *Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero* (L), in

Tiberius takes upon him the empire.

[†] TACIT. *ibid.* c. 11, 12. Suet. *ibid.* Dio. l. lvii. p. 602.

^u TACIT. *ibid.*

(L) The *Claudian* family, of which *Tiberius* was descended, was one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*. They were originally of *Regillum*, a city of the *Sabines*, whence, according to some writers, they removed to *Rome*, in the time of *Romulus*, being invited thither by *Titus Tatius*, who reigned jointly with him; according to others, whom we have followed (67), in the fourth consulship of *Poplicola*, when they were brought to *Rome* by *Atius Clausus*, chief of the family, and received into the number of the patricians by the senate, who assigned them a certain portion of land beyond the *Anio*, and a burying place under the capitol. *Atius Clausus*, on his arrival at *Rome*, whither he came with five thousand families of his friends and dependents, changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, and was immediately admitted into the senate. In process of time the *Claudian* family was honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs, and two ovations. They were distinguished among themselves by several Names and surnames, but they agreed absolutely to renounce the name of *Lucius*, which was common in their family, two of that name having been condemned and executed, and to take the name of

(67) *Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. XI. p. 261, 262.*

the fifty sixth year of his age, raised to the empire, and invested by the senate and people with the same unbounded power which *Augustus* had enjoyed.

Tiberius

Nero in its stead, which in the *Sabine* language signifies *strong* and *valiant*. Of this family were the famous *Appius Cæcus*, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, *Appius Claudius Nero*, *Appius Claudius* the decemvir, *Appius Claudius Drusus*, *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, of whom we have spoken at length in different Places of this work. Of the same family were the two celebrated *Claudiae*, one of whom disin-gaged the vessel, which was stranded at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and laden with the sacred image and the utensils of the great mother of the gods; the other was arraigned of high treason before the people, which had never happened before to any woman, for saying, as she passed in her chariot through the streets which were much crouded, *I wish my brother Pulcher were alive, and that by losing another sea-fight, he might clear the streets of that throng, and make more room for my chariot*: for *Claudius Pulcher*, as we have related elsewhere (68), having engaged the *Carthaginians* at sea contrary to the opinion of all his officers, was by them entirely defeated with the loss of ninety galleys, and twenty-eight thousand men, killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. *P. Claudius*, the declared enemy of *Cicero*, was likewise of this family; but in order to obtain the tribuneship, and by the power annexed to that office enable himself effectually to destroy the *Roman* orator, he renounced his nobility, and got himself adopted by a mean plebeian into a very low family. The rest were all patricians, and had ever been the principal assertors of the power and dignity of that order. *Tiberius* was of the patrician family of the *Claudii*, both by the father's side, who was descended from *Tiberius Nero*, the son of *Appius Cæcus*, and by the mother's, who was the daughter of *Appius Pulcher*, brother to the said *Tiberius Nero*. He was also allied to the family of the *Livii*, by the adoption of his mother's grandfather. The *Livian* family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheless honour'd with eight consulships, two censorships, one dictatorship, and three triumphs. To this family *Rome* was indebted for many citizens of great prowess and renown, among whom we may well reckon *Livius Salinator*, and *Livius Drusus*; of *Livius Salinator* we have spoke elsewhere (69); as to *Livius Drusus*, he is said to have killed in a single combat a general of the enemy, named *Drausus*, and to have in memory of that exploit assumed and transmitted to his posterity the name of *Drusus*. In his prætorship he recovered, according to some writers, and brought back, the gold which had been given to the *Senones*, when they besieged the capitol. The father of *Tiberius* was quæstor to *Julius Cæsar*, and commanded his fleet in the

(68) *Hist. Univers. Voi. XII. p. 41, 42.* (69) *Hist. Univers. Vol. XII. p. 77. 162.*

Alexandrian

Tiberius had no sooner accepted the empire, than the senators, to curry favour with their new sovereign, were for heaping

Alexandrian war ; after which he was by the dictator rewarded for his eminent services, and appointed first pontifex in the room of *Publius Scipio*, and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which were sent into *Gaul*. However, when the dictator was slain, and most of the senators apprehensive of new troubles, were for passing an act of oblivion, *Tiberius*, not thinking that enough, moved, that rewards might be bestowed on the tyrannicides. In the *Perusian* war he sided with *Lucius Antonius* against *Octavianus*, and though the rest abandoned *Lucius*, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forsake him ; so that he was the only person who continued with him to the last. When the city of *Perusia* surrendered, he found means to make his escape first to *Præneste*, and from thence into *Campania*, where he armed the slaves with a design to make a stand against *Octavianus* ; but his undisciplined troops betaking themselves to flight at the approach of *Octavianus's* victorious legions, he was forced to shelter himself in *Sicily*, where he staid a very short time being disgusted with *Pompey*, who neither deigned to admit him into his presence, nor would allow him to have the fasces carried before him, though the time of his prætorship, was not yet expired. From *Sicily* he retired into *Greece*, where he was kindly received by *Marc Antony*, and entertained by him in a manner suitable to his rank, till a peace being concluded between *Antony*, *Octavianus*, and *Pompey*, and a general amnesty granted, he returned to *Rome* with the rest of the exiles ; where *Augustus* falling in love with his wife *Livia Drusilla*, obliged him to yield her to him, though she had already brought him children, among the rest *Tiberius*, and was then big with child. He died soon after, leaving behind him two sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, surnamed *Nero's*, as we have related above.

Some authors have written, that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, a city of the *Aufones* between *Terracina* and *Formia* ; but the most credible writers assure us, that he was born at *Rome* on mount *Palatine*, the sixteenth Day before the kalends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being consul the second time with *L. Munatius Plancus*. In his infancy he suffered great hardships, and was exposed to frequent dangers, his parents having taken him along with them in their flight and exile ; nay, his mother *Livia*, in their painful journeys round *Sicily* and *Greece*, is said to have carried him great part of the way in her arms, her husband being abandoned by all his friends, and even his domestics, on account of his steady adherence to the republican party. Some time after his return to *Rome* one *M. Gallius*, a senator, adopted him by his last will, and appointed him his heir : *Tiberius* accepted of the estate, but declined assuming the name of his benefactor, because he had been formerly a zealous stickler for the republican party. He made a funeral oration for his father, when he was but nine years old,

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

heaping extraordinary honours on his mother : some proposed decreeing her the general title of *mother*, others that of *mother of her country*, and almost all moved, that to the name of *Tiberius* should be added, *the son of Livia*. But *Tiberius*, jealous of his mother's glory, answered, that public honours ought to be conferred upon women warily, and with a sparing hand, adding, that he would use the same moderation in re-

which was received with great applause. In *Augustus's* triumph for his victory over *Antony* at *Actium*, he attended him on horse-back with *Marcellus* the son of *Octavia*. He afterwards commanded the young noblemen in the *Trojan* solemnities, or tournament called *Troy*, which were celebrated in the circus, presided in the *Ætiac* games, instituted in memory of *Augustus's* victory at *Actium*, and exhibited several combats of gladiators in honour of his father *Tiberius*, and grandfather *Drusus*, in one of which he engaged, with three hundred thousand sesterces, some of the *rudarii*, or gladiators who had been discharged and exempted from fighting, to return to the arena. He entertained the people with several other magnificent shows, partly at the expence of his mother, and partly of his father-in-law. His first wife was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, and granddaughter of the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, by whom he had his son *Drusus*; but though she was with child again, he was obliged much against his will to divorce her, and marry *Julia*, the daughter of *Augustus*, by whom he had one son, who died while he was yet an infant. *Julia* had in her first husband's life-time, expressed a great passion for *Tiberius*; but after their marriage she despised him, and was, as is commonly belived, with her scandalous and lewd life, the chief cause of his sudden retreat to *Rhodes*.

He first served under *Augustus* in quality of military tribune in the *Cantabrian* war; some time after he was appointed commander in chief of the army, which was sent into *Armenia* to place *Tigranes* on that throne. On his return from that expedition *Augustus* raised him to the prætorship, and took him with him into *Gaul*, whence he sent him against the *Rætians* and *Vindelicians*, whom he conquered, reducing their country to a *Roman* province, as we have related above. He was no less successful in his expeditions against the *Pannonians* and *Germans*, whom he obliged to sue for peace, *Augustus* rewarded his victories with a triumph, which he obtained in his second consulship. But in the height of his glory he left *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*, whence after seven years banishment, as we may call it, he was allowed to return to *Rome*, reinstated in the favour of *Augustus* by the interest of his mother *Livia*, appointed to command the armies in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Illyricum*, made in some degree partner of the empire with *Augustus*, and in his last will named his chief heir (70).

(70) Vide Suet. in Tiber. & Dio. l. lvi.

ceiving

ceiving the honours which should be offered to himself. He could not be prevailed upon to suffer so much as a lictor to be decreed her, tho' every vestal enjoyed that mark of distinction; nay, he prohibited the raising her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the *Julian* family, or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus from the very beginning of his reign, he requited with the utmost ingratitude the infinite obligations he owed his mother, being ashamed, as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himself indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman ^w. He proved a no less cruel husband, than an undutiful son. *Julia* had been long since banished by her father into the island of *Pandataria* on account of her scandalous lewdness, and from thence some years after removed to the city of *Rhegium* on the straits of *Sicily*, where she suffered a less painful exile. *Tiberius* in *Augustus's* life-time had shewn great tenderness and compassion for his unhappy wife, and often solicited the prince to recall her, and reinstate her in his favour. But he was no sooner declared emperor, than he stopt the small pension which her father paid her yearly for her support; so that the unfortunate princess, after a long series of miseries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her banishment * (M). At the same time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was by *Tiberius's* orders put to death in the island of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Augustus*. He was descended of one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engaging address and behaviour. With these parts he had captivated the heart of *Julia*, and debauched her while she was yet *Agrippa's* wife;

^w Idem ibid.

* Idem ibid. c. 53. Suet. l. iii. c. 11.

(M) *Augustus* had confined her only to the city of *Rhegium*, but *Tiberius* would not allow her the liberty of going out of the house in which she lodged, nor suffer any of the inhabitants to converse with her, or come near her. He deprived her according to *Suetonius* (71), of the small pension which *Augustus* had allowed her for her maintenance, under pretence of an exact and religious observance of the last will of her father, in which no mention was made of her. But *Dion Cassius* tells us (72), that he left her a small legacy, tho' he ordained, that neither she nor her daughter should be laid in his mausoleum; and *Tacitus* says, that he caused her to perish with want, supposing that her tragical death, as she was at a good distance from *Rome*, would remain concealed (73).

(71) Suet. ibid. c. 5.
anual. l. i.

(72) Dion. l. lvi.

(73) Tacit.

neither

neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after she was married to *Tiberius*; nay, he is supposed to have inspired her with contempt and aversion for her new husband, and to have dictated the letters, which she wrote to her father, full of bitterness against *Tiberius*, and painting him in the most odious colours. He had therefore been banished by *Augustus* to the island of *Cercina*, where he had suffered great miseries for fourteen years. But *Tiberius*, not judging banishment an adequate punishment for the injuries *Sempronius* had done him, sent or ordered *Lucius Asprenas*, proconsul of *Africa*, to send a band of assassins to dispatch him. These upon their landing found the unhappy exile on the shore, who, without betraying any fear or surprize, went to meet them, and intreat them, being well apprised of their design, to suspend the execution of *Cæsar's* orders, till he wrote a letter to his wife *Alliaria*, to acquaint her with his last will; which he had no sooner done, than he offered his neck to the sword of the assassins with a constancy and intrepidity worthy of the *Sempronian* name, though he had in his life-time shamefully degenerated from the glory of his ancestors. Some authors have written, that the assassins were not sent directly from *Rome*, but from *Africa*, the crafty tyrant having committed the execution of his orders to *Lucius Asprenas*, governor of that province, in order to screen himself by that means from the imputation of putting to death an illustrious citizen of *Rome*, whom his father *Augustus* had only condemned to banishment, and cast the odium of such an action on *Asprenas* ¹. But *Tiberius's* principal care in the beginning of his reign was to engage in his interest his nephew *Germanicus*, who on account of his extraordinary parts, and sweet temper, was equally adored by the people and soldiery. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, yet pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the senate to confer any particular honours on *Livia*, he recommended to them his nephew, and even asked for him the proconsular power; which being granted, he immediately dispatched into *Germany* persons of the first rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him in his name for the death of *Augustus* ² (N). He then

Sempronius Gracchus one of her chief favourites murdered by Tiberius's orders.

He endeavours to engage Germanicus in his interest.

¹ TACIT. *ibid.* c. 53.

² Idem *ibid.*

(N) *Germanicus* had been invested with the proconsular power three years before by *Augustus*, as *Dion* informs us; the power therefore, which was now conferred upon him at the Request of *Tiberius*, was, no doubt, a confirmation of the proconsular authority

then named twelve candidates for the prætorship, among whom were *Velleius Paterculus* the historian, and his brother; the senate desired him to appoint more, but as that number had been settled by *Augustus*, he not only refused to comply with their request, but bound himself by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predecessor. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magistrates, or at least shared it with the emperor, one half of the magistrates being named by him, and the other by the tribes, assembled in the field of *Mars* (O); but *Tiberius* in the first elections, deprived them of their antient rights, and transferred them to the senate: the people complained of this innovation, but no disturbances ensued, the senate being well pleased with the change, since by it they were delivered from the charge of buying votes, and the shame of begging them^a.

The privilege of creating magistrates transferred from the people to the senate.

^a Idem ibid. Dio. l. liv.

rity for life, his such as had been formerly granted to *Augustus*. In virtue of this new dignity, *Germanicus* had an almost absolute authority over all the *Roman* forces both in the provinces and the city, and was every-where to be acknowledged as commander in chief, and under *Tiberius* generalissimo of the empire.

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Julius Cæsar* shared the power of creating magistrates with the people, except in the election of consuls, one half of the magistrates being declared by them, and the other by himself, which he signified by billets sent to the tribes in these words; *I recommend such or such a person to you, that by your suffrage he may be admitted into such or such an office* (74). The same writer in the life of *Augustus* informs us, that he restored to the assemblies of the people the ancient rights, having first enacted severe laws against all sorts of bribery, and corrupt acquisition of offices. But whether *Suetonius* by *ancient rights* meant those which the people enjoyed in the times of liberty, or only, the privilege of chusing one half of the magistrates, which they were allowed in the dictatorship of *Cæsar*, and afterwards deprived of during the triumvirate, is matter of dispute among the learned (75). As to the consuls, they were both named by *Cæsar* the dictator, and afterwards by *Augustus*, at least in the first years of his reign. *Dion* seems to insinuate, that *Tiberius* named the consuls himself, but allowed the senate to chuse the other magistrates, reserving to himself the recommendation of some who were to be elected without opposition: on the other hand *Tacitus* tells us, that as to the consular elections, he can scarce affirm any thing, there being in this particular a great disagreement among the historians of those times, and a seeming contradiction in the speeches of *Tiberius* himself, always reserved, always mysterious (76).

(74) *Suet. in Julio, c. 41.*
anal. Tacit. l. i. litera E.

(75) *Vide Lipsium in Ecurf. in annal. Tacit. l. i. in fine.*

Tiberius

The army
in Panno-
nia muti-
nies.

Percennius
inflames
them.

Tiberius had scarce taken possession of the sovereign power, or, as we may well call it, the throne, when news was brought him, that the armies in *Pannonia* and *Germany* had mutinied. In *Pannonia* three legions, viz. the eighth, the ninth, and the thirteenth, being allowed by their general *Julius Blæsus* a relaxation for some days from their usual duties, either to mourn, according to the *Roman* custom, for the death of *Augustus*, or to rejoice for the accession of *Tiberius*, they grew wanton, quarrelsome and turbulent, began to hearken to seditious discourses, to be fond of an easy and idle life, and to have an utter aversion to the toils and discipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by one *Percennius*, a common soldier, who, before he served in the army, had made it his whole business to raise disturbances, and form parties in the theatres and play-houses to hiss or applaud such players as he disliked or favoured (P). As he had by this practice acquired a notable talent in speaking to a croud, and inflaming the mob, in the dusk of the evening, when those whom he distrusted were withdrawn to their tents, he used to assemble the most turbulent, stir them up to mutiny, inflame them against their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the present occasion, while the emperor's authority was yet wavering, to prevail upon him either by force or intreaties to redress their grievances. How long, said he, shall we obey, like slaves, a few centurions and tribunes? When shall we have courage enough to demand a redress of our grievances, if we let slip the present opportunity? What hinders us from laying our complaints before the new emperor, and obliging him either by our prayers or menaces to listen to them? Are we doomed to be for ever miserable? Many of us have already served thirty or forty years, are decrepit with age, and maimed with wounds; and yet either cannot obtain our discharge, or after having obtained it, are still kept in the camp under the

(P) In the circus and theatres there were in the *Roman* times parties and factions, some favouring one actor, and some another: the opposite parties often came to blows; nay, much blood was sometimes shed in these frays. *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Nero* took great pleasure in these theatrical battles; and that being conveyed in his litter into the theatre, he not only beheld from the upper part of the *proscenium* the opposite parties quarrelling about the players, but set them together by the ears; and when they were engaged, took great delight in throwing stones, and pieces of broken benches, among the croud, with which he once wounded a prætor in the head (77).

honourable title of veterans (Q), and obliged to undergo the same hardships, the same labours. But suppose any of us should escape so many dangers, and outlive so many calamities, how in the end shall we be rewarded? Under the name of lands we shall be doomed to drain bogs and marshes, or to till barren mountains in countries far remote from our native soil. Could our pay afford us a comfortable subsistence, we should not have so much reason to complain of the poorness of our rewards. But our persons and lives are valued only at ten asses a day, and out of this we must buy cloaths, tents, and arms; out of this we must bribe our cruel centurions, and redeem ourselves from their blows: for so poor a price we must patiently suffer stripes, wounds, hard winters, laborious summers, bloody wars, or a barren peace. For these miseries there is no other remedy left us, than that we refuse to serve but upon certain conditions fixed by ourselves particularly, that our pay be a denarius, or sixteen asses a day (R); that sixteen years be the utmost term of serving,

(Q) In the times of the republic those were called veterans, who had served twenty years, after which they were discharged, and allowed to retire, if they pleased, as *Suidas* informs us: this discharge was called *Missio*. But under the emperors the veterans, that is, those who had served twenty years, were still kept in the camp till they received the rewards which were due to them on account of their past services, and in the mean time were exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight. This discharge or exemption from military toils was called by the antients *exauſoratio*, which we must carefully distinguish from what they called *Missio*: for after the former they often continued many years under their colours, whereas the latter was an absolute discharge granted to them after they had received their rewards. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* very rarely discharged his veterans, that he might be a gainer by their deaths (78); for the rewards due to them were not paid to their heirs. The same writer informs us, that *Caligula* in reviewing his army discharged several centurions, who had very near served their time, under pretence that they were too old, and unfit for the service (79). Thus some of the emperors declined discharging their soldiers after they had served their time, and others discharged them before; all with the same view, to defraud them of their rewards.

(R) The *Roman denarius* was a piece of silver first coined in the year of *Rome* 484, *Q Ogulnius Gallus* and *Q Fabius Pictor* being consuls. It was at first worth ten asses, and therefore marked with the numeral letter X. It underwent in process of time many changes and reductions; but in the age we are now writing of, it was

(78) *Suet. in Tib. c. 48.*
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(79) *Idem in Calig. c. 44.*
F f f valued

serving, that when this time is expired, we be no longer kept under the colours, but have our rewards paid us in ready money in the camp where we earned it. Do the prætorian cohorts, who receive two denarii a day, and are discharged after sixteen years service, undergo greater dangers than we? I do not mean to detract from the merit of the city guards, but only say, that we are placed in the midst of barbarous nations, and cannot look out of our camp without seeing the enemy. This harangue was received with great applause by the enraged multitude: some of them immediately proposed the incorporating of the three legions into one; but every one claiming for his own legion the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the standards of the cohorts all together, and to raise with turf a tribunal, according to the Roman custom (S), for the new general they designed to chuse. While they were thus busy, *Blæsus* arrived; and having severely rebuked some, and threatened others, *Dip your hands*

valued at sixteen asses, and hence the mutineers demanded, that their pay might be raised from ten asses to a *denarius*. *Lipsius* in his notes upon *Tacitus* pretends, that the *denarius* at this time was worth twelve asses only; but that he was therein mistaken, is manifest from *Gronovius's* learned observations on the money of the antients (100). The soldiers pay was at first five asses a day; but it was afterwards, at what time precisely we know not, raised to ten. Out of these ten asses they were to buy cloaths, tents and arms, as is manifest from this passage of *Tacitus*, contrary to the law published by *Gracchus*, enacting that the soldiers should be supplied with arms, cloaths, tents, &c. at the public expence. This law was probably revoked, when their pay was increased; but nevertheless some of the succeeding emperors clothed their soldiers at the expence of the public; namely *Alexander Severus*, who, as *Ælius Lampridius* tells us in the life of that emperor, *gave his soldiers shoes, boots, breeches, coats, and cloaks.*

S) The tribunal, from whence the emperors used to harangue their troops, was still, nay, and many ages after, raised with turf. *Flavius Vopiscus*, speaking of the elevation of the emperor *Probus*, *The whole army*, says he, *cried out unanimously, Probus! we salute Probus our sovereign. The gods save you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and proclaimed him emperor.* This custom obtained likewise among foreign nations, especially in *Britain*, as *Xiphilinus* informs us, who, in speaking of the famous queen *Boadicea*, says, that *she ascended a tribunal reared with turf after the Roman manner.* Frequent mention is made of these tribunals by the antient poets (1).

(100) *Vide Gronov. pec. vet. l. iii. c. 2. Lucan. l. v. & Claud. de bell. Getic.*

(1) *Vide Stat. in syl.*

rather in my blood, he cried with a loud voice to all; for to *Blæsus* en- murder your general will be a less crime than to revolt from your dearest prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by your hands, to appease keep you in your obedience; if you think fit to murder me, I them. hope at the sight of my blood you will repent of your crime, and return to your duty. This discourse did not affect the mutinous soldiery, who continued their work till it was breast-high, when at length, being overcome by the constancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was somewhat assuaged, *Blæsus*, who was an able speaker, remonstrated to them, that sedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor; that their demands were new and extraordinary, such as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor they themselves to the deified *Augustus*; besides, that they were ill-timed, since princes in the beginning of their government are taken up and imbarassed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never had the confidence to demand, why should they use violence, and trample upon the rules of military discipline? that they might appoint deputies, and in his presence give them their instructions. At these words they all cried out with one voice, that they were willing to send deputies; and that the son of *Blæsus*, who was a tribune, should be immediately dispatched to the emperor to demand in their name, that they might be absolutely discharged after sixteen years service; they added that when he had obtained this, they would trust him with their further pretensions.

IN the mean time, some manipuli or companies, which had been sent, before the sedition, to *Nauportum* (T), to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their standards, and falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and *Nauportum* itself. The centurions endeavoured to restrain their violence, but the mutineers, instead of listening to their remonstrances, or betraying any fear of their menaces, first derided them, afterwards abused them with most outrageous language, and at length

*The muti-
neers fall
upon Ru-
fus.*

(T) *Nauportum* was a city of *Upper Pannonia*, and is placed by *Strabo*, who calls it *Naupontus*, in the country of the *Taurisci*, three hundred and fifty furlongs from *Aquileia*. It was so called from the river *Nauportus* on which it stood (2). *Cluverius* is of opinion, that *Nauportum* stood on the spot where the present city of *Oberlaubach* in *Carniola* was afterwards built.

(2) Vide *Plin. l. iii. c. 13r* & *Vell. Patercul. l. xi. c. 110.*

came to blows. They were chiefly incensed against *Ausidienus Rufus*, who, as he had been long a common soldier, and had raised himself by his courage and bravery to the post of *præfectus castrorum* (U), was a severe observer of the primitive discipline, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himself borne with patience the hardships attending it. Upon him the furious multitude first vented their rage; they dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and driving him before the first ranks, asked him by way of insult, how he liked such burdens? how such marches? Upon the arrival of these mutinous companies in the camp, the sedition broke out anew with more fury than ever; the seditious, casting off all obedience, roved about the country without controul, ravaging it on all sides. Upon their return, *Blæsus*, who was still obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, caused those, who were most loaded with plunder, to be beaten with rods, and cast into prison (W). But the furious multitude, flying to the relief

(U) This was, without all doubt, a new office, instituted probably by *Augustus*; for no mention is made of the *præfectus castrorum* by any author, who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for incamping, and lay it out, to distribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raising the ramparts, digging the ditches, &c. He had also under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools, belonging to the army (3). Each legion had a *præfectus castrorum*, at least when they incamped separately; for *Tacitus*, speaking of one *Pænius Posthumius*, calls him *præfectus Castrorum secundæ legionis* (4). The same writer seems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for in describing *Vitellius's* entry into *Rome* he tells us, that before their several eagles marched first the *præfecti castrorum*, next to them the tribunes, and after the tribunes the chief centurions (5). *Vespasianus Pollio*, the grand-father of the emperor *Vespasian*, was *præfectus castrorum*. But we must not on that account confound, as a modern writer has done whom *Lipsius* confutes, the *præfectus castrorum* with the *præfectus prætorii*, an officer of a much superior rank.

(W) From this passage it is manifest, that the *Romans* built prisons in their camp, and also from the following lines of *Juvenal*:

*Inde fides arti, sonuit si dextera ferro
Lævaque, si longe castrorum in carcere mansit* (6).

These criminals were dragged along with the army in chains, when they decamped.

(3) *Vide Veget. l. xi. c. 10.*
cit. histor. l. ii.

(4) *Tacit. l. xiv.*

(5) *Ta-*

(6) *Juvenal satyr. 6.*

of the criminals, rescued them out of the hands of the lictors, and, breaking open the prison, set all the prisoners at liberty. After so bold an attempt the mutineers grew more outrageous, and the mutiny more general. One *Vibulenus*, a common soldier, being raised on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of *Blæsus*, addressed those who had delivered the prisoners thus: *I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal you have shewn for these innocent and unhappy sufferers: you have restored them to their liberty: but who will restore life to my brother? who my brother to me? He was sent from the army in Germany with proposals for our common good: but our cruel general caused him to be butchered last night by his gladiators (X), whom he entertains and arms for our destruction.* Then turning to *Blæsus*, Tell me, *Blæsus*, said he, *where have you thrown his mangled body? Even the most cruel enemies do not deny burial to the slain. When I shall have satisfied my grief with a thousand kisses, and a flood of tears, command me also to be massacred, that our fellow-soldiers may bury my brother and me together, both inhumanly murdered for consulting the common good of the legions.* When *Vibulenus* had ended his speech, he threw himself at the feet of his companions, and beating his breast, tearing his face, and shewing all the symptoms of the deepest sorrow, he endeavoured to raise at the same time pity and fury in the minds of the multitude, and indeed with good success; for they fell immediately upon *Blæsus's* gladiators and domestics, and having bound them, dispersed themselves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in quest of the supposed corpse, which if they had found, *Blæsus* himself would have been in great danger; but as they could find no corpse, and it manifestly appeared from the depositions of *Blæsus's* slaves upon the rack, and of other credible witnesses, that the whole was a calumny maliciously invented, and that *Vibulenus* never had any brother, they spared their general; but nevertheless in the height of their rage, fell upon the *præfectus castrorum*, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion *Lucilius*, whom they hated above all the rest on account of his severity, and had by way of sarcasm nicknamed *Cede alteram, Reach me another*, because when he had broke one rod, or vine-twigg, which was made

They are stirred up by Vibulenus.

They fall upon their officers.

(X) Most of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vast numbers of gladiators at an immense charge for the public shows. We must not therefore imagine, that the gladiators mentioned in this place were listed in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

use

use of on such occasions, upon the back of a soldier, he was wont to call for another, and then a third (Y). The other centurions withdrew, and absconded, all except *Julius Clemens*, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained with a design to commit the management of their affairs to him. Another centurion, nicknamed *Sirpicus* (Z), had like to have occasioned a bloody quarrel between the eighth and fifteenth legion, the former insisting upon his being put to death, and the latter protecting him; but the ninth legion, what with intreaties, what with menaces, composed the difference ^b.

Drusus sent to quell the tumult. *Tiberius* no sooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he dispatched his son *Drusus* to the rebellious legions at the head of the prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horse, and the main body of the *German* horse, at this time the emperor's guards (A). The prætorian cohorts were on this occasion reinforced with an extraordinary addition of chosen men. Among the persons of distinction who were ordered to attend and assist *Drusus*, in bringing back the revolted legions to their duty, were *Cneius Lentulus*, an officer of great fame and experience, and *Ælius Sejanus*, who had been lately joined with his father *Strabo* in the commission of *præfectus prætorii*, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (B). *Sejanus* was appointed

^b TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 16—30.

(Y) We have another instance of a nick-name made up of different words in the life of the emperor *Aurelian* wrote by *Flavius Vopiscus*, who tells us, that there being two *Aurelians* in the army, and both tribunes at the same time, the soldiers used by way of distinction to call the *Aurelian* who was afterwards emperor, *Aurelianus Manu ad ferrum*, because he was on all occasions ready to draw his sword.

(Z) The word *Sirpicus* may be derived from the ancient verb *Sirpare*, which signifies to bind, and is used in that signification by *Varro* (7). The centurion was perhaps called *Sirpicus*, because he had frequently in his mouth that obsolete verb; perhaps because he kept the soldiers to their duty with great severity, and caused them to be bound and cast into prison for the least breach of military discipline.

(A) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Augustus*, after the defeat of *Varus*, who was cut off with three legions in *Germany*, disbanded all his *German* guards (8). But *Tiberius*, it seems, set that corps on foot again, in the very beginning of his reign.

(B) The *præfectus prætorii* was the chief commander of the

(7) *Varro*. l. iv. ling. Latin.

(8) *Suet.* in *Aug.* c. 49.

emperor's

appointed governor to the young prince ; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might either with promises or intreaties bring the seditious to a sense of their duty. When news was brought to the camp that *Drusus* approached, the legions in token of respect marched out to meet him, not with their usual gaiety and shouts of joy, but in a fullen silence, displaying in their countenances marks of sadness mixed with fierceness and rage. As soon as *Drusus* entered the camp, he placed guards at all the gates, and parties under arms in several quarters, to be ready against any surprise. *Drusus* immediately ascended the tribunal, and having made a sign with his hand to the crouds that surrounded it to be silent, he read to them his father's letter ; the substance of which was, that he would take a particular care of the brave legions with whom he had successfully carried on so many wars ; that as soon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the senate about their demands ; that in the mean time, he had sent them his son, and impowered him to make them forthwith such concessions as could be made without further consultation ; but as to other demands, they were to be referred to the senate, whom he would not by any means deprive of the right of distributing rewards and punishments. When *Drusus* had read his father's letter, the assembly appointed the centurion *Julius Clemens* to be their speaker ; who accordingly began with proposing to *Drusus* their demands, which were, that they should be discharged after sixteen years service ; that they should upon that discharge receive the rewards which they claimed ; that their pay should be increased to a *Roman denarius*, and that the veterans should be no longer detained under their ensigns. To these demands *Drusus* answered, that they exceeded his power, and therefore ought to be laid before

How re-
ceived.

Tiberius's
letter to
them.

Their de-
mands.

Drusus's
answer
inflames
them.

emperor's guards called *Prætorians* from the *Latin* word *Prætorium*, which at first signified the general's quarters in the camp, the word *prætor* being in the first ages of the republic common to all magistrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors by *prætorium* was meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his house in the city : hence in *prætorium accipi*, is to be listed among the prætorian soldiers, or the emperor's guards (9). *Augustus* was the first, as *Dion* informs us (10), who gave the title of *præfectus prætorii* to the chief officer of his guards. The *præfecti prætorii* under *Constantine the Great*, and his successors, were the first officers of the empire, and had quite different functions from those of the *præfecti prætorii* appointed by *Augustus*.

(9) *Vide. Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 48.*

(10) *Dio. l. lv. p. 555.*

the senate and his father. He had scarce uttered these words, when the multitude cried out with one voice, *To what end then are you come, since you can neither increase our pay, nor redress our grievances? Every officer is allowed to punish us with blows, and even death; and the son of the emperor has not power to relieve us by one beneficent action!* Drusus, we find, has already attained to a great perfection in the arts and policy of his father, who, to frustrate the requests of the soldiers, used to refer all to Augustus. It is surprising, that the emperor should take upon himself the command and whole direction of the army, and at the same time refer the soldiery to the senate for their rewards! Why should he not in like manner consult the senate, when a battle is to be fought, or a soldier to be punished? Are punishments to be inflicted without any controul or restraint, and rewards not bestowed without the consent and approbation of many? Having thus spoke, they left the tribunal, threatening and insulting all those they met belonging to Drusus, either as friends or guards, in order to pick a quarrel with them, and have some pretence to fall upon them sword in hand. They were chiefly enraged against Cneius Lentulus, who they suspected had hardened the young prince against their complaints, and encouraged him to despise the menaces of the soldiery. Of this Lentulus was well apprised, and therefore resolved, before their fury broke out, to quit the camp, and return to his winter-quarters. But, as he was departing, the mutineers surrounding him asked, whither he went? to the emperor or senate, to oppose their advantages with them as he had done in the camp with Drusus? These words were followed with a shower of stones, and he had been soon dispatched, had not the troops that attended Drusus, who was with him, rescued him already covered with wounds and blood. As the enraged multitude seemed now determined to keep no measures, Drusus was under dreadful apprehensions of the following night, which every one believed would prove fatal to many, perhaps to Drusus himself. But it happened quite otherwise. Ignorance and superstition that very night put an end to the revolt, restored calm to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the soldiery, after they had so long continued deaf to reason, and trampled upon all the laws of military discipline. The moon all on a sudden began to darken in the midst of a clear sky, till she was by degrees totally eclipsed (C). The soldiery, ig-

They insult
Cn. Len-
tulus.

(C) This total eclipse happened, according to the learned bishop Usher, on the twenty seventh of September, at five in the morning.

norant of the natural causes of this phænomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to shew some signs of repentance. *Drusus* did not fail to improve this disposition; he immediately sent the centurion *Julius Clemens*, and other officers and soldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inspire them with a love of their duty. These, pursuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and insinuating themselves every-where, first prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to separate. After this the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, those who guarded the gates to keep *Drusus*, as it were, besieged, retired from their posts; the eagles and other ensigns, which in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to its proper place; and, after so dreadful a storm, calm and tranquillity restored to every quarter of the camp.

EARLY next morning, *Drusus*, having summoned an assembly ascended the tribunal, and though unskilled in speaking, yet with a haughtiness natural to the *Claudian* family, inveighed against their past, and commended their present behaviour. After this great debates arose in his council, some advising him to suspend all proceedings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to send with their petitions to *Tiberius*, while others were immediately for condemning and executing the ring-leaders of the sedition. *Drusus*, as he was naturally inclined to severity, followed the advice of the latter; and having summoned *Vibulenus* and *Percennius* before his tribunal, he condemned them, and caused them immediately to be executed. Some writers say, that they were privately executed, and buried in *Drusus's* tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiously thrown over the intrenchments to strike terror into the rest. The other ring-leaders of the sedition were discovered sculking about the camp, and either slain by the centurions and prætorian guards, or delivered up to *Drusus* by their comrades as a proof of their sincere repentance. After this they were terrified anew with dreadful storms, and such violent rains, that they could not stir out of their tents; which they looking upon as sent by the angry gods, resolved to abandon a camp, which they had polluted with so many crimes, and return to their several garisons. Accordingly the eighth le-

They are frightened by an eclipse of the moon, and return to their duty.

The authors of the revolt condemned and executed.

^b Idem ibid.

gion departed first, and then the fifteenth, though earnestly pressed by the ninth to wait till the return of their deputies: at length the ninth likewise, their courage failing them after they were deserted by the other two, abandoned the camp, and quietly followed them. *Drusus*, seeing tranquillity thus restored, returned to *Rome* to acquaint *Tiberius* with the success of his negotiations, which indeed was more owing to chance than his address c.

*The legions
in Germa-
ny revolt.*

ALMOST at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions in *Germany* revolted with far greater fury, as they were far more numerous. On the *Rhine* were quartered two armies, the one called the *Upper*, commanded by *Caius Silius*, the other the *Lower*, by *Aulus Cæcina*; but the chief command of both was vested in *Germanicus*, who was then busy in collecting the tribute in *Gaul*. The legions under *Silius*, however discontented, waited for the success of the revolt, which the *Lower* army had begun. The latter, consisting of four legions, viz. the first, the fifth, the twentieth, and the one and twentieth, were incamped on the borders of the *Ubii* (D); where they no sooner received the

news

c Idem ibid.

(D) The *Ubii* in *Cæsar's* time dwelt on the other side the *Rhine*, as is manifest from his commentaries, where he speaks of them thus: *The country of the Suevi is bounded on the other side by that of the Ubii, who possess a large and flourishing city, and are a people far more polite than the other Germans, because lying nearer the Rhine, they have more commerce with merchants, and conversation with the Gauls; with these the Suevi had many disputes; and tho' the Ubii were so experienced soldiers, so powerful and so numerous a people, that they could not expel them the country, yet they made them their tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition* (11). And elsewhere; *The Ubii*, says he, *the only people on the other side the Rhine, who had sent ambassadors to Cæsar, had entered into an alliance with him, and delivered hostages, earnestly desiring him to assist them against the oppressions of the Suevi; if the state of affairs did not permit him to go in person, they begged that he would only send his army into Germany; for so great was the reputation which the Romans had acquired by defeating Ariovistus, that if they appeared in defence of the Ubii, if they owned them for their allies, their name alone would be sufficient to defend them from the insults of the remotest Germans* (12). For their sake chiefly, *Cæsar* resolved to cross the *Rhine*, and not thinking it either safe to transport his army in boats,

(11) *Cæsar. comment. l. iv. c. 3.*

(12) *Idem ibid. c. 16*
or

news of *Augustus's* death, than the recruits lately raised in *Rome*, men accustomed to the softness and gaieties of the city, and impatient of military labour and discipline, began to stir up the rest with seditious harangues, insinuating, that a favourable opportunity offered at length for the veterans to demand an absolute discharge, for the soldiers ^{*Their demands.*} who had not served out their time, to insist upon larger pay, and for all to obtain by some means or other a mitigation of their miseries. We could not have wished for a more favourable conjuncture, said they, to be revenged on the centurions for their cruelties : the fate of *Rome* depends upon us : we have enlarged the empire with our victories : to us the *Cæsars* are indebted for the glorious surname of *Germanicus*. As *Cæcina*, instead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, ^{*They fall upon their centurions.*} and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their resentment, and, dragging them to the ground, discharged upon each of them sixty blows, that is, as many as there were centurions in a legion (E). Then, thus bruised, and near expiring, they drove them

or suitable to his character, and the dignity of the *Roman* name, he built the famous bridge, which he minutely describes in his commentaries. As the *Ubii* continued faithful to *Rome*, and were on that account greatly harrassed by their *German* neighbours, they were allowed by the *Romans* to settle on the opposite bank of the *Rhine*. This migration happened, according to *Strabo*, in the reign of *Augustus* ; for that writer, speaking of the *Treviri*, adds, *Next to them dwelt the Ubii, whom Agrippa, agreeably to their inclination, placed on this side the Rhine* (13). *Dion Cassius* mentions two expeditions of *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, the first in his first consulship, the second eighteen years after in the consulship of *C. Sentius* and *Q. Lucretius* (14). It is most likely, that the migration of the *Ubii* happened in the first expedition : for then he built, as *Dion* informs us, a bridge cross the *Rhine*. *Tacitus* speaking of the *Ubii*, says, that they came from beyond the *Rhine*, and that for the many proofs of their fidelity, they were settled upon the bank of that river, not to be there guarded, but to guard and defend that boundary against the rest of the *Germans*. The country allotted to them comprehended the greater part of the present dutchy of *Juliers*, and almost the whole archbishoprick of *Cologne*.

(E) There were in a complete legion thirty *manipuli*, or companies ; each company consisted of a hundred and twenty men, and was divided into two bands, or, as the antients style them, *orders* ; each order consisted of sixty men, and had its peculiar centurion ;

(13) *Strab. l. iv p. 134.*

(14) *Dio. l. xlviii. § liv.*

them ignominiously out of the camp, nay, some they threw into the *Rhine*. One *Septimius* fled for refuge to the tribunal of *Cæcina*; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incensed multitude. *Cassius Chærea*, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor *Caligula*, boldly opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the croud. After this the mutineers, despising the authority of their tribunes, and their *præfecti castrorum*, set and relieved the centries themselves; appointed the guard, and gave such orders as they judged proper in the present conjuncture.

Germanicus endeavours to appease them.

In the mean time *Germanicus*, who, as we have hinted above, was collecting the tribute in *Gaul*, no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expressing their dissatisfaction with hideous clamours; nay, some, taking him by the hand, as if they designed to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, to shew him they had with age lost all their teeth; others desired him to behold their hoary heads, the wounds they had received, &c. *Germanicus*, instead of returning any answer to particulars, as soon as he had entered the intrenchments, ordered them to range themselves into manipuli, and place before them their several ensigns, as was customary when the general assembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed slowly and with reluctance; then *Germanicus* beginning his speech with an encomium upon *Augustus*, proceeded to the many victories of *Tiberius*, enlarging on the glorious exploits he had atchieved in *Germany*, with those very legions; he then acquainted them, that all *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, and every province of the empire, had received and acknowledged *Tiberius* for emperor, without betraying the least disaffection. Thus far they listened to him with attention; but when he began to expostulate with them about their seditious behaviour, the scene changed; *Germanicus* was interrupted with loud clamours and a general uproar; some stripping themselves shewed him the scars of the many wounds they had received; others the marks of the stripes inflicted on them by the merciless centurions; they urged their scanty pay, their great labours, the hardships attending a military life, &c. Above all, from the ve-

They lay their complaints before him.

so that there were in a complete legion sixty centurions, and each centurion had sixty men under his command (15).

(15) Vide *Lips. de militia Rom. l. ii. dial. 5, & 8, & Dion. Hal. l. ix.*

terans

lerans arose a dreadful cry ; they enumerated thirty years of
 service and upwards, and begged, that to men quite spent
 and worn out he would at length grant some respite, that he
 would not suffer them to be indebted to death for their re-
 lief, but discharge them forthwith, and allow them a com-
 fortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which
 had been bequeathed to them by *Augustus*, mixing with their
 demands zealous vows and omens of happiness for *Germani-*
cus ; nay, some went so far as openly to declare, that they *And offer*
 would stand by him to the last, if he would himself assume *him the*
 the empire. At these words *Germanicus*, struck with hor- *empire.*
 ror, leaped from the tribunal, and attempted to make his
 escape, lest he should be stained with their treason : but the
 seditious legionaries, drawing their swords, stopt him, and
 even threatened to kill him, if he offered to withdraw. Then
 the generous *Germanicus*, protesting that he would rather *Which he*
 die than betray the trust reposed in him, drew his sword, *generously*
 and would have sacrificed his life to his fidelity, had not those *refuses.*
 who stood next to him seized his hand, and restrained him by
 force. There were not, however, some wanting in the as-
 sembly, who cried out to him to *strike*, and not spare him-
 self ; nay, one *Calpurnius*, a common soldier, offered him his
 staked sword, saying, *Take this, Germanicus, it is perhaps*
sharper than your own ; a behaviour which was highly con-
 demned by the rest as savage and barbarous. In the mean
 time the friends of *Germanicus* had time to convey him out of
 the croud to his tent, and there to consult about the most
 proper measures in so critical a juncture. For *Germanicus*
 was informed, that the ring-leaders of the sedition were pre-
 paring to dispatch messengers to the upper army, in order to
 draw them too into the revolt ; that they designed to plunder
 the city of the *Ubii* (F) ; and that the *Germans*, already ac-
 quainted

(F) By the city of the *Ubii* *Tacitus* means *Colonia Agrippinensis*,
 which he calls the city of the *Ubii*, either because it was their me-
 tropolis, or because they had not yet built any other. They pro-
 bably laid the foundations of this city upon their first settling on
 this side the *Rhine*. It was afterwards made a *Roman* colony, and
 peopled by veterans in the consulship of *C. Antistius* and *M. Sallius*,
 at the request of *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, and wife
 of the emperor *Claudius*, who was born there. From her it was
 called *Colonia Agrippinensis*, and in after ages *Agrippina* ; which has
 made some writers doubt, whether it borrowed its name from
Agrippina, or from her grandfather *Agrippa*, who brought the *Ubii*
 over the *Rhine*. But to *Lipsius* this doubt seems quite groundless,
 since the colony, had he been the founder of it, would have been
 called

He feigns
letters
from Tiberius,
granting
their demands.

And satisfies
some
with his
own money.

Some veterans in the
country of the
Chauci revolt, but
are quelled
by Memmius.

quainted with the sedition in the *Roman* army, were ready to invade *Gaul*, as soon as the banks of the *Rhine* were left unguarded. In the council, which *Germanicus* held in his own tent, various measures were proposed, and at last the following resolution unanimously agreed to, viz. that letters should be feigned from *Tiberius*, with directions, that those who had served twenty years should be finally discharged; that such as had served sixteen should be deemed veterans; and that the legacy, which they demanded, should not only be paid, but doubled. But the mutineers, suspecting these concessions to be forged purely to gain time, insisted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes therefore were obliged to discharge immediately the veterans; but as to the payment of the legacy, *Germanicus* would fain have put it off, till they were retired to their winter-quarters; and indeed the first legion and the twentieth trusted him upon his word, but the fifth and the one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp till they were satisfied; so that he was obliged to raise the sum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them to defray the expences of their journey, which they no sooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. *Germanicus* then hastened to the upper army under the command of *Silius*, and easily prevailed upon the second, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth, to swear allegiance to *Tiberius*; the fourteenth shewed some hesitation, but *Germanicus* discharging forthwith the veterans, and paying the rest the money bequeathed them by *Augustus*, cut off all occasion of complaints.

BUT a party of veterans (G) belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in garison in the country of the *Chauci* (H), began a sedition there, which was at first quelled

called *Colonia Agrippensis*, and not *Agrippinensis*. What name it bore before it was made a *Roman* colony, we find no where mentioned; for *Tacitus* calls it constantly *the city of the Ubii*.

(G) The veterans formed a corps apart, and had their peculiar standard called *Vexillum*, whence they are commonly styled by the antients *Vexillarii* and also *Emeriti*, from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued till they received the rewards due for their service; and their final discharge, which the emperors used, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promised lands or money.

(H) The *Chauci* inhabited *East-Friesland*, the counties of *Huy* and *Oldenburg*, the dutchy of *Bremen*, and part of *Lavenburg*. *Tacitus* describes the situation of their country, and the manners of the people

led by *Memmius*, præfect of the camp, who, though not vested with any such power (I), put instantly two of the ring-leaders of the sedition to death. But the tumult breaking out afterwards with fresh fury, *Memmius* was obliged to withdraw himself from their rage, and lie concealed: the mutineers discovered him, and then *Memmius* declaring, that these outrages were not offered to him, but to *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, who would not fail to resent them, he snatched the colours, faced about towards the *Rhine*, and boldly threatening those, who should dare to abandon their ranks, with the punishments due to deserters, he led them back to their winter-quarters. In the mean time deputies sent either by *Tiberius* or the senate, probably to quell the sedition, meeting *Germanicus* near the altar of the *Ubii* (K), gave occasion to new disturbances. The first and the twentieth legions, who were incamped there with those

The disturbances revived.

people, thus; *Germany* extends northward a great way; first of all occurs the nation of the *Chauci*, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the *Frisians*, and possess part of the shore, extend so far as to border upon the several people, of whom I have already spoken, till they reach quite to the borders of the *Catti*; so vast a country the *Chauci* not only possess, but fill! They are the most noble people of *Germany*, and chuse rather to maintain their grandeur by justice than violence; they live quietly, free from the ambition of possessing more, and of domineering over others. They give no occasion to wars, they ravage no countries; without wronging or oppressing others, they are come to be superior to all (16). However, they drove out the *Ansbarii*, and seized on their country, and made incursions into *Lower Germany*, as *Tacitus* himself informs us elsewhere (17).

(I) The power of life and death was at first lodged only in the commander in chief of the whole army, but afterwards extended by *Augustus* to his lieutenants, and by the other emperors to the proconsuls, proprætors, and all the governors of provinces; but no such power was ever granted to the præfects of the camp, to the tribunes, or other inferior officers.

(K) This altar was probably raised in honour of *Augustus*, and seems to have been at a small distance from *Cologne*: *Cluverius* is of opinion, that the city of *Bon*, called by the antients *Bonna*, was built in the place where this altar stood; but he is therein contradicted by *Lipsius* and others, who from several passages out of *Tacitus* shew pretty plainly, that the altar of the *Ubii* stood in the neighbourhood of their city, that is, of *Cologne*, whereas *Bonna* was twelve miles distant from it.

(16) *Tacit. de mor. German. c. 35. c. 55, & hist. l. v. c. 19.*

(17) *Idem annal. l. xiii.*

legionaries,

legionaries, who had been lately placed under the standard of the veterans, apprehending that these deputies were come to revoke the concessions, which they had extorted by their sedition, and imputing the imaginary decree to *Munatius Plancus*, who had been consul the year before, and was at the head of this deputation, they resolved to vent their rage chiefly upon him; which he being aware of, fled for refuge to the quarters of the first legion, and there embracing the eagle and other ensigns, hoped the veneration, which the soldiers paid them, would restrain their fury. But had not *Calpurnius* the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and resolution, repulsed the audacious multitude, the *Roman* camp had been stained with the blood of an ambassador of the *Roman* people. This disorder happened in the night, and early next morning *Germanicus* entering the camp, ascended the tribunal, and placing *Plancus* by himself on the tribunal, inveighed against the horrible disorders of the preceding night, acquainted the soldiery with the true purposes of that embassy, complained in an affecting manner of the unheard-of outrages offered to *Plancus* without any provocation, aggravated the disgrace which the violating the sacred person of an ambassador brought upon the legions, &c. But as the assembly shewed no great tokens of repentance, he first dismissed the deputies under a strong guard of auxiliary horse, and then, at the motion of his friends, solicited his wife *Agrippina*, who had attended him with her son *Caius*, at that time an infant, into *Germany*, and was big with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and not expose herself to the fury of an outrageous multitude. *Agrippina* was unwilling to leave him, urging, that it was below her, who was the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, to betray any fear, or abandon her husband in time of danger. But *Germanicus*, tenderly embracing her and their little son, prevailed upon her at length by his tears and intreaties to depart. As she was attended by many women of distinction, wives of the chief officers in the camp, who it seems in those days accompanied their husbands in all their military expeditions, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their husbands, occasioned a great uproar in the camp, and drew together the soldiers from all quarters. This was so melting a scene, that the most obstinate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being at the same time seized with shame and compassion, so many women of rank travelling thus forlorn without a centurion to attend them, or a soldier to guard them, and their general's wife among them, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for shelter against the

Germanicus sends away his wife Agrippina, and his son Caius.

Their departure affects the soldiery.

the fury of the *Roman* legions to *Treves*, as if she reposed greater confidence in foreigners, than in her own countrymen. This made so deep an impression on their minds, that some ran to stop her, while the rest recurring to *Germanicus*, earnestly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be laid, to their eternal shame and disgrace, that the daughter of *Agrippa*, the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, the daughter-in-law of *Drusus*, whose memory they adored, had been frightened from the *Roman* camp, and obliged to seek sanctuary among foreigners. *Germanicus*, observing both their sentiments and countenances changed, resolved to improve their present disposition; and accordingly in a long and affecting harangue, which in the height of his grief he uttered with great vehemence, he painted to them the blackness of their guilt in such lively colours, that they not only confessed, that all his reproaches were true, but, their minds being quite changed, they earnestly besought him to punish the authors of the late sedition, by whom they had been misled, and offered to march forthwith against the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and his son. *Germanicus*, finding them intirely reclaimed, answered, that his son should return, but against the recalling of *Agrippina* he alledged the season already far advanced, and her approaching delivery; and as to the punishing the authors of the sedition, he told them, that he left that to them. He had scarce uttered these words, when the legionaries ran to seize the chief authors of the sedition, and dragged them in chains to *Caius Cetrionius*, commander of the first legion, who judged and punished them in the following manner: The legions with their drawn swords surrounded the tribunal, from whence the prisoner was exposed to their view; if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. As *Germanicus* did not order, but only permitted, this new method of condemning and executing, he did not forfeit by it the reputation he had acquired of a humane and good-natured commander. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, punishing the most seditious of their corps in the same manner. But, notwithstanding these signs of remorse and pledges of fidelity, *Germanicus*, glad to get rid of them, ordered them into *Rhætia* to defend that province against the *Suevi*, who were said to be in motion. After this he made a strict inquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his service, his exploits in war, military presents, &c. If the tribunes or his legion were satisfied with his conduct, he kept

Germanicus improves this opportunity

They seize and punish the ring-leaders of the revolt.

Two legions continue obstinate in their revolt. Germanicus proposes to march against them.

his post, if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately discharged. Thus were the first and the twentieth legion intirely reclaimed, and brought back to a sense of their duty. But the fifth and twenty-first, who were in winter-quarters sixty miles off, in a place called *Vetera*, that is, *the old camp* (L), continued obstinate in their revolt, nor was there any wickedness which they did not commit. Against them therefore *Germanicus* resolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by fair means. With this view he prepared vessels and arms, and drew together his troops; but before he put them on board the vessels which were to convey them down the *Rhine*, judging it proper to allow the mutineers time to return to themselves, he wrote a letter to *Cæcina* who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, resolved to put them all to the sword without distinction, if they did not prevent him by taking vengeance themselves on the guilty. This letter *Cæcina* communicated only to the chief officers, and such of the soldiers as had all along disapproved of the revolt, exhorting them at the same time to enter into an association against the seditious, and redeem themselves from death and ignominy, by putting those to the sword who had brought them into the present danger. The officers approved of the proposal, and having, by sounding the legionaries and veterans, found, that the majority disapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately acquainted them with the contents of *Germanicus's* letter, and easily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in sacrificing to their own safety the chief authors of the sedition. The time therefore was settled for falling sword in hand upon the most notoriously guilty and turbulent; and

(L) This place began, no doubt, to be styled *the old camp*, after the *Romans* had formed a new camp in the country of the *Ubii*, or their neighbours the *Vangiones*. *Tacitus* often mentions this camp in his history (18); whence *Cluverius* concludes, that it was not a naked camp, but a considerable town, built on occasion of the stay the *Romans* made there. As it was distant sixty miles from the camp between *Cologne* and *Bon*, the above mentioned writer thinks that the present city of *Santen* stands on the same spot of ground; in which opinion he is confirmed by the description *Tacitus* gives us of *the old camp* (19), which, he says, perfectly agrees with the situation of *Santen*.

(18) *Vide Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 18. c. 21, & alibi.*

(19) *Tacit.*

when it came, upon a signal agreed on before-hand, the faithful legionaries, rushing into the tents of the most seditious, massacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger: nothing was to be heard but dreadful outcries and groans in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be seen but streams of blood and heaps of dead bodies. Neither *Cæcina*, nor any of the tribunes, offered to stop the fury of the enraged soldiery; so that the slaughter was general, and the camp in an instant turned into a shambles: comrades were butchered by comrades, and friends by friends, in the same tents where they used to eat and sleep together. The massacre was scarce ended, when *Germanicus* arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp streaming with blood and filled with carcases, without bursting into tears, and crying out, *This is not a remedy, but slaughter and desolation*. After he had with a flood of tears given vent to his grief, he caused the bodies of the slain to be burnt, and celebrated their obsequies with the usual pomp^d. Thus was this dangerous sedition intirely quelled, discipline re-established, the rebellious legions thoroughly reclaimed, and the supreme power secured to *Tiberius*, by the address and intrepidity of the brave *Germanicus*; who, had his unbounded greatness of mind and unshaken loyalty suffered him to second the ardent wishes of the soldiery, might have easily seized it for himself; for he was the darling of the soldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father *Drusus*, whose memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no body doubting, but he would have restored the republic to her former state, had he succeeded to the empire; nay, the letter he wrote to his brother *Tiberius* about compelling *Augustus* to restore the public liberty, was commonly believed to have been the occasion of his death, as we have observed above. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the same hopes, and thence their zeal for his safety and advancement; but the noble youth himself was the only person who defeated all their measures, and resolutely opposed his own promotion. We shall soon see what return *Tiberius* made him for his unalterable attachment to his person and interest (M).

But they prevent him by punishing the seditious themselves.

The sedition intirely quelled.

The generosity of Germanicus.

IN

^d TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 40-51. DIO. l. lvii. p. 604, &c.

(M) Tacitus tells us, that *Tiberius* was highly blamed at Rome for not going in person to quell the sedition of the mutinous legions. "The rebellion, said they, speaking both of the Panno-

He invades In the mean time, such of the veterans and legionaries as Germany. had been no-ways concerned in the late sedition, in order to give *Germanicus* new proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them against the enemy, who had enjoyed some respite, first by the death of *Augustus*, and afterwards by the intestine tumult in the camp. *Germanicus* complied with their request, and laying a bridge cross the *Rhine*, marched over twelve thousand legionaries, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight *alæ* (N) of horse. With these he traversed the *Cælian*

“ *nian* and *German* legions, has gathered too much strength to be
 “ suppressed by two young princes, whose authority the soldiery
 “ despises. Why does he not go himself to awe the mutineers
 “ with his uncontrouled power? They would, no doubt, return to
 “ their duty at the bare sight of their emperor, a man of great ex-
 “ perience in war, and in whose power alone it is to punish with
 “ severity, and liberally to reward, every one according to his de-
 “ serts. How many journies did *Augustus* take into *Germany*, even
 “ in his old age? And shall *Tiberius*, in the vigour of his, continue
 “ unactive and idle in the city, without any other employment,
 “ but to cavil at the speeches of the senators?” *Tiberius*, though
 not ignorant of these complaints, was determined not to leave *Rome*,
 judging his presence more necessary in the capital, where all affairs
 were transacted, than in the camp. Besides, he was at a loss to
 which army he should repair first, and at the same time afraid, lest
 the last he visited should think themselves affronted, and thence be-
 come more outrageous. To treat them therefore both equally,
 and maintain the majesty of an emperor, which is ever most reve-
 renced at a distance, he thought it safest to visit neither, but to send
 to the one his natural, to the other his adopted, son. Moreover he
 considered, that the two young princes might well refer many
 things to him, which would be gaining time; and that if the mu-
 tineers despised them, his own authority still remained to awe them
 into obedience; whereas if they contemned, in the first transports
 of their rage, the emperor himself, no authority was left to con-
 trol them. However, to obviate the complaints and clamours of
 the people, he gave out, that he designed to visit the rebellious
 armies; and even chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and
 prepared a fleet; but sometimes pretending business, sometimes al-
 ledging the approach of winter, he deceived not only the common
 people, but even the wisest senators.

(N) An *ala*, which we may call a squadron, consisted of three
 hundred horsemen, and was divided into *turmæ* and *decuriæ*, each
turma consisting of thirty men, and each *decuria* of ten; so that
 there were in every *ala* ten *turmæ*, and in every *turma* three *de-
 curiæ*.

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MARE HYPERBOREVM
OR
NORTHERN OCEAN

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SCANDIA
alias
SCANDINAVIA

ANTIEN
GERMANY



Septentrio

INDIA

as

DINAVIA

SINUS
CODANUS
OR

BALTIC SEA

Clitipenus
Sinus

Aestri

SVEVICVM

Lemovii
& Heruli

Rugii

Gothones

Carini

GERMANI

Burii

Logiones

TRANS

VISTVLANI

Marfingi

Osi

Vistula Flu

Carrodunum

Quadi

Eburum

Gothini

Vistula Flu

Carrodunum

Vibantaurium

Ulpidana

Iazyges

Alpes Basternicae

Tibiscus Flu

Therapsus Flu

h. Pruth

PANNONIAE

Adpontem

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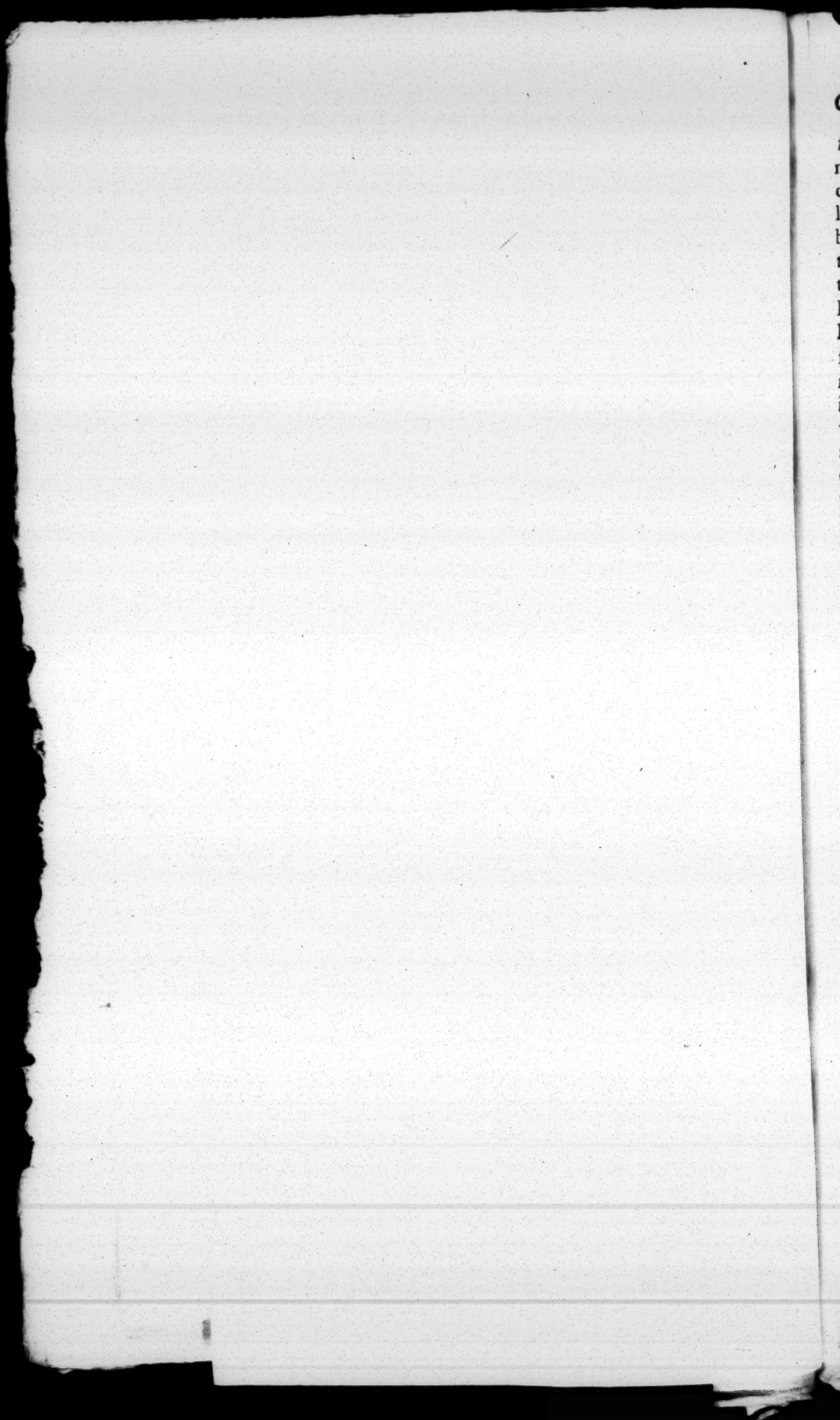
PARS

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forest (O), and other woods lying between him and the enemy; and being informed on his march that the *Germans* were celebrating that night a festival with great mirth and reveling, he advanced with such expedition, having sent *Cæcina* before with the cohorts, to clear a passage through the forest, that he reached the villages of the *Marfi*, before the inhabitants had recovered themselves from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies, and giving them full liberty to make what havock they pleased, sent them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devastation. We may well imagine what slaughter they made of those unfortunate wretches, whom they found scattered here and there, and asleep, some in their beds, others lying by their tables; no sex or age was spared; places sacred and profane were equally plundered and laid in ashes, and among them the temple of *Tanfana* (P), the tutelar god of the *German* nation. In short, the country was wasted with fire and sword fifty miles round, without the loss, nay, without the wound, of a single man on the side of the *Romans* ^c. This general massacre roused

Commits a dreadful havock in the country of the Marfi.

Several German nations, falling upon the Ro-

^c Idem ibid. c. 49—51.

(O) The *Cælian* forest was part of the *Hercynian*, and is placed by *Cluverius* partly in the dutchy of *Cleves*, partly in *Westphalia*, between *Wesel* and *Koefeld*. Some modern critics think, that it was called by the antient *Germans*, not the *Cælian*, (for this, say they, is a *Roman* name) but the *Hesian*, forest, from *Hesus*, the god of war among the antient *Germans* and *Gauls*.

(P) *Gronovius* derives the name of this *German* deity from the words *tan*, or *than*, signifying in the *German* language a *fir-tree*, and *fachna* or *fan*, which in the antient *Gotho-Teutonic* tongue signifies *Lord* or *God*; so that the import of *Tanfana* is *the lord* or *the god of fir-trees*. That author concludes, that the *Tanfana* of the *Germans* was the same as the *Sylvanus* of the *Romans*, and called the god *Tanfana*, or the *god of firs*, because his chief temple was in a forest of *fir-trees* (20), as *Jupiter* was styled by the *Romans*, *Fagutalis*, from a grove of *beeches* consecrated to him, the word *fagus* signifying in *Latin* a *beech* (21). *Lipsius* derives the name of *Tanfana* from the *Flemish* word *taenfanst*, signifying, *the principal* or *first cause of things*; so that the *Germans*, under the name of *Tanfana*, adored, according to him, the supreme being.

(20) Vide *Gron. in Tacit.*
& ult.

(21) Vide *Plin. l. xvi. c. x.*

the *Bruċeri* (Q), the *Tubantes* (R), and the *Uſipetes* (S), who beſetting the paſſes of the foreſt through which the Roman army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into diſorder ; but *Germanicus*, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, That the time was come for them to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late ſedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them ſo briskly, that the *Germans* were broke at the firſt onſet, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. In the mean time, the van-guard, paſſing the foreſt, had time

(Q) The *Bruċeri* are placed by moſt geographers next to the *Friſii*, between the *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, and the lake *Flevus*, now the *Suyderſee*. *Tacitus* ſpeaks of them thus : “ Next to the *Tenċeri* “ dwelt the *Bruċeri*, in whoſe room the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii* “ are ſaid to have ſettled, after having driven out and utterly ex- “ tirpated the *Bruċeri*, with the concurrence of the neighbouring “ nations, either in deteſtation of their pride, or enticed by the “ love of booty, or through the ſpecial favour of the gods towards “ the *Romans*. They were even pleaſed to indulge us the plea- “ ſure of ſeeing the battle, in which there fell above ſixty thouſand “ men, without a blow ſtruck by the *Romans*, &c. May the gods “ continue and perpetuate among theſe nations, if not any love “ for us, yet by all means their animosity and hatred to each “ other, ſince fortune cannot more ſignally befriend us, than in “ ſowing diviſions amongſt our enemies.” As to the time of this general ſlaughter of the *Bruċeri* mentioned here by *Tacitus*, we are quite in the dark ; for this nation was ſtill in being in *Tiberius*’s reign, nay, and many years after *Tacitus*’s time, but probably at a greater diſtance from the *Rhine* ; for they are mentioned by *Eumenius* and *Nazarius* in their panegyrics upon *Conſtantine*, and alſo by the poet *Claudian* (22). The ſlaughter therefore was not ſo general as is by *Tacitus* ſuppoſed (23).

(R) The *Tubantes* poſſeſſed great part of *Weſtphalia*. *Cluverius* places the antient city of *Teclia* mentioned by *Ptolemy*, now *Tecklenburg*, on the borders of the *Tubantes* and *Chamavi*.

(S) The *Uſipetes*, *Uſipii*, or *Uſipetæ*, are placed by *Rhenanus* between the *Rhine* and the mountains of *Heſſe*. In *Cæſar*’s time they bordered upon the countries of the *Sicambri* and *Tenċeri*, of whom we have ſpoken above. *Dion Caſſius* ſeems to place them between the *Rhine* and the *Lupias*, now the *Lippe*, and the *Sicambri* beyond the latter of theſe rivers ; for, in deſcribing *Drufus*’s expedition into *Germany*, he tells us, that he paſſed the *Rhine*, and having ſubdued the *Uſipetes*, laid a bridge over the *Lupias*, and entered the country of the *Sicambri* (24).

(22) *Vide Claud. 4. Conſul Honor. ver. 450. de mor. Ger. c. 33.*

(24) *Dio. l. liv. p. 544.*

(23) *Vide Tacit.*

to form a camp, whither the rest of the army retired to rest themselves that night after so fatiguing a march. The next day they pursued their rout uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter quarters ^f. The fame of these exploits soon reached *Rome*, and filled the city with joy. As for *Tiberius*, he was highly pleased to hear that the sedition was suppressed, and the beginning of his reign signalized by so remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without alloy: *Germanicus*, by finally discharging the veterans, by shortening the term of service for the rest, and by liberally distributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and besides, great glory by his late expedition. This gave the jealous and suspicious emperor great *Tiberius* uneasiness, which, however, he artfully disguised, giving the *jealous of* senate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and *Germanicus's glory* bestowing upon him the highest encomiums. He commended at the same time the address of his son *Drusus* in quelling the sedition of the *Pannonian* legions, in few words, but which seemed dictated by his heart, and more sincere ^g. In short, he spoke of *Germanicus* like an orator, but of *Drusus* like a father. However, he approved whatever *Germanicus* had done, and, to gain the affections of the *Pannonian* legions, extended to them all the privileges which *Germanicus* had granted to his own.

THESE disorders in *Germany* and *Pannonia* and the great *Tiberius's* veneration which the soldiery, as well as the people, had for *excellent Germanicus*, were a great restraint upon *Tiberius*, who now *behaviour* with wonderful art disguised those vices, which afterwards *in the beginning of* displayed themselves so openly. He acted in most things like *his reign* a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, *His modesty* he accepted but few, and those of the meanest sort. He forbade any priests or temples to be decreed for him, or statues erected but by his own permission, which he granted sometimes, upon condition that they should be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houses. He refused the title of *father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Augustus*, though it was hereditary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter aversion. If, in private conversation or public speeches, any thing was said to his praise, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked the speaker. One calling him *Dominus*, or *Lord*, he desired him not to mention him any more in derision. Another calling his employments *sacred*,

^f Idem ibid. c. 52, 53.^g Idem ibid. c. 54.

*His extraordinary
patience.*

he entreated him to change his epithet, and to style them *troublesome*. He would not permit the senate to swear to the observation of his acts, urging against it the instability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raised, the more he was exposed to danger. All slanderous reports, libels, and lampoons, upon him and his administration he bore with extraordinary patience, saying, *That in a free city the thoughts and tongues of every man ought to be free*; and when the senate would have proceeded against some, who had published libels against him, he would not consent to it, saying, *We have not time enough to attend such trifles: if you once open a door to such informations, you will be able to do nothing else; for, under that pretence, every man will revenge himself upon his enemies by accusing them to you*. Being informed that one had spoke very detractingly of him; *If he speaks ill of me*, said he, *I will give him as good an account of my words and actions as I can; and, if that is not sufficient, I will satisfy myself with having as bad an opinion of him as he has of me*. His carriage towards the senate was very respectful;

*His respect
for the senate.*

nothing of moment was transacted without their advice and approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raising or disbanding of forces, the mustering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or granting commissions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of answers to the letters of kings, &c. He never entered into the senate with any attendants but once, when he was brought in, on account of an indisposition, in a litter; and then he immediately ordered his company to withdraw. In the senate he allowed every one to speak his mind with great freedom. Having one day dissented in his opinion from Q. Haterius; *Pardon me, I beseech you*, said he, *if, as a senator, I speak against you with more freedom than ordinary*. Then, turning to the whole assembly, he addressed them thus; *Most venerable fathers, what I say now I have often said before; a good and prudent prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute a power, ought to be serviceable, not only to the senate, and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent of any thing I have said of this nature, having always accounted you, as I still do, my good, just, and most gracious lords*. If in the senate any thing was decreed against his judgment, he did not complain, nor seem the least displeased. He allowed the consuls so much power, that certain ambassadors from *Africa* had recourse to them, desiring they would return them a speedy answer, since *Cæsar*, to whom they had been sent, put them off from day to day.

*And the
consuls.*

When

When the consuls came into the senate, the theatre, or any other place where he was, he always rose up to them, and turned out of the way, if he met them in the streets. He often assisted at the trials in the courts of justice, especially if any criminal was reported to be like to escape by favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and, with a grave air, put the judges in mind of the laws, and the crimes before them. He applied himself with great care to the re-*Applies himself to the reformation of manners.* formation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by which he restrained the immoderate expences of plays and public shows, retrenched the salaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixt number. The prices of *Corinthian* vessels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments to such an excess, that thirty thousand sesterces were paid for three mullets, he complained of these disorders to the senate, and got a law passed, setting bounds to the expences in furniture, and ordaining that the prices of provisions in the markets should be annually regulated by the senate. As to the eating-houses and taverns, which at this time were very numerous in *Rome*, they were all, by *Tiberius's* orders, utterly suppressed; and that he might, by his *His frugality,* own example, countenance frugality and parsimony in others, he had, at his public and most solemn entertainments, meat served up, which had been dressed, and cut up, the day before, contrary to the custom which then obtained, saying, that *every part had the same taste as the whole.* To check the progress of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young noblemen, and also some women of distinction, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the same time revived an antient law, empowering all parents to punish their daughters, even after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought disgrace upon their families. In this particular he was so strict, that, by proclamation, he prohibited the kisses that were, according to custom, given by way of salutation. He seemed intirely averse from loading his people with any new taxes; and when some governors of provinces advised him to raise their taxes, he answered, that *it was the duty of a good shepherd to shear, not to slay, his flock,* and was so far from hearkening to the remonstrances of his presidents and governors, that, instead of raising, he *Lessens the* lessened the tributes that were annually remitted to *Rome taxes,* from the provinces^h. Such was the deportment of *Tiberius*, while his authority was yet wavering; but we shall soon see him pull off the mask, and abandon himself without controul

^h Suet. in Tiber. c. 26—36. Tacit. ibid.
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to those vices, which he now so artfully disguises with the opposite virtues. But to return to the brave *Germanicus* :

THE following year, *Drusus Cæsar* and *Caius Norbanus* being consuls, *Germanicus* made vast preparations, with a design to pursue the war against the *Germans*, and revenge the death of *Varus*, and the slaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the summer; but being informed, that violent dissensions reigned among the enemy, he resolved early in the spring to make an irruption into the country of the *Catti* (T). These intestine

(T) The *Catti* or *Chatti* possessed, as we have hinted above, part of the dutchy of *Brunswick*, of the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, of *Thuringen*, *Hesse*, and the territories of *Fulda*, with the counties of *Schauvemberg*, *Waldeck*, and *Mansfeld*. *Tacitus* speaks of them thus : “ The territories of the *Catti* begin at the *Hercynian* forest, “ and consist not of such wide and marshy plains as those of the “ other communities contained within the vast compass of *Ger-* “ *many* ; but of hills, which, for a long tract, run high and conti- “ guous, then by degrees sink. Moreover, the *Hercynian* forest “ attends for a while its native *Catti*, and then forsakes them. “ They are distinguished with more hard and robust bodies, com- “ pact limbs, stern countenances, and a more sprightly vigour of “ mind. For *Germans*, they are men of much sense and address. “ They commit the government to chosen men, and listen to “ them when set over them. They know how to maintain their “ ranks, to discern occasions, to restrain their own ardour, how “ to employ the day, how to intrench themselves by night. They “ reckon fortune among uncertain things, and valour among such “ as are secure ; and, what is very rare, and never learnt but by men “ inured to discipline, they repose more confidence in the con- “ duct of the general, than in the strength of the army. Their “ whole strength consists in foot, who, besides their arms, carry “ iron tools and their provisions. Other *Germans* take the field equip- “ ped for a battle ; but the *Catti* equipped for a war. They sel- “ dom make excursions, or expose themselves to the dangers of ca- “ sual encounters. It is peculiar to cavalry suddenly to conquer, “ or suddenly to fly. Such haste and expedition borders upon fear : “ wariness and deliberation are more akin to intrepidity.” *Tacitus* adds, that a custom, practised only by some particular persons of other *German* nations, universally obtained among the *Catti* : which is, to let their hair and beards grow till they have slain an enemy, being persuaded, that only by the death of a foe they can acquit themselves of the debt and duty contracted by their birth, and render themselves worthy of their country and parents ; so that the cowardly and unwarlike among them were easily distinguished by their long hair and beards. The most brave likewise wear an iron ring, which is a mark of great dishonour in that nation, as a chain or badge

testine broils, of which *Germanicus* resolved to take advantage, were occasioned by the opposite parties of *Arminius* and *Segestes*, the former the incendiary of *Germany*, and chief author of the insurrection in which *Varus* perished with his legions; the latter a sincere and faithful friend to the *Romans*; nay, he had even given *Varus* notice of the intended revolt, and advised him to secure himself, *Arminius* and the other chiefs assuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not dare to attempt any thing. But the *Roman* general despised his advice, which cost him dear, as we have related above. *Segestes*, tho' forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at constant variance with *Arminius*; and at this time their animosities were heightened by a domestic quarrel, *Arminius* having carried away by force the daughter of *Segestes*, named *Thufneldis*, and married her, tho' already betrothed to another. This attempt gave rise to an open rupture between the two chiefs, of which *Germanicus* no sooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some *German* troops drawn suddenly together, under the command of *Cacina*, ordering him to scour the country, while he himself, at the head of as many legions, and double the number of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the *Catti*; and, falling upon the enemy before they were apprised of his march, put vast numbers of them to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. Most of their youth escaped by swimming over the *Alrana* (U), and attempted to prevent the *Romans* from laying a bridge over that river; but their efforts proving unsuccessful, some of them submitted to *Germanicus*; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; so that the *Romans*, without opposition, laid waste all the open country, set fire to their dwellings, laid *Mattium* (W) their

Germanicus invades and ravages the country of the *Catti*.

badge of slavery, till they set themselves, as it were, at liberty, by killing an enemy (25). However, as *Germanicus* came upon them unawares, they were forced either to submit, or shelter themselves in the woods, that is, in the *Hercynian* forest, which as *Tacitus* has told us, began in their country.

(U) The *Adrana*, now the *Eder*, rises in *Upper Hesse*, waters the county of *Waldeck* and *Lower Hesse*, and falls into the *Fulda* or *Fulden* about two miles above *Cassel*.

(W) *Tacitus* in this place styles *Mattium* the capital of the *Catti*; but elsewhere (26) distinguishes the *Mattiaci* from the *Catti*: The

(25) *Tacit. de mor. German. 30, 31.* (26) *Tacit. histor. l. iv. c. 37.*

their capital in ashes, and then began their march back to the *Rhine*. The *Cherusci* alone made some motions, as if they designed to assist the *Catti* and fall upon the *Romans* in their retreat, but were restrained by *Cæcina*, who, with his army of observation, moved about from place to place, and had even defeated the *Marfi* (X), who had dared to engage him¹.

Germanicus had scarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from *Segestes*, praying relief for that faithful friend to the *Romans* against his and their declared enemy *Arminius*, who had besieged him in his camp. At the head of this embassy was *Segimundus*, the son of *Segestes*, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the *Romans*, *Germanicus* received with great kindness; but sent him, as he could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a strong guard to the frontiers of *Gaul* (Y). As to his request, he readily complied with it, led

¹ Idem ibid. c. 56.

army, said he, was composed of *Catti*, *Usipii*, and *Mattiaci*. Their country according to the accounts of the ancient geographers, was inclosed on all sides by the territories of the *Catti*; whence they are often confounded with them. *Cluverius* and *Cellarius* think, that the situation of *Mattium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Mattiacum*, agrees with that of the present city of *Marpurg*; for it stands on the road leading from mount *Taunus*, now known to the natives by the names of *Der Heyrick* and *Die Hobe*, over-against *Mentz*, to the *Adrana* or the *Eder*, which was the rout *Germanicus* took in this irruption, as *Tacitus* informs us. *Pliny* mentions the hot baths of *Mattium* (27), which all modern geographers take for the hot waters of *Wisbaden* over against *Mentz* or *Moguntiacum*, as it was called by the antients; so that the territories of the *Mattiaci* extended at least from the *Rhine* to the *Eder*. Whether they reached beyond that river, and how far, we know not. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Mattiaci* in his time were friends to the *Romans*. The *Roman* people, says he, have carried the awe and esteem of their empire beyond the *Rhine* and the ancient boundaries. Thus the *Mattiaci*, living on the opposite bank, enjoy a settlement of their own; but by inclination are *Romans* (28).

(X) Part of *Westphalia* and of the bishoprick of *Paderborn* were, according to most of our modern geographers, the ancient habitation of the *Marfi*.

(Y) *Segimundus* had been greatly favoured by the *Romans*, and by them appointed priest of the altar of the *Ubbi*, of which we have spoken above; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the sacerdotal tiara and fled to the revolters. Hence, when his fa-

(27) *Plin* l. xxxi. c. 20.

(28) *Tacit. de mor. Ger.* c. 29, the

led back his army without loss of time to the relief of *Seges-Marchetes*, engaged the besiegers, put them to flight, and rescued *against* that faithful friend of the *Romans*, out of the hands of his *Arminius*, most inveterate enemy. On this occasion the *Romans* took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Thusneldis*, the wife of *Arminius* and daughter of *Segestes*, who had been the chief occasion of the present rupture between the two illustrious families (Z). She was then big with child, and seemed to be concerned only for the fate of her unhappy babe destined

*Whom he
defeats and
takes his
wife prisoner.*

ther declared to him his intention of putting him at the head of the embassy which he was sending to *Germanicus*, he desired at first to be excused; but afterwards trusting to the clemency of the *Roman* general he undertook the execution of his father's orders, and was favourably received by *Germanicus*, but not suffered to return among his countrymen. What became of him afterwards, *Tacitus* does not tell us; but *Strabo* names him among the illustrious captives, who marched before the chariot of *Germanicus*, when he entered *Rome* in triumph (29). If he did not join the rebels a second time, *Germanicus* acted contrary to the law of nations in thus seizing the person of an ambassador, and treating him as if he had been taken in war.

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Germans* carried about with them in all their wars their wives and children, whom they placed near the field of battle, that, by the tears of their wives and the cries of their tender infants, they might be the more encouraged to exert themselves in the defence of those interesting pledges of nature. Their armies, when yielding and ready to fly, have been often prevailed upon to maintain their ground and stand the shock of the enemy, by the importunity and intreaties of their women, presenting their breasts, and putting them in mind of their impending captivity; an evil which they far more dreaded in their women than in themselves. When any of them happened to be so wounded in battle, that they could not continue the fight, they retired to their mothers or wives, who, without being shocked, sucked their bleeding wounds. The wife among them brought no dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife, *viz* a couple of oxen yoked together, a horse accoutred, a shield, a javelin, and a sword. The woman on her part too made her husband a present of some arms. By the mutual approbation and acceptance of these gifts, in the presence of their parents and relations, they were married. The oxen joined in the same yoke, the horse ready equipped, and the present of arms, served to put the woman in mind, that she came to her husband as a partner of his hazards and dangers in war as well as in peace, and that she was not exempt from fighting and exerting her courage in battle for the defence of her husband or country (30).

(29) *Strabo*, l. vii.

(30) *Tacit. ibid. c. 7 & 18.*

Segeſtes's
ſpeech to
Germani-
cus.

to be born in ſlavery. As for her own captivity, ſhe bore it with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without ſhedding a tear, or uttering a word in the ſtyle of a ſuppliant. Among the booty were found *Roman* ſpoils taken from *Varus* and his ſlaughtered legions, and divided among thoſe who were now priſoners. *Arminius* being now put to flight, *Segeſtes* thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer; and accordingly, from a confidence in his ſincere attachment to the *Roman* intereſt, he appeared before *Germanicus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, and, addreſſing him with a majeſtic air, enumerated, with great modeſty, the ſervices he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of *Arminius*; offered his mediation for the *German* nation, if they perhaps would rather chuſe to repent than be deſtroyed; and earneſtly recommended to his known clemency his ſon and daughter, intreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to conſider the latter rather as the daughter of *Segeſtes* than the wife of *Arminius*. *Germanicus* answered with his uſual good-nature and humanity, promiſing to take his ſon, daughter, and all his relations, under his protection, aſſigned to him a ſafe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long ſince ſubject to *Rome*, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of *Arminius* was delivered of a male child * (A).

Arminius
ſtirſ up the
neighbour-
ing nations
againſt the
Romans.

IN the mean time, *Arminius*, more enraged than ever for the loſs of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the *Cheruſci*, inflaming that warlike nation againſt *Segeſtes* and *Germanicus*, and encouraging them to let *Arminius* rather lead them to liberty and glory, than the wicked and treacherous *Segeſtes* to infamy and bondage. His credit, and the bitter invectives he was conſtantly uttering againſt the *Romans*, roused not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the neighbouring nations; nay, *Inguiomerus*, one of the chief lords of the country, and hitherto a friend to the *Romans* and

* Idem. c. 57, 58.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that this child was brought up at *Ravenna*, and promiſes to relate in a more proper place the miſfortunes which beſel him. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, make the ſame promiſe. If *Tacitus* performed his, it was in his books which have not reached our times. We ſhall therefore be the more obliged to thoſe learned writers for the performance of theirs; for we know nothing of this unhappy captive, or his miſfortunes.

in

in high credit with them, though uncle to *Arminius* by the father's side, was drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. *Germanicus*, upon intelligence of so powerful a confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage such numerous forces united, resolved to make a diversion; and with this view detached *Cæcina* at the head of forty Roman cohorts to the river *Amisia*, now the *Ems*, through the territories of the *Bructeri*. The cavalry took another rout, under the conduct of *Pedo* (B), who led them by the confines of the *Frisians* (C). As for *Germanicus* himself, he imbarqued the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and transported them on rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the *Amisia*, where the three separate bodies met. The *Chauci*, as the legions passed through their country, joined them: the *Bructeri*, upon the approach of *Germanicus*, attempted to set fire to their houses and retire; but were restrained by *Stertinius*, who was detached against them. That commander had the good luck to find in the country of the *Bructeri* the eagle of the nineteenth legion lost in the overthrow of *Varus*. The army, now united, pursued their march to the farthest borders of the *Bructeri*, and laid waste the whole country between the rivers *Lupias* and *Amisia*, that is, the *Lyppe* and the *Ems*. As the forest of *Teutoburgium* (D) was

Germanicus marches against him.

(B) It is uncertain whether *Pedo*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, was *Pedo Albinovanus*, or *Pedo Pompeius*. *Seneca* speaks of the latter as a person of great merit (32), and *Ovid* commends the former as an excellent poet. Some fragments of his book intituled *De navigatione Germanici*, have reached our times (33). The elegy he wrote on the death of *Drusus* and inscribed to *Livia* is a master piece of the kind, and worthy of a heavenly poet, as *Ovid* styles him (34). *Joseph Scaliger* ascribes to him the elegy on the death of *Mæcenas*, wherein he disagrees with most other critics. *Vossius* supposes him to have written also epigrams, which he gathers from one of *Martial's* (35).

(C) The country of the *Frisii* was divided into two, called the *Greater* and the *Lesser*. The former lay between the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Weser*. The latter extended along the coast of the ocean on the opposite side of the *Rhine*; but how far, we cannot determine.

(D) The forest of *Teutoburgium*, now *Teuteberg*, lay in *Westphalia* between the *Ems* and the *Lyppe*. The present inhabitants pre-

(32) *Senec. in lud. de morte Claud.* (33) *Senec. suavor. 1.* (34) *Ovid. in Pont. eleg. ult.* (35) *Mart. l. ii. epig. 77.*

Germanicus and his army bury the remains of Varus and his legions.

was not far off, where the bones of *Varus* and the three legions slaughtered with him were said to lie still unburied; *Germanicus*, touched with a tender compassion on their unhappy fate, resolved to march thither and pay them the last offices. Accordingly *Cætina* was sent before to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the forest, and lay bridges over marshy places. The rest of the army followed, and, marching in good order and with great caution, entered the gloomy forest, where they soon discovered the ruins of two *Roman* camps, the one very spacious and capable of containing three legions, the other much less in circumference, which, they concluded, had served for a place of retreat for the small number of legionaries, who had escaped the first day's slaughter. The ramparts of both were half ruined, and the ditches near filled up. The open fields were covered with bleached bones, some separate, some in heaps, as those unhappy men had happened to fall flying singly, or resisting in bodies. In the adjacent groves were seen still standing the altars, where the barbarians had sacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made prisoners. On the trees round the altars were stuck the skulls of those unhappy victims. In *Germanicus's* army there were some who had served under *Varus*, and had the good luck to escape the general slaughter; and these related the particulars of that tragical event to the rest. Here, said they, the commanders of our legions were slain; there our eagles were taken: here *Varus* received his first wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place stood the tribunal, whence *Arminius* harangued his men; in this he caused gibbets to be reared for the execution of his captives, &c. So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the *Romans* and their commander a tender compassion for the fate of their countrymen, friends, and comrades, and at the same time an eager desire of appeasing their manes, with the slaughter of an enemy so cruel and inhuman. With these sentiments they first carefully gathered the bones scattered up and down the fields; and, having dug a deep trench, buried them there six years after the slaughter, *Germanicus* laying the first turf on the common tomb (E). Having thus paid the last

tend to shew the very spot where *Varus* with his legions were cut off. It is a plain in the neighbourhood of a small town called *Horn*, and is known by the name of *Winfeldt*, which it took, they suppose, from the *Germans* winning the field.

(E) *Tiberius* did not approve of this pious office performed by *Germanicus* and his army. Whether it was, says *Tacitus*, that he

put

last offices to their friends, they abandoned that solitude dismal *They ad-*
to their sight and memory, and, full of resentment, advanced *vance a-*
against the author of so many evils, who, understanding that *gainst Ar-*
he was pursued by *Germanicus*, retired, and incamped in an *minius.*
advantageous post close to the woods. The *Roman* general
followed him, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to
advance and dislodge him. *Arminius*, at the approach of
the *Roman* horse, pretended to fly; but wheeling suddenly *Who at*
about, and at the same time giving the signal to a body of *first gainst*
troops, which he had concealed in the forest, to rush out, he *some ad-*
fell upon the enemy with such vigour, that the *Roman* cavalry, *vantage;*
not able to stand the shock, began to give way. *Germanicus* *but in the*
immediately detached some cohorts to their relief; but they *end is de-*
too were soon put in disorder and broken, more by their own *feated.*
men who fled, than by the enemy. *Arminius*, taking advan-
tage of the confusion the *Romans* were in, doubled his efforts,
and would have pushed them into a morass, had not *Germani-*
cus advanced at the head of his legions in order of battle.
Arminius, finding his men already tired, did not think it ad-
viseable to engage the fresh legions, and therefore retired in
good order, leaving the *Romans* masters of the field. *Germa-*
nicus, not judging it safe to pursue the enemy through path-
less woods and forests, contented himself with this small ad-

put a bad construction upon every action of *Germanicus*, or believed,
that the sight of so many *Romans* slain by the enemy, and left thus
unburied, might sink the courage of his men, and heighten their
terror of so dreadful a foe. Besides, *Germanicus* was a member of
the college of the augurs, and of the priests sacred to the deity of
Augustus, and, as such, ought not, according to the ancient rites, to
have been any ways concerned in the ceremonies and solemnities of
the dead, since by them pontiffs, augurs, and priests of all denomi-
nations, were thought to be defiled. Hence *Augustus*, who was
pontifex maximus, pronounced the funeral oration of *Marcellus* with
a veil between him and the corpse, as *Suetonius* informs us, that he
might not be polluted with the sight of it. *Plutarch* tells us, that
Sylla divorced his wife *Metella* a little before she died, and caused her
to be conveyed into another house, that his own, as he was then pon-
tifex and augur, might not be defiled with funeral ceremonies (36).
But we are apt to believe, that *Tiberius* did not, out of any prin-
ciple of religion, find fault with *Germanicus's* conduct; for he little
mattered the gods or their rites, being himself a fatalist, and pos-
sessed with notions of astrology. What displeased him was, that
Germanicus, by so popular an action, had gained the hearts of the
soldiery and *Roman* people.

(36) *Plut. in Sylla.*

vantage, and returned with the army to the river *Amisæ*. There he imbarqued with four legions, ordered *Cæcina* to reconduct the other four by land, and sent the cavalry to the sea-side, with orders to march along the shore to the *Rhine*. Tho' *Cæcina* was to return through roads well known, yet *Germanicus* warned him to pass with all possible speed the caufway called *the long bridges* (F). *Cæcina* made what haste he could ; but nevertheless *Arminius* arrived there before him. This caufway led cross vast marshes, surrounded on all sides with woods and hills, which gently rose from the plain. The woods *Arminius* had already filled with his men, who, [as soon as *Cæcina* approached, rushing out fell upon him with such fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters and slippery ground, were already yielding, and would in all likelihood have been intirely defeated, had not night coming on soon put an end to the combat. The *Germanians*, encouraged with their success, instead of refreshing themselves with sleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courses of the springs rising in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains ; so that the camp, which the *Romans* had begun, was all on a sudden laid under water, and their works overturned. We may well imagine what a melancholy night they passed under these circumstances. We are told, that *Cæcina* himself was terrified with a frightful dream : he thought he saw *Quintilius Varus*, rising out of the marsh besmeared with blood, stretching forth his hand, and calling upon him ; but that he rejected the invitation, and pushed him away. *Cæcina* had served either as a common soldier, or as an officer, forty years, was well experienced in all the vicissitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greatest dangers. Having therefore calmly

*Cæcina is
attacked by
Arminius.*

*And reduced to great
straights.*

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that this caufway was made by *Lucius Domitius*, who, according to that writer, led an army over the *Elbe*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any *Roman* before him, which procured him the ensigns of triumph. Whence we conclude him to have been the grandfather of *Nero* ; for *Suetonius* in his life of that emperor, tells us, that *Lucius Domitius* his grandfather was no less famous for his dexterity in driving chariots, than for the triumphal ornaments which he acquired by his conduct in the *German* war (37). This caufway, according to *Lipsius*, led cross the marshes between *Lingen*, *Wedden*, and *Coeverden*, where some remains of it are still lying under water. These marches are now known to the *Dutch* by the name of *Bretanscheheyde*, that is, *the marshes of Bre-tan* (38).

(37) *Suet. in Ner. c. 4.*

(38) *Vide Lips. in hunc loc. Tacit. weighed*

weighed with himself all proper expedients for the present conjuncture, he at length resolved to attack the barbarians the next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them in a manner besieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had passed the caufway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view at break of day he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the one-and-twentieth in the left, the first in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions posted on the wings, seized with a sudden fear, as soon as day began to appear, deserted their stations, and took possession of a field beyond the marshes. *Cæcina* thought it adviseable to follow them; but the baggage sticking in the mire, as he crossed the marshes, and the soldiers about it being embarrassed and in great disorder, *Arminius* laid hold of this opportunity to begin the attack; and crying out, *This is a second Varus; the same fate attends him and his legions*, he rushed upon them at the head of a chosen body with a fury hardly to be expressed. As he had ordered his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horses, great numbers of them were killed, and the ground becoming slippery with their blood and the slime of the marsh, the rest either fell, or casting their riders and galloping among the ranks, put them into disorder. *Cæcina* on this occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; but his horse being killed under him, he would have been taken prisoner, had not the first legion rescued him. The greediness of the enemy was what saved *Cæcina* and his legions from utter destruction; for while they were already yielding and quite spent, the barbarians all on a sudden abandoned them to seize the baggage. The Romans, during this respite, struggled out of the marsh, and gaining the dry fields, tired as they were, formed with all possible speed a camp there, and fortified it in the best manner they could.

The Romans
seized by the
greediness
of the ene-
my.

AND now the legionaries, quite spent and exhausted, retired to repose themselves a while after so fatiguing a combat. But their repose was soon interrupted by an accident, which, as it caused a general alarm in the camp, shews what fear and terror had seized them. A horse having broken loose and being frightened with the noise, as he strayed about, ran over some who were in his way. As this happened when it was dark, it raised such a consternation among the legionaries, imagining that the Germans had broke into the camp, that they all ran to the gate *Decumena*, which, was farthest from the enemy, in order to make their escape. *Cæcina*, having learned the true cause of this general uproar, endeavoured to stop the fugitives, assuring them, that their fear was quite groundless; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himself at length cross the gate. The

The Ro-
mans sei-
zed with
a panic.

awe and respect they had for their general restrained them from running over his body, and put a stop to their flight; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions satisfied them, that it was a false alarm. Then *Cæcina*, calling them together, told them, that they must be indebted for their lives to their valour; but that their valour ought to be tempered with art; that they must keep close within their camp till the *Germans* attempted to storm it, and then make a sudden sally, break through the enemy, and pursue their march to the *Rhine*. This, he told them, was the only means of retrieving their glory, of saving their lives. In the mean time, it was resolved in the *German* camp, pursuant to the advice of *Inguiomerus*, to attack the *Roman* intrenchments the next morning, no-body doubting, except *Arminius*, but they might be easily forced. That commander, no less prudent than brave, was for suffering the *Romans* quietly to depart, and falling upon them on their march, when embarrassed again amongst forests and marshes. But the advice of *Inguiomerus* prevailing, as soon as it was light, the *Germans* beset the camp, and having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when *Cæcina* ordered the signal to be given to the cohorts, who, sallying out with loud shouts, fell upon the aggressors, and made a dreadful slaughter of them, while they were busy in scaling the intrenchments. The *Germans*, who imagined that few *Romans* were remaining, and had therefore promised themselves an easy victory, were so surprised and frightened at this sudden and altogether unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themselves to a shameful flight. The *Romans* pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. *Arminius* had the good luck to escape unhurt; but *Inguiomerus* was dangerously wounded. After this the *Germans*, as destitute of conduct in distress, as void of moderation in prosperity, appeared no more; so that *Cæcina* pursued his march unmolested to the *Rhine*¹.

The Germans put to flight.

The courageous behaviour of Agrippina

In the mean time, a report being spread, that the *Roman* forces were cut in pieces, and a *German* army in full march to invade *Gaul*, some timorous partizans of *Rome* were for breaking down the bridge which the *Romans* had built over the *Rhine* near *Treves*; but *Agrippina*, who still continued in that city, not giving credit to the public report, opposed with a manly courage the execution of this design, and preserved the bridge. She had soon after the satisfaction to see the legions under *Cæcina*, which were supposed to have met with the same fate as those of *Varus*, arrive, ill-treated indeed and

¹ TACIT. annal. l. i, c. 60—69. DIO. l. lvii. p. 615, & seq. extremely

extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they drew near, this undaunted heroine went out with her son *Caligula* to receive them; and standing at the head of the bridge, commended, as they passed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a most obliging manner; nay, in the absence of her husband, she discharged all the duties of a general, relieved the necessities of the soldiers, bestowed medicines on the wounded, supplied some with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generosity. This behaviour, however commendable, roused the jealousy of *Tiberius*: It is not, said he, against foreigners only that she thus studies to win the affections of the soldiery; she has already given manifest proofs of her aspiring views, in carrying her child, the general's son, about the camp in the habit of a common soldier, with the title of *Cæsar Caligula*. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the distrustful temper of *Tiberius*, and already entertained ambitious designs, which he could not compass without the destruction of *Germanicus's* family, with his groundless and ill-natured suggestions, heightened the emperor's jealousies, and sowed in his mind the seeds of an irreconcilable hatred against *Agrippina*.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, having conveyed the four legions he had with him down the *Amisla* into the ocean, in order to return by sea to the *Rhine*, and finding that his vessels were overloaded, delivered the second and fourteenth legions to *Publius Vitellius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. But this march proved fatal to great numbers of them, either buried in the quick-sands, or swallowed up by the billows and over-flowing tide, to which they were utter strangers. Those who escaped lost their arms, utensils, and provisions, and passed a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained wading up to the chin. The next morning the land returning with the tide of ebb, *Vitellius* with a hasty march reached the river *Ufingis*, which some judicious critics take for the *Hoerenster*, on which stands the present city of *Groeningen*. There *Germanicus*, who had reached that river with his fleet, took the two legions again on board, and conveyed them to the mouth of the *Rhine*, whence they all returned to the city of the *Ubii*, or *Cologne*, when fame had given them for lost. *Germanicus* on his arrival found in that city *Sigimerus*, the brother of *Segetes*, with his son *Sesithacus*, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the Romans, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief authors of the revolt, was kindly received by *Germanicus*; but

The jealousy of Tiberius.

The misfortune of the legions that returned by the sea-side.

Sigimerus a German prince submits to the Romans.

but it was with much ado that he prevailed upon himself to pardon the son, who was said to have insulted the dead body of the unfortunate *Varus*. In this expedition *Germanicus* gained no great advantages, and lost a vast number of men. The greater part of those, who had escaped so many dangers, returned without arms, horses, utensils, &c. half-naked, lamed, and unfit for the service; but the fame of his name and amiable qualities having already filled both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants of these countries strove who should be most forward in supplying him with arms, horses, money, and whatever else was necessary for the prosecution of the war, *Germanicus* thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms, defraying the other charges of the war with his own money. We shall soon see what success attended him in this war: but let us return, in the mean time, to *Tiberius*.

Tiberius affects popularity by various methods.

THOUGH the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave *Germanicus*, yet, glad of his success, he confirmed to him the title of *imperator*, which the legions had bestowed on him, and decreed the triumphal ornaments to *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*, three of his lieutenants, who had distinguished themselves above the rest. To gain to himself the affections of the people, which seemed to centre wholly in *Germanicus*, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered him by the senate, relieving the distressed with great generosity, and easing the inhabitants both of *Rome* and the provinces of several taxes, with which *Augustus* had burdened them. A senator, by name *Pius Aurelius*, his house falling, had recourse to the senate for relief. The prætors of the treasury opposed his suit; but nevertheless *Tiberius*, who, as *Tacitus* observes, was generous upon honest occasions, even after he had renounced all other virtues, ordered him the price of his house. *Propertius Celer*, once prætor, desiring to resign the senatorial dignity, as too burdensome to his small estate, *Tiberius*, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, and not to himself, presented him with a thousand great sesterces. The *Tiber* having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he caused the bed of that river to be cleansed, and appointed, according to *Dion*, five, according to *Tacitus* only two, magistrates of the senatorial order, whose whole business was to watch the overflowing of the *Tiber*, and restrain it within its banks. These magistrates were for diverting the channels of the several rivers and lakes by which it was swelled; but this project met with great opposition in the senate, where it was resolved, that nothing should be altered, the direction of nature, which ap-
pointed

pointed to rivers their courses and discharges, being, as it was suggested, best in all natural things. The provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, begging to be eased of their public burdens, were this year taken from the senate and given to the emperor (G). Hence it is manifest, that the government of the proprætors, who commanded in the provinces immediately subject to the emperor, was less burdensome than that of the præconsuls, who were sent into the senatorial provinces; but in what the one was more chargeable than the other, we are no-where told. Thus *Tiberius* affected popularity; but nevertheless did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of *treason* or *majesty*, with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, since by it those, who wrote or spoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treason. In the times of the republic, says *Tacitus*, actions were punished, but words were free. *Augustus* was the first, as we have related above, who brought words under the penalties of this law; and *Tiberius*, exasperated by satyrical verses dispersed about the city, exposing his cruelty, his pride, and the misunderstanding which already began between him and his mother (H), thought it necessary to revive

*He revives
the law of
majesty.*

(G) *Achaia* and *Macedon* were afterwards restored by the emperor *Caius* to the senate (39). Hence we read in the *AEs*, that *Gallio* was præconsul of *Achaia* at the end of that prince's reign (40).

(H) The verses were as follows;

*Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.
Non es eques, Quare? non sunt tibi millia centum:
Omnia si quæras, & Rhodus exilium est.
Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar:
Incolumi nam te ferrea semper erunt.
Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit ipse cruorem.
Tam bibit hunc avidè, quam bibit ante merum.
Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam:
Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.
Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,
Nec semel infectas adspice cæde manus.
Et dic, Roma perit: regnabit sanguine multo.
Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio (41).*

(39) *Dio. ibid. p. 258.*
In Tiber. c. 59.

(40) *AE. xviii. v. 12.*

(41) *Suet.*

Several
persons ac-
cused and
acquitted.

this dreadful law ; a law which occasioned under him and his successors so much bloodshed in *Rome* and all the parts of the empire. He did it, however, with great address, and freely forgave the first criminals ; for, being asked by *Pompeius Ma-cer* the prætor, whether, in the execution of his office, he should proceed against the authors of libels as guilty of treason, he answered, *The laws must be executed.* *Tiberius's* answer was no sooner known, than several persons were prosecuted upon this law, the emperor having, as he was naturally suspicious and distrustful, his spies and emissaries dispersed all over the city. Some of these accused *Falanius*, a *Roman* knight, of having admitted into his house, where he had erected an altar in honour of *Augustus*, among the other adorers of the deified emperor, one *Cassius* a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another, viz. that having sold his gardens, he had sold with them the statue of *Augustus*. *Rubrius*, another *Roman* knight, was charged with swearing falsely by the divinity of *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, well satisfied with having restored this law to its former vigour, and by that means checked the freedom of speech, and the licentiousness of libellers, would not allow any punishment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals ; but wrote to the consuls, that the senate, in bestowing divine honours on his father, did not intend thereby to lay a snare for the people ; that his mother *Livia* had never excluded *Cassius*, nor others of his profession, from the scenic sports, which she consecrated to the memory of *Augustus* ; that it did not affect religion to comprehend his statue, as well as the images of other gods, in the sale of houses and gardens ; that as to the swearing falsely by his name, it was a crime of the same nature, as if *Rubrius* had profaned the name of *Jupiter* : but that it belonged to the gods to punish affronts offered to the gods. By these answers, judicious in themselves, and in appearance full of clemency and moderation, *Tiberius* hoped to decline the odium, which the revival of such a dangerous and ensnaring law carried along with it. But, notwithstanding all his art, it was not long ere he betrayed his real intention, and plainly shewed, that he designed to make more account of such informations than he would then have believed ; for soon after *Granius Marcellus*, prætor, or rather proprætor, of *Bithynia*, being charged with high treason of this nature by his own quæstor *Cæpio Crispinus*, *Tiberius*, in a manner forgetting himself, flew into a violent passion, and in that sudden transport was for condemning without further inquiry the pretended criminal. *Marcellus* was accused of having spoke with disrespect of the emperor ; and the accuser, to render his ac-cusation

cusation more credible, collecting whatever was most detestable in the prince's character, alledged it as the expressions of the accused. To this he added, that *Marcellus* had placed his own statue higher than those of the *Cæsars*; and that having taken the head from off the statue of *Augustus*, he had placed the head of *Tiberius* in its room. This enraged him to such a degree, that, no longer able to dissemble his resentment, he cried out, That he would himself in this cause give his vote openly and upon his oath. Hereupon *Gneius Piso* asked him, *In what place, Cæsar, will you chuse to give your opinion? If first, I shall have your example to follow; if last, I am afraid I may disagree with you.* These words touched *Tiberius* to the quick; nevertheless he bore them patiently, being ashamed of his transport, and suffered *Marcellus* to be acquitted of high treason ^m (HH). It was not out of any principle of religion, nor from any regard to *Augustus*, that *Tiberius* was for punishing the supposed crimes against his godhead, but because he apprehended the same affronts might be one day offered to himself. We shall see in the course of this history with what an extravagant and inviolable sanctity the statues and images of *Augustus* and the other emperors were invested, and what a source for informations, punishments, confiscations, &c. was opened by the worship paid to them.

An unwary transport of Tiberius.

THE dissensions of the theatre, which had begun the year before, broke out now with great violence, and rent almost the whole city into factions and parties, some protecting one player, and some another; nay, the opposite parties often came to blows, and turned the play-house into a field of battle. In one of these frays, several, not of the people only, were killed, but of the soldiers who attended in the play-house

Dissensions of the theatre.

^m TACIT. *ibid.* c. 73, 74.

(HH) *Suetonius* tells us, that he was condemned. His words are: "About the same time the prætor having asked him, Whether he would have the judges to hear and determine matters of high treason, he replied, *The laws must take their course*, and he was as good as his word, for from that time they were executed with the utmost severity. A certain person having taken the head from off the statue of *Augustus*, with a design to put upon it the head of another, the matter was brought before the senate; and because the fact was not clear, recourse was had to the rack. The guilty person being condemned, this kind of calumny became by degrees so dangerous, &c." The person arraigned, and, according to *Suetonius*, condemned, could be no other than *Granius Marcellus*.

*Laws for
the curbing
of the in-
solence of
players.*

and at the gate to prevent disturbances, and among them a centurion ; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to secure the magistrates from insults, and to quell the licentious rabble. The senate took this affair into consideration, and several expedients were proposed for the preventing of such riots. The majority were for empowering the prætors to whip the players, who, as was supposed, were the chief authors of these tumults. But *Haterius Agrippa*, tribune of the people, opposed this motion, alledging, that *Augustus*, upon a certain occasion had declared, that players should not be whipt ; and indeed that emperor, who took great delight in such diversions, had, as *Suetonius* informs us ⁿ, and we have hinted above, restrained the power of punishing the players, which, by an antient law, the magistrates had till that time exercised over them in all places and ages. *Asinius Gallus* with great sharpness reprimanded the tribune for his opposition ; which, however, prevailed, out of respect to *Augustus*, whose laws were to be inviolably observed. In order therefore to curb the insolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the senate, curtailed ; and it was moreover enacted, that no senator should visit a player, that no *Roman* knight should attend them abroad, and that they should act no-where but in the theatre or public play-house. What gave occasion to this decree was, the great court which the nobility paid them ; for not only the people, but knights and senators, as *Pliny* informs us ^o, attended their levees, and waited upon them when they went abroad. Hence *Seneca* called the nobility of his time *the slaves of the pantomimes* ^p. They acted not only in the public theatre, but in private houses, gardens, &c. drawing after them vast crowds, and by that means heaping up immense wealth. The above-mentioned decrees of the senate were therefore well calculated to humble their pride, and check that insolence which naturally arises, especially in persons of a mean condition, from wealth and honours. As to the spectators, the prætors were empowered to punish with banishment such of them as should raise the least disturbance in the theatre ^q. Thus was an end put for a while to these riots and tumults. This year *Tiberius* discharged the legacies which *Augustus* had left to the people ; but sullied the glory, naturally accruing from so plausible and popular an action, by another equally base and cruel ; for as he seemed not to be in haste to satisfy the people, a merry jester seeing a dead body

ⁿ Suet. in Aug. c. 45. ^o Plin. l. xxix. ^p Senec. epist. 47. ^q Tacit. ibid. c. 77.

carried by to the grave, accosting the bier, and pretending to whisper in the ear of the deceased, said aloud, *Remember to let Augustus know, that the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet paid.* This pleasantry being related to *Tiberius*, he commanded the jester to be brought to him; and, *punishes a* having paid him his full due, caused him to be put to death immediately, telling him, That he should go himself to *Augustus*, *joke with death.* since he could give him fresher accounts than the deceased. However, a few days after, he paid the legacy ^r. This same year, the people intreating him to ease them of the tax of one *per cent.* established at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities; he declared by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army (I) depended intirely upon this tax; and that even thus the republic would not be able to defray the vast charges attending the final dismissal of veterans before the twentieth year of their service. By this decree, *Revokes* the concessions made to the soldiery, during the late sedition, *the concess-* were implicitly revoked, and they obliged to serve twenty *sions grant-* years as before, instead of sixteen ^r. Thus *Tiberius*, even *ed to the* while he was studying to win the hearts of the people and *soldiery.* soldiery, gave them just motives to complain of his present, and to dread his future, behaviour. Let us now leave *Tiberius* for a while, and return to *Germanicus*.

THAT brave prince spent the winter, when *Sisenna Stati-* *Germani-* *lius* and *Lucius Scribonius Libo* were consuls, in vast prepara- *cus under-* tions for another expedition into *Germany*, having his heart and *takes ano-* mind wholly bent on the entire reduction of that vast conti- *ther expe-* nent. He weighed with himself the methods he had hitherto *dition into* *Germany.*

^r SUT. in Tiber. c. 57.^r TACIT. ibid. c. 78.

(I) This fund is called, by *Suetonius*, *ærarium militare*, the military treasury: "That the soldiers, says that writer, speaking of *Augustus*, when discharged, might not be tempted to raise disturbances by their age and poverty, he assigned to each of them an allowance according to the time and quality of their service; and that the provision allotted them might be easy and perpetual, he established a military treasury, and imposed new tributes for their maintenance (41)". The superintendency of this fund was committed to three persons, as *Dio* informs us (42), who had been prætors, chosen by lot, and continued in the office three years. They were styled *prefects*, or *superintendants*, of the military treasury, as we gather from the following inscription on an ancient marble found in *Samnium*: *L. Neratio C. F. Vol. Proculo, Præ. Ærari. Militaris.*

(41) Suet. in Aug. c. 49.

(42) Dio. l. lv. p. 565.

performed in that war, the misfortunes and successes which had attended him since he first undertook it, and finding that the *Germans* were chiefly indebted for their safety to their woods and marshes, to their short summers and early winters, and that his own men suffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he resolved to enter the country by sea, hoping by that means to begin the campaign earlier and surprise the enemy. Having therefore built, with great dispatch during the winter, a thousand vessels of different sorts (K), early in the spring *Germanicus* ordered them to fall down the *Rhine*, appointing the Island of the *Batavians* (L) for the place of the general rendezvous; as the most convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to those parts of *Germany* which he designed to invade. While the fleet sailed *Germanicus* detached *Silius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a sudden irruption into the country of the *Catti*, and in the mean time he himself, upon intelligence that a *Roman* fort upon the *Lupia*

(K) Some of these vessels, says *Tacitus*, were short, sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle. Vessels of this kind are still in use among the *Dutch*. Some had flat bottoms, that they might run a-ground without danger. Several had rudders at each end, that the rowers might, only by turning their oars, work them either way. This kind of vessels, now no longer in use, *Tacitus* describes in his book of *the manners of the Germans*, and likewise in his history, where he styles them *cameræ* (42).

(L) *Tacitus* describes the island of the *Batavians*, thus: The *Rhine*, says he, flowing in one chanel, or only broken by small islands, is divided at its entering *Batavia*, as it were into two rivers. One continues its course through *Germany*, retaining the same name and violent current, till it falls into the ocean. The other, washing the coast of *Gaul*, with a broader and more gentle stream, is called by the inhabitants *Vabales*; which name it soon changes for that of the *Mosa*, by the immense mouth of which river it discharges itself into the same ocean; so that, according to *Tacitus*, the island of the *Batavians* was bounded by the ocean, the *Rhine*, and the *Vabales*, now the *Wael*. *Cæsar* extends it to the *Mosa* or *Meuse* (43); but *Pliny* agrees with *Tacitus* (44). However, the island of the *Batavians* was of greater extent in *Tacitus's* time than in *Cæsar's*, *Drusus*, the father of *Germanicus*, having by a new canal, conveyed the waters of the *Rhine* into the ocean a considerable way north of the former mouth of that river. By this means the antient chanel being dried and filled up, the island of the *Batavians* extended to the new canal (45).

(42) *Tacit. hist. l. iii.*

(43) *Cæs. comment. l. iv. c. 10.*

(44) *Plin. l. iv. c. 15.*

(45) *Vide Cellar. geograph. antiq. l. ii.*

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was besieged by the enemy, hastened with six legions to its relief. *Silius* was prevented by sudden rains from doing more than taking some small booty, with the wife and daughter of *Arpus* prince of the *Catti*; neither did those who had invested the fort stay till *Germanicus* arrived, but upon the news of his approach, breaking up the siege, fled and dispersed. However, in their retreat, they threw down the monument lately raised in honour of *Varus* and his legions, and also an altar formerly erected to *Drusus* (M). The altar *Germanicus* restored, and performed with the legions the funeral ceremony of running round it to the honour of his father, according to the antient custom (O); but not thinking fit to set up the monument again, he fortified with new works the whole space between the fort, which the enemy had besieged, the *Aliso*, now the *Yssel*, and the *Rhine* (P). In the mean time, the fleet arriving at the island of the *Batavians*, the provisions and warlike engines were put on board and sent forward; ships were assigned to the legions and allies, and the whole army being imbarqued, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by *Drusus*, and from his name called *Fossa Drusiana*, or the canal of *Drusus* (Q). Here the pious general

He imbarques his army.

(M) *Dio* and *Suetonius* tell us, that a monument was erected in honour of *Drusus* upon the banks of the *Rhine*. Some writers place the altar mentioned here close to this monument, and both at *Mentz*; but it is manifest from this passage in *Tacitus*, that the altar stood not on the *Rhine*, but between that river and the *Lippe*.

(O) The ceremony of celebrating the funerals of great Men with races, was practised in *Homer's* time, and is described by most of the antient poets, among the rest very minutely by *Statius* (46). *Livy* tells us, that this ceremony obtained even amongst the *Carthaginians* (47).

(P) Some commentators take *Aliso* to be the name of the fort, and read *Tacitus* thus, *cuncta inter castellum Alisonem, & Rhenum, &c.* but *Vertranius*, *Freinshemius*, and *Lipsius*, *cuncta inter castellum, Alisonem, & Rhenum*, more agreeable perhaps to what we read in *Dion Cassius*, who tells us, that *Drusus* built a fort at the conflux of the *Lupia* and the *Aliso* (48). The latter river, now known by the name of *Alme*, runs at a small distance from the city of *Paderborn*.

(Q) The *Fossa Drusiana* was a canal cut by *Drusus* to convey the waters of the *Rhine* into the *Sala*, now the *Sale*, and from thence through the lake *Flevus* into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the present village of *Iseloort*, to the town of *Doesburg*,

(46) *Stat.* l. vi.(47) *Liv.* l. xxxv.(48) *Dio* l. liv.

and

neral did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beseeching him to encourage with his example, and inspire with wholesome counsels, his son, who was following his footsteps. Hence he sailed prosperously through lakes (R) and the ocean to the *Amisia* or *Ems*, and having landed his troops at the mouth of that river (S), marched strait to the *Visurgis* or *Wefer*.

and was very convenient for the conveying of the *Roman* troops by water, to the countries of the *Frisi* and the *Chauci*. It was this convenience that put *Drusus* upon such an undertaking. By means of this new canal the *Rhine* came to have three branches, and to discharge itself into the ocean by three separate and distant mouths, of which the northern was called *Ostium Flevum*, the western *Ostium Helium*, and the middle *Ostium Medium* or *Ostium Rheni*. *Cæsar*, in describing the course of the *Rhine*, says, that it discharges itself into the Ocean by many mouths; but he was therein mistaken, depending probably on the accounts of others, or taking the canals, which were cut for the draining of the neighbouring lands, for mouths of the *Rhine*. It was well known to the geographers of his time, that the *Rhine* emptied itself into the ocean by two mouths only; for *Strabo*, who maintains this opinion, confirms it with the authority of *Afinius Pollio*, who was contemporary with *Cæsar* (47). Hence *Virgil* gives the *Rhine* the epithet of *bicornis*, or *two-horned*. By means of the canal cut by *Drusus* between the north branch of the *Rhine* and the *Sala*, these two rivers ran in one chanel, to the lake *Flevus*, and from thence emptied themselves into the ocean. This mouth was called *Ostium Flevum*. *Tacitus* and *Mela*, who wrote after *Drusus*'s time, mention only two mouths, viz. the *Flevum* and *Helium*, the middle one being very inconsiderable, and almost quite choaked up, after the stream was by the *Fossa Drusiana* conveyed into the *Sala*.

(R) From this and several other passages in *Tacitus*, it is manifest, that, in former times, there were several lakes in this country, though at present there is but one, called in the language of the country, *the South Sea*.

(S) In this place *Tacitus* charges *Germanicus* with two oversights. The first is, that he landed his troops too near the mouth of the river, by which means they suffered much upon the return of the tide, which reached and overflowed the plain where they landed. The other is, that he landed them on the wrong side of the river, so that many days were spent in making bridges. That *Germanicus* not yet well acquainted with the flux and reflux of the ocean, was guilty of the first mistake, is not unlikely; but that he should land his men on the side of the river most remote from the enemy, and then consume many days in making bridges to convey them over, is a blunder so palpable and notorious, that

(47) *Strabo*. l. iv. p. 133.

Wefer. While he was incamping on the banks of that river, news was brought him, that the *Angrivarii* (T) had revolted behind him. Hereupon he immediately dispatched a body of horse and light-armed foot against them, under the command of *Stertinius*, who with fire and sword spread desolation throughout their country. In the mean time, the famous *Arminius*, being informed of *Germanicus*'s design, appeared on the opposite bank of the *Visurgis* (U) at the head of his *Cherusci*, determined to dispute with the *Romans* the passage of the river. However, before hostilities began on either side, he asked, whether *Germanicus* was come; and being answered that he was, he begged leave to speak with his brother, who under the name of *Flavius*, had long served in the *Roman* army, and had lost an eye in fighting under *Tiberius*. His request being granted, *Flavius* advanced; *Arminius* having first saluted him and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, desired that the *Roman* archers, who were drawn up close to the bank of the river, might likewise retire. When they were removed, *How came you, brother, by this deformity in your countenance?* said *Arminius*. *Flavius* having told him in what place and battle he had lost his eye; *And what reward, asked Arminius in the next place, have you received for so dangerous a warfare? Increase of pay,* answered *Flavius*; *a crown, a chain, and other military gifts;* which *Arminius* treating with derision and styling the vile wages of slavery, a warm contest arose between the two brothers, the one extolling the greatness of the *Romans*, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the *Roman* clemency to such as submitted, the kind treatment of the wife

we could hardly charge with it the most unthinking man of his army, much less a person of his penetration and forecast. We shall therefore conclude, without entering into the long and tedious disputes of the critics, that this passage is not genuine, but has been some way or other maimed and corrupted.

(T) The *Angrivarii* had often changed their habitation, as *Tacitus* informs us (48); but at this time dwelt, as is manifest from the passage before us, between the *Amisæ* and *Visurgis*. Some modern geographers think, they possessed part of the present province of *Overyssel*, of the county of *Bentheim*, and of the diocese of *Paderborn*.

(U) The *Visurgis*, as *Lipsius* observes in this place, is chiefly indebted to *Tacitus* for its fame, and *Tacitus* for his to the *Visurgis*; for in a monastery on this river, were found the five first books of his annals, after they had been long looked upon as lost.

(48) *Tacit. de mor. German. c. 33.*

and son of *Arminius*, not used like captives, &c. *Arminius*, on the other hand, alledged the rights of their common country, their ancient liberty, the gods of their ancestors, beseeching him by their common mother not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country, to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have come to blows, had not *Stertinius* laid hold of *Fluvius*, and, calling for his horse and armour, restrained him. On the opposite bank, *Arminius*, swelled with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the *Romans* as he departed with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many *Latin* words, which he had learnt while he served as general of his countrymen in the *Roman* armies^c.

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the soldiery.

THE next day, the *German* army appeared on the opposite bank of the *Visurgis* in order of battle. But *Germanicus*, not thinking it adviseable to attack them, ordered the horse to ford over under the conduct of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, to divide the enemy's forces, crossed the river in distant places. At the same time *Cariovalda*, leader of the *Batavians*, passed it where it was most rapid; but being drawn into an ambuscade by the enemy and surrounded on all sides, he fell under a shower of darts, while he was with incredible bravery attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the *Batavian* nobility fell round him; the rest were saved either by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, upon the first notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their distressed allies. *Germanicus* having, during this skirmish, passed the *Visurgis* without molestation, was informed by a deserter, that *Arminius*, being joined by several *German* nations, had resolved to attack his camp by night. Hereupon the *Roman* general sent out scouts to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noise of men and horses, and discerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Then *Germanicus*, no longer doubting, but they designed to venture a decisive battle, in order to be informed in this critical conjuncture of the real inclinations of his soldiers, and not to depend on the reports of the tribunes and centurions, who were often apt to conceal the truth and relate only what was pleasing, in the beginning of the night went out of the prætorium in disguise, only with one attendant; and listening from tent to tent to the discourses of the soldiery, while over their meals they frankly disclosed their hopes and fears, he had the satisfaction

^c TACIT. *ibid.* c. 5—10.

to hear his own praises in every one's mouth, and the soldiers encouraging each other to exert themselves in the approaching battle, out of gratitude to so deserving a general. While *Germanicus* was thus agreeably employed, one of the *Germans*, who spoke *Latin*, riding up to the *Roman* intrenchments, offered, in the name of *Arminius*, to every deserter a wife, land, and a hundred sesterces a day, as long as the war lasted. This offer the legions looked upon as an affront; and, full of rage and resentment, *Let day come*, said they, *we will seize their lands, we will take, not receive, German wives*. About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the *Romans* ready to receive them, they retired without discharging a single dart. Early next morning, *Germanicus*, having assembled his troops, acquainted them with his design, which was to put an end to so fatiguing a war with a decisive battle; made them sensible of their advantage over the enemy both as to their arms and manner of fighting; represented the *Germans* as men of a frightful aspect, and violent in the beginning of a battle; but disheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own disgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in distress, in prosperity despisers of all divine and human laws. In the end of his speech he exhorted his men to put an end to so great fatigues by sea, to their tedious marches by land, by making him conquer in those very countries, where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inspired the whole army with great ardour, which was expressed with a general shout and loud acclamations. Neither did *Arminius* and the other *German* chiefs neglect to animate their respective corps, and encourage them, either to maintain by their bravery the liberty they had received from their ancestors, or to prevent slavery by a glorious death. Having thus animated their men, they led them calling for battle into a plain called *Indistavifus* (W), which was bounded on one side by the *Visurgis*, and on the other by a ridge of hills. Behind this plain was a forest of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of bushes below. The *Germans* were all drawn up on the plain and at the entrance of the forest, except the *Cherusci*, who were posted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the *Romans* from thence in the heat

Germanicus encourages his men.

(W) *Lipsius*, who surveyed with great care, and no less pleasure, the places here described by *Tacitus*, takes the plain called by him *Indistavifus* to be that plain, which begins at a village called *Vege-sack*, about two *German* miles from the city of *Breme*, and extends a great way towards the sea, between a ridge of hills and the *Weser*.

*He engages
the enemy.*

of the fight. *Germanicus* had scarce entered the plain with his troops in battle array, when he observed the *Cherufci*, impatient of delays, pouring down the hills. Hereupon he commanded a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, and at the same time detached *Stertinius* with the rest of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about and fall upon their rear (X). In the mean while, the *Roman* infantry advancing attacked the enemy in front with such vigour, that the *Germanians*, not able to stand the shock, immediately gave ground. Those who were posted at the entrance of the forest fled to the plain, and those in the plain to the forest. The *Cherufci* alone maintained the fight, being encouraged by the example of the valiant *Arminius*, who, though wounded, would have broke through the *Roman* archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the *Rhætiens*, *Vindelicians*, and *Gauls*, hastened to their relief. However, by his own valour and the swiftness of his horse, he escaped the present danger, having first dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the *Chauci*, who served in the *Roman* army, having known him, suffered him to retire unmolested. The same bravery or connivance procured *Inguiomerus's* escape; the rest were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to swim cross the *Visurgis*. The slaughter lasted from morning till night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. Among the spoils chains were found, which they had brought, not doubting of success, to bind the *Roman* captives. The *Romans* were no sooner returned from the pursuit, than *Germanicus*, ascribing the whole glory of so remarkable a victory to *Tiberius*, under whose auspices he had fought, caused him to be proclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and, raising a mount, placed upon it as trophies the arms of the enemy, and inscribed underneath the names of the conquered nations^a.

*The Ger-
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slaughter.*

THE *Germans*, though vanquished, and already determined to abandon their country and seek for shelter beyond the *Albis* or *Elbe*, were so enraged at the raising of this mount, which they looked upon as an affront not to be born, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again,

^a Idem ibid. c. 11---13.

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that as the troops were marching towards the enemy, eight eagles were seen to fly towards the wood and enter it; which *Germanicus* looking upon as a presage of victory, *Advance*, he cried, *follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar gods of the legions.*

people,

people, nobility, young and old, all in a confused body, rushed suddenly upon the *Romans*, like men in despair, and put them, as they were on their march and under no apprehension of an enemy, into some disorder. Being repulsed, they incamped in a plain shut in between a river and a forest; the forest was surrounded by a deep marsh, except on one side, which was inclosed by a broad rampart raised formerly by the *Angrivarii*, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the *Cherusci*. In this plain the enemy posted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall upon the rear of the *Roman* army, as soon as they had entered the forest. *Germanicus*, being informed of their design and every step they took, ordered *Seius Tubero*, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other himself to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke easily in; but the attack of the rampart cost *Germanicus* dear, the *Germans* defending it with great boldness and intrepidity. However, having at length, by showers of darts, poured upon the enemy from his engines, beat them off and taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a most dreadful havock of the enemy, who fought indeed with as much courage as the *Romans*, but could not, for want of room, manage their long spears. However, they made a most vigorous resistance, and disputed the ground inch by inch. *Arminius* did not on this occasion exert his usual activity, being disabled and weakened by a wound he received; but *Inguimerus*, with great intrepidity flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. *Germanicus*, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and animated his men to pursue the slaughter; *No quarter*, he cried; *we want no captives, nothing but an utter destruction of these perfidious nations will put an end to the war.* However, as the day was already far spent, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the rest continued the slaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This second victory was entirely owing to the foot, for the horse fought with doubtful success. *Germanicus*, having from his tribunal commended his victorious troops, of the arms taken from the enemy formed a monument with this inscription: TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS, THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING ENTIRELY VANQUISHED THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ALBIS,

A second battle.

The Germans defeated anew.

The Angrivarii submit.

Germanicus returning by sea suffers a violent storm.

His great concern.

Recovers many of his men.

CONSECRATES THIS MONUMENT. He made no mention of himself, either to avoid giving umbrage to *Tiberius*, or because he thought the recording of the fact a sufficient testimony of his valour and conduct. After this he detached *Stertinius* against the *Angrivarii*, who by a ready submission prevented the calamities that threatened them. *Germanicus*, no less compassionate than brave, pardoned them without reserve, and suffered them to live quietly, according to their own laws, under the protection of *Rome* w.

As the summer was already far spent, *Germanicus* with the reduction of the *Angrivarii* put an end to the campaign, sending some of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and imbarquing himself with the others on the *Amisia* in order to return by sea. The ocean proved at first very calm and the wind favourable; but all on a sudden a storm arising, the fleet, consisting of a thousand vessels was dispersed; some of them were swallowed by the waves, others dashed in pieces against the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhospitable islands, where the men either perished with famine, or lived upon the flesh of the dead horses, with which the shores appeared soon strewed; for in order to lighten their vessels and disengage them from the shoals, they had been obliged to throw over board their horses and beasts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The galley of *Germanicus* alone landed on the coast of the *Chauci*, where the good-natured general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-soldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, keeping his eyes stedfast on the sea, in hopes of descrying some of the dispersed vessels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accusing himself as the author of this dreadful havock; nay, distracted with grief, he would have thrown himself headlong into the deep, had not his friends with much ado restrained him. At length to his infinite satisfaction he discovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very bad condition, some of the vessels being without oars, others without sails, using in their stead the soldiers cloaks; many were quite disabled, and towed by such as had suffered less. The latter he caused to be immediately repaired, and dispatched them to the neighbouring islands in quest of his dispersed legionaries. By this means the greater part of them were at length brought back. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately submitted, to give *Germanicus* on this occasion an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours, and restored them. Some

w Idem ibid. c. 21, 22.

who had been driven into our island, were generously sent back by the petty kings, who at that time reigned here * (Y).

UPON the news of this wreck, the *Catti*, taking new courage, ran to arms; but *Caius Silius*, detached against them with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, kept them in awe. As for *Germanicus* himself, at the head of a more numerous body, he made a sudden irruption into the country of the *Marfi* (Z), where he was informed by one *Malovendus*, who had once commanded their troops, but had lately taken party with the *Romans*, that the eagle of one of *Varus's* legions was concealed under ground in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a small body of troops. This intelligence filled *Germanicus* with joy: he immediately dispatched two parties, the one to face the enemy and draw them from their post, the other to fall upon their rear and dig up the eagle. Success attended both, and the *Roman* general, having ravaged and laid waste the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph; he then returned to the frontiers of *Gaul*, and there put his troops into winter-quarters, having by this glorious and successful expedition, retrieved, in some degree, the glory of the *Roman* name, and balanced his late misfortune at sea^y. He hoped in one campaign more to complete the reduction of *Germany*, and, in order to keep up the spirit of the soldiery, and encourage them to pursue with alacrity that great work, he made good at his own expence all the losses they had sustained in the late storm, causing as much to be paid to each legionary as each declared he had lost.

BUT, in the mean time, *Tiberius*, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his nephew acquired, by his repeated victories over the *Germans*, and his popularity, resolved to separate him from his old and faithful legions. In order

* Idem, c. 23, 24.

^y Idem, c. 25.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that those who came from distant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with strange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never before heard of, of sea-monsters, which from their ambiguous forms appeared to be a new species between men and beasts. Travellers we find have ever been apt to magnify what they have seen, and relate what they have never seen.

(Z) Before the canal, of which we have spoken above, was cut by *Drusus*, the *Marfi* inhabited part of the territories of *Veluwe* and *Zutphen*, where the present cities of *Arnhem*, *Grolle*, and *Bredfort* stand: but afterwards they settled between the *Rhine* and *Isala*, and in process of time changed the name of *Marfi* for that of *Marjaci* or *Marfatti*.

to

to this, he pressed him by frequent letters to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph decreed him : he urged, that he had already undergone dangers enow ; that though success had attended him, yet he had sustained great losses, which indeed were owing to no fault of his, but to the winds and waves ; that he himself, having been sent nine times into *Germany* by *Augustus*, had more by policy than force of arms brought the *Sicambri* into subjection, and drawn the *Suevi* and *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* to conclude a peace with *Rome* : he added, that the *Cherusci* and other barbarous nations, now the *Romans* had been fully revenged on them, might be left to pursue their domestic feuds and destroy one another. *Germanicus*, in answer to the emperor's letters, earnestly intreated him to indulge him but one year more to complete his conquest, since the enemy were already concerting measures for obtaining peace. *Tiberius* was inflexible ; in order therefore to intice him home, he offered him a second consulship, adding in his letter, that if the war was still to be pursued, he ought to have some regard for his brother *Drusus*, and not ingross all the glory to himself ; that *Rome* had at present no other enemies to wage war with but the *Germans*, and *Drusus* no other field of glory but *Germany*. Though *Germanicus* was well apprised, that these were but specious pretences, suggested by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign ; however, finding it was in vain to persist any longer, he complied at length, and, leaving *Germany*, set out for *Rome* with his wife and children. But, before we speak of the reception he met with from *Tiberius* and the *Roman* people, we shall give a succinct account of what passed in the metropolis, while he was signalizing himself in *Germany*.

Sets out
for Rome.

Libo Drusus
accused
of high
treason.

Tiberius had the foregoing year revived, as we have related above, the law of majesty, and upon this law was now arraigned *Libo Drusus*, tried, and condemned, and his estate divided among his accusers, which was encouraging that baneful set of men, and sounding the trumpet, to use the expression of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to informations and arraignments. *Lucius Scribonius Libo Drusus* was descended of the *Scribonian* family, one of the most illustrious in *Rome*, was the great grandson of *Pompey the Great*, nephew of *Scribonia* once the wife of *Augustus*, nearly related to the *Cæsars*, and no ways inferior in nobility to the reigning house. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to *Tiberius*, which a senator, by name *Firminus Catus*, being well apprised of, resolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plausible pretence to deliver himself from his fears. With this view, having insinuated himself

himself into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition, and constantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to consult the *Chaldeans* and magicians, whether he should not be one day vested with the sovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, said the treacherous *Firminus*, as the family of *Tiberius* who enjoyed it. This was sufficient matter for a charge of high treason; and accordingly *Firminus* immediately acquainted the emperor by means of *Flaccus Vescularius*, a Roman knight, who had free access to him, with the pretended crimes of the unhappy youth, whom he had basely insnared with specious delusions. *Tiberius*, though overjoyed at this information, refused the accuser a private audience, sending him word, that the communication might be still carried on by the same *Flaccus*, and accordingly *Firminus* by his means informed the emperor of all *Libo's* steps and words; for the unwary youth, deluded by the predictions of the *Chaldeans* and astrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of soaring above the rank of a private citizen. In the mean time, *Tiberius* with the deepest dissimulation preferred *Libo* to the prætorship, entertained him at his table, and familiarly conversed with him, without ever betraying the least resentment, either in his words or countenance. At length *Libo*, having recourse to one *Junius*, who pretended by charms, and the superstitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal shades, and learn of them future events, the magician discovered this to one *Fulcinus Trio*, a famous informer, who immediately hastening to the consuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the senate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of so much moment, and of such dangerous consequence to the state. The fathers, not doubting but *Tiberius* was at the bottom of this prosecution, did not fail to assemble at the time appointed, when *Libo* appeared in the habit of a suppliant, and, presenting himself before *Tiberius*, who was present, endeavoured by his tears and intreaties to soften him. The emperor heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, instead of returning him any answer, recited to the conscript fathers the charge against him, and the names of the accusers, without betraying the least emotion of anger or resentment, or seeming either to lessen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge. When the emperor had done, four accusers appeared against the criminal, viz. *Firminus Catus*, *Fulcinus Trio*, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Caius Vibius*, and produced such extravagant, foolish, and chimerical articles, as rather deserved pity than punishment. One of these, from which we may judge of the others, was, that he

Misled and
betrayed by
Firminus
Catus.

Is tried by
the senate.

he.

Articles
produced a-
gainst him.

he had asked the fortune-tellers, whether he should not one day be possessed of riches sufficient to cover with money the great *Appian* road from *Rome* to *Brundisium*? *Vibius* produced a paper containing the names of the *Cæsars*, that is, of *Tiberius*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*, and those of some senators, with mysterious characters and magical notes joined to them. These the accuser pretended were written with *Libo's* own hand, which he denying, it was moved, that his slaves should be examined upon the rack, but because, by an old *Roman* law, slaves could not be put to the torture in a trial touching the life of their masters, the crafty *Tiberius* found a trick to evade that law, without seeming to violate it: he ordered the slaves to be sold to the public, that they might then be evidence against their late master: this poor evasion was first contrived and practised by *Augustus*, as we have shewn above. The unhappy *Libo*, concluding from this step, that *Tiberius* was resolved upon his destruction, begged the conscript fathers, that they would put off till the next day the final decision of his cause. His request being granted, he returned to his own house: whence soon after he sent *Publius Quirinius* to speak to the emperor in his behalf. *Quirinius* was nearly related to *Libo*, and in great favour with *Tiberius*, having been formerly, as we have related above, instrumental in reconciling *Caius Cæsar* to him while he lived in the island of *Rhodes*, and by that means the chief cause of his returning into favour with *Augustus*. But, unmindful of antient obligations, he received *Quirinius* with great coldness, and returned no other answer, but that he must apply to the senate. This answer threw *Libo* into a deep melancholy, which, however, he dissembled, and ordered a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to pass the last night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet was scarce begun, when a band of soldiers, surrounding the house, with a studied noise and dreadful cries, so terrified the guests, that many of them, rising from table, endeavoured to make their escape. *Libo*, not doubting but they were sent to dispatch him, drawing his sword, offered it to his slaves, begging them to put an end with it to his unhappy life: but they, trembling and shunning the sad task, fled with such fury and confusion, that they overturned all the lights, and then *Libo* in the dark gave himself two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the soldiers seeing him dead retired; for they had been sent on purpose to frighten him, so as to make him lay violent hands on himself, *Tiberius* hoping by that means to avoid the odium, which, he was well apprised, the execution of one

He lays
violent
hands on
himself.

of the most illustrious citizens of *Rome* would reflect upon his person and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the senate, as if he had been still alive; but the deceitful *Tiberius* at the same time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himself. The deceased was by the senate declared guilty of high-treason, and his estate divided amongst his accusers: such of the informers as were of the senatorial order (for the first lords of the senate were not ashamed to debase themselves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the ensuing year. This was the most effectual means imaginable of multiplying these pests of the empire: they were raised to the highest offices in the state, and the metropolis of the world often saw her public dignities bestowed, as spoils, upon parricides, for spilling her best blood. We may well imagine, that the servile senate did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. *Cotta Messalinus* moved, that the image of *Libo* might not be carried at the funerals of his posterity; *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the *Scribonian* family should thenceforth take the name of *Drusus*: at the motion of *Pomponius Flaccus* days of thanksgiving were appointed. *Lucius Publius*, *Aminius Gallus*, *Papius Mutilus*, and *Lucius Apronius*, were of opinion, that gifts should be presented to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to the goddess *Concord*; and that the ides of *September*, the day on which *Libo* killed himself, should be for ever observed as a festival². So great was the debasement of the once venerable *Roman* senate, even in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign. It was not enough for the conscript fathers to have condemned *Libo*; they issued a decree for driving astrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers, out of *Italy*; nay, *Lucius Pituanus*, one of them whom *Libo* had probably consulted, was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; and *Publius Marcius*, another of the same profession, was by the consuls sentenced to death, and executed accordingly, without the *Esquiline* gate.

Is found guilty of high-treason after his death by the senate.

The debasement of the senate.

Fortune-tellers driven out of Rome.

At the next meeting of the senate, *Quintus Haterius*, once consul, and *Octavius Fronto*, formerly prætor, moved, that a stop might be put to the excessive luxury which prevailed in the city; and at their motion a law passed, forbidding all to use plate of massy gold, and men to debase them-

² Idem, ibid. c. 27—32.

The use of plate and massy gold, &c. forbidden.
 selves with wearing silks, which were then thought peculiar to women. *Fronto* went farther, and proposed, that the quantity of silver-plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of slaves, might be regulated. But he was opposed therein by *Asinius Gallus*, who, with plausible arguments, defended the prevailing luxury. Besides, *Tiberius* himself did not approve of *Fronto's* motion; for, after *Gallus* had done speaking, he added, that it was not a season for reformation, and that if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redress that evil, alluding thereby, no doubt to himself in his office of perpetual censor. As it was common for the senators to depart from the present debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judged conducing to the public welfare, *Lucius Piso*, who still retained the antient Roman spirit, and declared his sentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed against the corruptions of the state, particularly against the pestilent pursuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and circumventing all men, protested that he was resolved to leave *Rome*, and live in some quiet and distant corner of the country. With these words he went out of the senate; but *Tiberius*, though highly provoked, smothered his resentment, and, following *Piso*, endeavoured to sooth him with kind intreaties; nay, he even condescended to solicit his relations to divert him, with their prayers and authority, from the resolution he had taken; which they did accordingly. *Piso*, not long after, gave another instance of a spirit truly Roman, in suing for a debt one *Urgulania*, a woman of distinction, and placed, by the favour of *Livia*, above the laws. *Piso* summoned her to appear before the prætor; but she, despising the summons, fled for refuge to the palace; whence *Piso* would have carried her by force before the prætor, notwithstanding the complaints of *Livia*, had not *Tiberius*, to prevent disturbances, obliged her to comply with the summons, and at the same time promised, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial, and assist her favourite. On the day appointed for the decision of the cause, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a distance; but walked so slow, that, before he reached the forum, the trial was over, and *Urgulania* adjudged to pay the sum claimed by *Piso*. The money was immediately advanced by *Livia*, who, finding *Piso* inflexible, and the emperor no-ways inclined to oppose him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the trouble, which so bold and resolute a creditor would not have failed to create her
 (A).

The free spirit of L. Piso.

(A). The proceeding of *Tiberius*, on this occasion, was highly applauded by the *Roman* people, as was also his generosity at this time towards some necessitous senators, whom, with his gratuities, he enabled to live suitable to their rank.

However, he rejected with haughtiness the petition of *Marcus Hortalus*, the grandson of *Hortensius* the famous orator, who, as we have related above, had been encouraged by *Augustus*, with a bounty of a thousand great sesterces, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of his illustrious family. As he had now four children, he placed them before the door of the senate-house, and shewing them to the conscript fathers, in a moving speech besought both them and the emperor, to defend from want the offspring of so many consuls, the descendants of so many dictators, whom he had not brought into the world by his own choice, but in compliance with the desire of the deified *Augustus*. The conscript fathers, touched with compassion, were inclined to relieve him; but *Tiberius* opposed it, saying, that if they relieved all who were poor, and took upon them to maintain their children, the public would soon fail; that if the public treasury came to be exhausted by popular bounties, it must be supplied with rapine and oppression; that by such bounties industry would languish, and sloth prevail, &c. The greater part of the fathers sufficiently declared with their silence, that they did not like this speech; which *Tiberius* perceiving, after having paused a little, to qualify what he had said, added, that his answer was addressed in particular to *Hortalus*, but that if the senate thought fit, he was ready to give his sons two hundred great sesterces each. The senators returned him thanks for his generous disposition; but *Hortalus* himself was silent, affronted at the emperor's speech, and even in poverty full of the antient grandeur of his family; which so estranged *Tiberius* from him, that he never after took any further notice of him or his family, though reduced to extreme poverty^a.

He refuses to relieve the senator M. Hortalus.

THIS same year, a slave of *Posthumus Agrippa*, by name *Clemens*, would have raised great disturbances in the state, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of *Italy*, had he not been

The bold design of Clemens, bondman to Agrippa Posthumus

^a Idem ibid. c. 37, 38.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that the power of *Urgulania* was so great, that she disdained to appear as a witness in a certain cause before the senate; so that a prætor was sent to examine her at her own house, though it had been always usual, even for the vestal virgins, to attend the forum and courts of justice, whenever their evidence was required.

prevented in good time. As he was much about the same age with his late master, and not unlike him in his person, he took upon him his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts by his emissaries and associates, that *Agrippa* was still alive. This raised great tumults in many cities of *Italy*, and brought over to the pretended *Agrippa* vast numbers of people, such as are ever fond of public disturbances and changes. The report was even credited at *Rome*, and his supposed arrival at *Ostia* privately celebrated in the city by multitudes of people. *Tiberius* informed by his emissaries of all that passed, was long in suspense whether he should order his troops to march against the audacious slave; or suffer the imposture to vanish of itself, which he was well apprised must soon happen. On one hand, he was ashamed to betray any fear of a vile slave; and on the other he apprehended the danger which might arise from the credulity of the people, if they were not soon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to *Sallustius Crispus*, the same whom he had employed to dispatch *Agrippa*. *Crispus* chose two of his clients, or, as some write two soldiers, in whom he could confide, and sent them to the supposed *Agrippa* with a considerable sum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandson of *Augustus*, to present him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cause. They executed his orders with great address, and finding that *Clemens* reposed in them an intimate confidence, they underhand got ready a proper band of men, seized and gagged him while his guards were asleep, and carried him without noise to the palace. When he was brought before *Tiberius*, the emperor asked him, *How he was become Agrippa?* Just as you became *Cæsar*, answered *Clemens*. Though *Tiberius* had him wholly in his power, yet so great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be dispatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's household, many knights and senators were said to have assisted and supported him with their counsels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices^b. Towards the end of this year a triumphal arch was raised near the temple of *Saturn* as a monument for the recovery of the eagles of the *Varian* legions: a temple was dedicated to *Valiant Fortune* in the gardens which *Julius Cæsar* had bequeathed to the *Roman* people, and a

He is seized by a device of Sallustius Crispus, and dispatched privately.

^b Idem. c. 39—40. DIO. l. lvii. p. 613. SUET. in Tib. c. 25.

chapel to the *Julian* family ; statues were also consecrated to *Augustus* at *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

IN the mean time, *Germanicus* arriving with his wife and Germani-children in the capital, was there received by *Tiberius* with ^{cus how} all possible marks of a seeming friendship and affection ; he ^{received by} congratulated him on his past dangers, seemed highly pleased ^{Tiberius.}

with his conduct, extolled his mighty feats, and with the deepest dissimulation commended him to the senate, as well deserving the greatest honours it was in their power to confer upon him. The triumph, which had been decreed him, was put off till the following year, when *Caius Cælius*, or, as some style him, *Cæcilius Rufus*, and *Lucius Pomponius Flaccus* were consuls. During their administration, *Germanicus* triumphed on the twenty-sixth day of *May* over the *Catti*, the *Angriuarii*, the *Cherusci*, and all the *German* nations between the *Rhine* and the *Albis*, or the *Elbe*. *Germanicus* had not indeed extended his conquests to the latter of these rivers ; but the emperor, to make him amends for stopping him in the full career of his victories, counted those conquests as complete, which he had prevented him from completing. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried representations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the *German* chiefs, and the wife of *Arminius*, carrying in her arms her infant son. But what above all heightened the show and the satisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulness of *Germanicus's* person, and his chariot filled with his five children, viz. *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*, and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Drusilla*. *Tiberius*, to render the solemnity more complete and the joy of the people more universal, distributed among them in the name of *Germanicus* a large sum, three hundred sesterces a man, and named himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. But notwithstanding all these demonstrations of kindness and affection, the people still suspected his sincerity ; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father *Drusus* ; that his uncle *Marcellus* was snatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth, and that the favourites of the *Roman* people had ever been unfortunate and short-lived. And truly, their fears were not ill-grounded ; for *Tiberius*, jealous of the glory of the young prince and the high favour he was in both with the people and soldiery, was already resolved on his destruction, and meditating with himself how to compass his wicked design, and

His triumph.

Tiberius
resolved on
his destruction.

at

Archelaus
king of
Cappado-
cia called
to Rome,
where he
dies.

at the same time avoid the irreconcilable hatred, which he well knew, would thence arise to him from all orders of men. While he was wholly taken up with these thoughts, a favourable opportunity offered; or rather, was craftily framed by *Tiberius*, for removing from *Rome* the darling of the people. *Archelaus* (B) king of *Cappadocia* had many years before incurred his displeasure, by neglecting to pay his court to him, during his retirement at *Rhodes* (C). This the revengeful emperor remembered, and therefore having inticed the king to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promising him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtiness, but caused him to be accused as a criminal in the senate. As the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was by the conscript fathers declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook such treatment, soon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on

(B) *Torrentius*, *Riccioli*, and *Salian* confound *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* with *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod*, king of *Judea*. They were led into this mistake by a passage in *Suetonius*, who in the life of *Tiberius* tells us, that he pleaded the cause of *Archelaus*, which was his first essay in eloquence. This cause the abovementioned writers take to be that which *Archelaus* the son of *Herod* maintained at *Rome* against his brothers about his father's last will, as we have related in our history of the *Jews* (49). But it is evident both from *Josephus* and *Dion Cassius*, that *Tiberius* at the time of this trial was not at *Rome*, but lived in retirement at *Rhodes*; nay, the latter writer tells us in express terms, that *Tiberius* undertook the defence of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, against his own subjects; and that the *Cappadocian* prince incurred his displeasure, by seeming to neglect him in his disgrace, notwithstanding the kindness he had shewn him on that occasion (50). He was the great grandson of the famous *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of *Mitridatus the Great*, king of *Pontus*, against *Sylla*, and afterwards, abandoning his own prince, sided with *Lucullus*. His daughter *Glaphyra* was first married to *Alexander*, and afterwards to his brother *Archelaus*, both sons to *Herod*, as we have related elsewhere (51). It is surprising the abovementioned writers should be guilty of so gross a mistake.

(C) It was not out of ingratitude or contempt, as *Tacitus* informs us, that *Archelaus* declined attending upon *Tiberius*, while he resided at *Rhodes*, but because he had been warned by his friends at the court of *Augustus* to take no notice of him, lest he should incur the displeasure of the emperor.

(49) *Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 271, & seq.*
(51) *Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 186, & 282.*

(50) *Dis. l. lviii.*

himself,

himself, after having reigned fifty years^c. Some time after *Cappadocia* was reduced to a *Roman* province, which enabled *Tiberius* to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enjoy^d. At the same time, died *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Philopator*, king of *Cilicia*, which occasioned great disturbances in those countries, some being for the *Roman* government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of *Syria* and *Judæa* being over-loaded with taxes, applied to the emperor and senate for relief^e. Neither was *Parthia* without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out *Vonones*, whom they had demanded of *Augustus* for their king, placed in his room on the throne *Artabanes*, a prince of the family of the *Arfacidæ*, but at that time, according to *Josephus*, king of the *Medes*^f. These disturbances and com-
Distur-
bances in
the east.
motions in the east proved very favourable to the wicked designs of *Tiberius*, who represented to the senate, that they could not be well composed but by the wisdom and abilities of *Germanicus*; as for himself, he was, he said, in the decline of his age, and that of his son *Drusus* was not yet ripe. Here-upon all the provinces of the east were readily decreed to
The pro-
vinces of
the east
decreed to
Germani-
cus.
Germanicus, and a greater power conferred on him, than had been given to any governor since the time of *Pompey the Great*. But to balance and restrain the extraordinary authority with which he was vested, *Tiberius* had already removed from the government of *Syria* *Creticus Silanus*, whose daughter was betrothed to *Nero*, the eldest son of *Germanicus*, and placed in his room *Cneius Piso* (D), a man of a most violent and untractable

^c TACIT. *ibid.* c. 41. DIO l. lvii. p. 613. NORIS epoch. p. 142. STRAB. l. vii. p. 291, 292. ^d DIO. l. lix. ^e TACIT. c. 42, 43. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xviii. c. 3. ^f TACIT. *annal.* l. ii. c. 1. JOSEPH. *ibid.*

(D) *Cneius Piso* was the son of *Cneius Calpurnius Piso*, who, as we have related above, maintained with great intrepidity the republican party against *Julius Caesar* in *Africa*. Afterwards he joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but after the battle of *Philippi* was allowed to return to *Rome*, where he scorned to sue for any public offices, chusing to live in retirement, till *Augustus* prevailed upon him to accept the consulship. *Festus* tells us, that the *Calpurnian* family pretended to derive their origin from one *Calpus* or *Calphus*, the son of *Numa Pompilius* (52). However that be, it is certain, that the

(52) *Fest.* in voce *Calpurnius*.

Cn. Piso preferred to the government of Syria, in despite to Germanicus.

tractable temper, and to such a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his wife *Plancina* (E), that he scarce yielded to *Tiberius*, and despised his sons, viz. *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, as persons beneath his rank: in short, he was in every respect the most proper person in *Rome* to execute those fatal purposes for which he was chiefly chosen. His wife *Plancina*, who was still of a more haughty temper than her husband, had secret instructions from *Livia* to exert her spirit, and by all manner of indignities prosecute and insult *Agrippina* (F). Before *Germanicus* left *Rome*, *Drusus* was sent into *Illyricum* on occasion of a bloody war, which broke out, soon after the departure of the *Romans*, between *Maroboduus* king of the *Suevians*, *Marcomannians*, and *Langobards* on one side, and the *Cherusicans* on the other, headed by the brave *Arminius*. *Maroboduus* was overcome in a great battle, and obliged, most of his men abandoning him, to retire into the country of the *Marcomannians*, whence he sent ambassadors to

Calpurnian family was one of the most antient and illustrious in *Rome*, and no-ways inferior to the *Claudian*, of which *Tiberius* was descended.

(E) *Plancina* was either the daughter or the niece of the famous *Munatius Plancus*, of whom we have spoken in several parts of this work. *Dion Cassius* calls her *Munatia Plancina*, and so she is styled in an inscription, which is still to be seen at *Rome*, in the palace which at present belongs to the family of the *Chigi*.

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole court was rent into parties, some favouring *Drusus*, and others *Germanicus*. *Tiberius* was partial to *Drusus*, as his son by nature, whereas *Germanicus* was his son only by adoption; but the greater part favoured *Germanicus* for two reasons, says *Tacitus*; first, because they knew he was hated by the emperor; and secondly, because he was by his mother of a more illustrious descent. *Germanicus* and *Drusus* were the sons of two brothers, and consequently by their fathers of the same family. But on the mother's side *Germanicus* had the advantage, he being the son of *Antonia Minor*, the daughter of *Marc Antony* the triumvir by *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*; so that *Marc Antony* was his grandfather, and *Augustus* his great uncle. On the other side, a private *Roman* knight was the great-grandfather of *Drusus*; for his mother *Vipsania* was the grand-daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*. Besides, *Agrippina*, the wife of *Germanicus*, far excelled *Livia* the wife of *Drusus* in virtue, and all the accomplishments peculiar to her sex. However, the two brothers lived in perfect concord and friendship, no-ways disturbed or interrupted by the contention and emulation that reigned among their relations and adherents (53).

Tiberius imploring his assistance. The emperor answered, that it was very surprising he should recur to the *Romans*, and beg their assistance against the *Cheruscans*, since he had sent none to them, while they were waging war with the same enemy. However, he laid hold of this opportunity to re-^{Drusus} move from *Rome* his son *Drusus*, who seemed over-fond of ^{sent into} the gaities of the city, to inure him to the toils of the ^{Illyricum.} camp, and procure him the affections of the soldiery. What success attended him in this expedition, we shall relate anon.

THIS year was remarkable for one of the most dreadful ^{A dreadful} earthquakes recorded in history : twelve famous cities of ^{Asia earthquake} *Asia* were overturned by it, viz. *Sardis*, *Magnesia*, at the foot of ^{in Asia.} mount *Sipylus*, *Mosthene*, *Ægæ*, *Hierocæsarea*, *Philadelphia*, *Temolus*, *Temnus*, *Cyme* or *Cumæ*, *Myrina*, *Apollonia*, *Hyracana*. To these mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Eusebius* adds *Ephesus*^s. *Pliny*^h and *Strabo*ⁱ make particular mention of this event, calling it the most dreadful concussion that had ever been felt (G). It happened in the night, and proved the more dreadful, as it was less expected. Most of the inhabitants were crushed under the ruins of their houses, and those who fled to the fields, swallowed up, by the opening of the earth. It is reported, says *Tacitus*, that huge mountains sunk into the earth, that plains were raised up into high hills, and that dreadful flashes and eruptions of fire were seen among the ruins. *Phlegon* of *Tralles*, who has wrote a very particular account of this terrible event and the evils which it occasioned, says, that many cities of *Pontus*, of *Sicily*, and of *Calabria* in *Italy*, were greatly damaged by it ; and adds, that

^s EUSEB. chron. p. 201.
l. xii. p. 579.

^h PLIN. l. ii. c. 84.

ⁱ STRAB.

(G) *Orosius* takes this to be the earthquake mentioned by the evangelists as happening at the death of our Saviour ; a notorious mistake ! which, if admitted, would overset every system of chronology, it being past all doubt, that the earthquake, which overturned the twelve cities of *Asia*, happened in the fourth year of *Tiberius's* reign, and consequently was at least fourteen years prior to the other. According to *Eusebius* our Saviour was crucified the fourth year of the hundred and second olympiad ; and the earthquake, which proved so fatal to *Asia*, happened, according to the same writer, the second year of the hundred and ninety-ninth olympiad. *Orosius* would fain corroborate the accounts of the sacred penmen, with the testimonies of the *Greek* and *Roman* historians, and this is what led him into the abovementioned mistake.

Tiberius's
generosity
on this oc-
casion.

the earth opening in many places, bodies were discovered of a monstrous size, from one of which a tooth was taken above a foot in length, and presented to *Tiberius*, who would not suffer the whole body to be brought to him, saying, that he deemed it a great crime to disturb the dead. However, to satisfy his curiosity, he caused a head to be engraved proportionable to the tooth which had been brought him, and which he immediately after ordered to be restored to the place, whence it had been taken ^k. *Tiberius*, to do him justice, shewed, on occasion of this great calamity, a spirit truly generous and worthy of a person in his station: for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but presented them with large sums to rebuild their habitations. To the *Sardians*, who had suffered most, he sent a hundred thousand great sesterces, and to the rest relief proportionable to their losses; nay, he immediately dispatched into *Asia* *Marcus Aletus*, a senator, who had been prætor, to view the desolations on the spot, and make good the losses of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as *Tacitus* observes, on honest occasions, a virtue which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and by the liberalities of *Tiberius* restored to their former splendor, erected to their common benefactor a colossus in the *Roman* forum, surrounded with the statues of their twelve cities, as a lasting monument of the prince's generosity, and their gratitude ^l.

His pri-
vate libe-
ralities.

THE reputation, which *Tiberius* gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities. For the estate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name *Æmia Musa*, who died this year intestate, being claimed by the treasury, the emperor generously yielded it to one *Æmilius Lepidus*, to whose family she seemed to belong (H). With the same disinterestedness he sur-
rendered

^k PHLEGON. Tralliani, de reb. mirabilibus, c. 13, 14. ^l TA-
CIT. c. 47. DIO. l. lvii. p. 614. PHLEG. mir. c. 13.

(H) *Tacitus* does not tell us, that *Æmia Musa* was a freed-
woman; but, from her *Greek cognomen*, it is manifest, that such was
her condition: for we have not one instance, in history, of a *Roman*
assuming a *Greek* name. The prænomen of *Æmia* she probably
borrowed from some of the *Æmilian* family, to whom she had for-
merly belonged. Perhaps she was related to the famous *Antonius*
Musa, the freed-man and physician of *Augustus*. As she died in
testate

rendered, to *Marcus Servilius*, the whole inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies, but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of such as were strangers to him, or, out of hatred to their relations, appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally speaking, well placed; for as he readily relieved such senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, so he excluded without pity from the senate, those who had wantonly squandered away their estates in luxury and debauchery. Of this number were *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *Quintus Vitellius*, and *Attilius Buta*. The latter was a man of pleasure, and used constantly to pass the night in revels and debaucheries, and sleep the greatest part of the day; by which course of life, being soon reduced to great indigence, he had recourse to the emperor for relief; but *Tiberius* rejected his petition, without returning him any other answer, than that *he had awaked too late* ^k. But the applause *Tiberius* gained by his public and private bounties were counterbalanced, by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majesty. Informers multiplied daily, the spirit of accusing grew common, and the dread of it universal. *Apuleia Varilia*, grand-niece to *Augustus* by his sister (I), was accused by one of *that treason*.

^k TACIT. c. 48. DIO. *ibid*.

testate, her estate, supposing her to have been a *liberta* or freedwoman, and to have no relations of her own then living, fell, according to the Roman law, to her former master and his heirs of blood. *Si libertus intestatus decesserit, patronum, aut filium, nepotemve ejus ad successionem vocari indubitatum est*, says *Julian* (54); and *Ulpian*, *Liberto intestato mortuo, primum suis deferri hereditatem verum est: si hi non fuerint, tunc patrono* (55). But what title had the exchequer to her estate? It appears from this passage of *Tacitus* and the laws we have quoted, that if a freedman or woman had no surviving relations, and their former master's family was extinct, their estate fell to the prince. In the present case one *Æmilius Lepidus*, as heir of blood to *Musa's* former master, claimed her estate, and *Tiberius* generously surrendered it to him, though he could not plainly make good his claim.

(I) *Augustus* had two sisters, viz. *Octavia Major* and *Octavia Minor*; but by which of these *Apuleia Varilia* was grand-niece to

(54) *Leg. 13. de bonis libert. hereditib.*

(55) *Leg. 2. de suis*

Tiberius's
conduct on
this occa-
sion.

that infamous profession of having reviled the deified *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, and of having dishonoured with adultery the blood of the *Cæsars*, which, according to the construction *Augustus* had put upon the law of majesty, was high treason (K). *Tiberius* admitted the accusation, but shewed great moderation in the prosecution of the accused: for as to the adultery he said, that sufficient punishments had been already appointed for that crime by the *Julian* law, which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treason. As to the other crimes, he desired they might be distinguished: *If Apuleia*, said he, *has uttered impious speeches against the deified Augustus, she must be condemned; but for her invectives against me I will not suffer her to be called to any account. But she has had the impudence to attack the reputation of your mother*, replied one of the consuls. To this *Tiberius* returned no answer then; but the next time the senate met, he begged in his mother's name, that the words spoken against her might not be construed into treason. Hereupon she was tried only upon the words spoken against *Augustus*, and found guilty, but pardoned by *Tiberius*, who likewise

Augustus, history does not inform us. Neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or off-spring of *Octavia Minor*. The other sister married *Marcellus*, and had by him two daughters, *Marcella Major* and *Marcella Minor*; one of these was, we conjecture, from what we read in *Dion Cassius*, married into the *Apuleian* family; for that writer calls *Sextus Apuleius*, who was consul the year *Augustus* died, συγγενὴν Αὐγούστου, that is, *Augustus's* kinsman (56). If we admit this conjecture, which is not ill-grounded, *Apuleia Varilia* was daughter to an *Apuleius* by one of the *Marcellæ*, and consequently grand-niece to *Augustus* by his sister *Octavia Major*.

(K) *Augustus*, as *Tacitus* informs us (57), to a fault common between men and women gave the grievous name of sacrilege and treason; and as his daughter and grand-daughter were prostitutes, he punished, according to the law of treason, which he had thus wrested, all their adulterers and gallants either with death or exile. This sort of treason was, as *Tacitus* seems to insinuate, limited to the reigning house and the blood of the *Cæsars*; for that writer tells us, that *Varilia*, being nearly related to the emperor and guilty of adultery, was arraigned of high treason. *Augustus* found his account in declaring the gallants of the two *Julias* traitors; for as those traitors were very numerous, and considerable for their quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many eminent citizens, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy.

(56) *Dio. l. lxxv, lxxvi.*

(57) *Tacit. annal. l. v.*

likewise begged a mitigation of her punishment for adultery ; so that, instead of undergoing the severe punishments inflicted on that crime by the *Julian* law, of which hereafter, she was only removed two hundred miles from *Rome* ; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was banished *Italy* and *Africa*¹.

This same year, *Tacfarinas*, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman* auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen and the neighbouring nations into a revolt, was overthrown in a pitched battle by *Furius Camillus*, proconsul of *Africa*, who, till that time, had passed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which *Camillus* gained with one legion and a small body of auxiliaries, a handful of men, when compared with the numberless troops of the enemy, the ensigns of triumph were by the senate decreed to the conqueror ; which honour, says the historian, did not prove fatal to him, because he was a man of extraordinary modesty, and chose to live in retirement^m.

This year died, according to *Eusebius*ⁿ, *Ovid* at *Tomos* in *Pontus*, and, according to *St. Jerom*^o, the famous historian *Livy* at *Padua*, his native city. We are told that *Livia* had designed the latter for præceptor to *Claudius*, the younger brother of *Germanicus* ; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the last of those illustrious writers who once adorned the court of *Augustus*, and will render his age ever memorable. He has been our chief guide in the compiling of this history ; for which we can make him no better return, than to repeat here, what *Seneca* said of him, many centuries since, that *the genius of Livy was equal to the grandeur and majesty of the Roman empire*^p.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Germanicus*, leaving *Rome*, set out for the *Levant* with his wife *Agrippina* and his son *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*. After a long and dangerous passage, both in the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* seas, he arrived in *Dalmatia*, whither he had first steered his course to visit his brother *Drusus*, who, as we have related above, had been sent into that country. From *Dalmatia* by the coast of *Illyricum* he reached *Nicopolis*, which city *Augustus* had built on the *Ambracian* bay, in memory of his victory at *Actium*. There he entered upon his second consulship, having *Tiberius*, now the third time consul, for his colleague. The emperor held this dignity to the ides of *May*, and then resigned it to *L. Szius Tubero*, who had served under *Ger-*

Tacfarinas defeated in Africa by Furius Camillus.

The death of Ovid, and Livy the historian.

Germanicus sets out for the Levant.

¹ Idem, c. 49, 50.

^m Idem, c. 52, 53.

ⁿ EUSEB. in

chron.

^o Hier. in chron.

^p SENEC. rhetor.

manichæ

His voyage *Germanicus* in quality of lieutenant ⁹. *Germanicus* spent a few days at *Nicopolis* to refit his fleet, and in the mean time viewed the bay of *Ægium*, the spoils which *Augustus* his grandfather, had consecrated after his famous victory, and the camp of *Antony* his great uncle. From thence he proceeded to *Athens*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour (L). Next he sailed to *Eubœa*, and thence to *Lesbos*, where his wife *Agrippina* was delivered of *Julia* her last child : then he steered his course to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, entered the straits of *Propontis*, and the mouth of the *Pontic* or *Euxine* sea, being desirous of seeing those places so much celebrated by fame. In his return he endeavoured to touch at the island of *Samothrace*, being fond of beholding the religious ceremonies practised there, of which we have spoken in our description of that island ^r ; but he was prevented from satisfying his laudable curiosity by contrary winds. Having therefore visited antient *Ilium*, which gave birth to *Rome*, he regained the coast of *Asia*, and put in at *Colophon*, to consult there the oracle of the *Clarian Apollo*, of which we have given an account elsewhere ^f. The priest, by whose mouth the god was believed to utter his oracles, is said to have foretold, but in dark and doubtful terms, the approaching death of *Germanicus* ^t.

⁹ TACIT. c. 53. SUET. in Tib. c. 26. ONUPH. in fast. p. 189.

^r Hist. Univers. Vol. VII. p. 518. ^f Hist. Univers. Vol. VII. p.

42. ^t TACIT. c. 53, 54.

(L) The *Athenians* received *Germanicus* with extraordinary marks of esteem, which lest he should undervalue, as that nation made then but a very indifferent figure, they put him in mind of the glory of their ancestors, by carrying before him on tablets succinct accounts of their most famous exploits. By this means they enhanced the honours they had conferred on him, and, to use *Tacitus's* expression, dignified their flattery. On the other hand, *Germanicus*, out of respect to them, divesting himself in a manner of his power, appeared among them almost like a private citizen, being attended only by one lictor. By thus removing the ensigns of power, the *Romans* declared, that they treated those with whom they conversed, not as subjects, but as friends. *Antony*, as we have observed above, used the same condescension towards the *Athenians*, during his residence in their city, as did also *Tiberius* towards the *Rhodians*, walking up and down without a lictor or viator, and conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, as if they had been his equals (58).

(58) Suet. in Tib. c. 11.

IN the mean time *Piso* and his wife *Plancina*, hastening to the execution of their wicked designs, left *Rome*, and arriving at *Athens*, gave there the first proof of their hatred to *Germanicus*. For *Piso*, in his speech to the inhabitants, abused them in a most outrageous manner, not without an indirect censure upon *Germanicus*, for having debased the dignity of the *Roman* name in paying an excessive regard, not to the *Athenians*, whose race was long since extinct, but, to the mixt scum of different nations (M). *Piso* did not stay long at *Athens*, but, being in haste to reach *Syria* before *Germanicus*, left the metropolis of *Attica*, and taking the shortest course, though the least safe, sailed through the *Cyclades*, and appeared off of *Rhodes*, soon after *Germanicus* had put in there: but being overtaken by a violent storm, before he could enter the port, he was driven upon certain rocks, and must have inevitably perished, had not the good-natured *Germanicus*, though already informed of the invectives *Piso* had uttered against him at *Athens*, dispatched galleys to rescue him from the wreck. This generous kindness and humanity made no impression upon the hard-hearted *Piso*, who, having staid but one day with his benefactor, put to sea again in order to arrive in *Syria* before him. He no sooner reached his province, than he began to court the common soldiers by bounties and caresses, to form factions among the troops, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures, or men recommended only by their crimes: he permitted the soldiery either to live quite idle in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit with impunity all manner of disorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence *Piso* won the hearts of the idle and disorderly multitude to such a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of *Father of the legions*. On the other hand, *Plancina*, forgetting the modesty peculiar to her sex, appeared often on horseback, assisted at the reviews, and was not ashamed, which in those days was thought very unbecoming in a woman, to be seen at the public exercises and military evolutions. She laid hold of these occasions to drop reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, in order to prejudice the minds of the soldiery a-

(M) *Piso* seems to us to have been not a little inconsistent with himself in his reproaches; for, on one hand, he would not allow the present inhabitants of *Athens* to be descended from the ancient *Athenians*; and, on the other, he charged them with all the crimes, of which the ancient *Athenians* had ever been guilty. He was also an enemy to their city, as *Tacitus* informs us, upon a private account, because they would not pardon at his request one *Theophilus*, condemned by the *Areopagus* for forgery.

gainst

Piso and his wife set out for Syria.

Is shipwrecked, but saved by Germanicus.

He courts the favour the soldiers.

Germani-
cus crowns
Zeno
king of
Armenia,
and redu-
ces Cappa-
docia and
Comagene
to Roman
provinces.

Piso's in-
solent be-
haviour.

gainst them. As to the officers, they were privately told, that their paying court to *Germanicus* and his wife would not recommend them to the favour of *Tiberius*. Though these proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of *Piso* and *Plancina*, in pursuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he hastened into *Armenia*, where with the approbation of the nobility in a great assembly, he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the son of *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the *Romans*. From *Armenia* he proceeded first to *Cappadocia*, and thence to *Comagene*, both which kingdoms, then vacant by the death of their sovereigns, he reduced to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Quintus Veranius* governor of the former, and *Quintus Servæus* of the latter. The pleasure which *Germanicus* reaped, from thus successfully settling the affairs of the allies, was greatly allayed by the proud and haughty behaviour of *Piso*, who, being commanded either to lead in person, or to send under the conduct of his son, part of the legions into *Armenia*, contemptuously neglected to do either. At last they met at *Cyrrhum*, a city of *Syria*, and there had an interview, to which *Germanicus* admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the president of *Syria* with his strange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their sons, with many imputations. On the other hand, *Piso* pretended surprise, but at the same time betrayed, even in submitting to *Germanicus* as his superior, great scorn and contempt; so that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth *Piso* seldom appeared at the public assemblies, where *Germanicus* presided, or, if he did, it was only to contradict him. Not long after he gave a public proof of his malice, spite, and ill will, to *Germanicus*. For, at a grand entertainment made by the king of the *Nabatheans* (N), golden crowns of great weight being presented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and such as were much lighter to *Piso* and the rest of the guests, the haughty president, offended at this distinction, with an air of contempt threw his away; and, uttering many invectives against luxury, withdrew with these words;

(N) The country of the *Nabatheans* extended according to *St. Jerom*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red sea* (59): so that it comprehended *Arabia deserta*, and great part of *Arabia Petræa*. The metropolis of the *Nabatheans* was the city of *Petra*, which gave its name to *Arabia Petræa* (60). *St. Jerom* thinks they were called *Nabatheans* from *Nabaioth Ismael's* son.

(59) *Hier. quæst. in Genes.* 25. (60) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 534.*

Rome abhors such scandalous luxury; I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king. Germanicus was highly incensed at this insult; but, the natural sweetness of his temper getting the better of his resentment, he took no notice of such a provoking behaviour. Soon after ambassadors arrived from Artabanus king of the Parthians, to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires, and intreat Germanicus in their master's name to remove Vonones, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of Syria, lest he should find means, being so near to Parthia, to raise disturbances in that kingdom. Germanicus renewed the ancient alliance, and removed Vonones to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia, not so much in compliance with the request of Artabanus, as to separate him from Piso, with whom he was in high favour, in regard of the many presents he had made to his wife Plancina, and the excessive court he paid her ^{Germanicus renews the ancient alliance with the Parthians.}. Of this year, which was Germanicus's first in the Levant, not the least mention is made by Dion Cassius.

THE following year, Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus being consuls, Germanicus travelled into Egypt to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, causing the granaries to be every where opened, and the price of corn abated. He did not imagine, that the prohibition made by Augustus extended to him; and nevertheless the jealous emperor in a letter to him censured him with great severity for presuming to enter that province, when Augustus among other secrets of state had strictly forbidden all senators and Roman knights of any figure to travel thither, without special licence ^{He visits the curiosities of Egypt.} w. While Germanicus was thus passing the summer very agreeably in Egypt, Drusus was busy in sowing feuds among the Germans, and was therein attended with great success. For Maroboduus, king of the Suevians, whose power Rome dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at Ravenna in Italy. Catualda, whom Drusus had underhand stirred up against him, had the same fate; and, recurring to the Romans for protection, was conveyed by them to Forum Julium, now Frejus, a colony in Narbonne Gaul. As both these chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, Tiberius, fearing they might disturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them settlements beyond the Da-

Maroboduus driven out of his dominions, and likewise Catualda.

^u TACIT. C. 55---59.

^w TACIT. C. 59. SUET. in Tiber.

C. 5.

Rhascipor-
is circum-
vented by
Tiberius.

nube, between the rivers *Cusus* and *Marus*, now the *Wag* and the *March*, on the frontiers of *Moravia*, appointing them for their king one *Vannius*, by nation a *Quadian* (O), who reigned over them for the space of thirty years, but was driven out in the reign of *Claudius*. With the same policy *Tiberius* circumvented and inticed to *Rome Rhasciporis*, a petty king of *Thrace*, who having murdered *Cotys* (P), his nephew, had seized on that part of the kingdom which *Augustus* had bestowed upon him. To deceive *Rhasciporis*, *Tiberius* employed *Pomponius Flaccus* (Q), whom he preferred to the government of *Mæsia*, as being one of the king's most intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him; which he did accordingly, having inticed him into the *Roman* dominions, and then sent him under a strong guard to *Rome*,

(O) The country of the *Quadi* was at first bounded by *Bobemia*, the *Danube*, and the river *March*; but afterwards they extended their confines to the *Sarmatian* mountains in [the neighbourhood of *Erlaw* in *Hungary*. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of them in the reigns of *Marcus Antoninus* and *Gallienus*.

(P) *Cotys* was the son of *Rhemetacles*, upon whose death his kingdom was divided by *Augustus* between his son *Cotys* and his brother *Rhasciporis*, as we have related at length in our history of *Thrace* (61), to which we refer our readers for a full account of the transactions, we have only hinted at in this place. *Cotys*, though a *Thracian*, was not unacquainted with the muses; for to him *Ovid* inscribed the ninth elegy of his third book *de Ponto*, the unhappy poet being confined by *Augustus* to his kingdom.

(Q) *Ovid* mentions *Pomponius Flaccus* in one of his epistles inscribed to *Græcinus*:

Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, & illo
Ripa ferox Istri sub duce tuta fuit.
Hic tenuit Mysas gentes in pace fideli;
Hic arcu fidos terruit ense Getas (62).

He was indeed a good soldier, but a man of a vile character. We have related above his flattering motion against the memory of *Libo Drusus*. He was preferred to the government of *Mæsia* on purpose to betray *Rhasciporis*, with whom he lived in close friendship, which he did not in the least scruple to do: and indeed *Rhasciporis*, who treacherously betrayed and murdered his own nephew, deserved to have no other friends but men of his own stamp, traitors and assassins. *Pomponius* was rewarded by *Tiberius* for his treachery with the government of *Syria*, in which employment he died (63).

(61) *Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IX. p. 375.* (62) *Ovid. de Pont. l. iv. Eleg. 9.* (63) *Tacit. l. iv.*

where

where he was accused before the senate by the widow of *Cotys*, and banished to *Alexandria*, where he was slain attempting to make his escape, or falsely charged with it. This part of *Thrace* was divided between *Rhometalces*, the son of *Rhasciporis*, and the sons of *Cotys*; but the latter being minors, *Trebellicus Rufus*, once prætor, was appointed governor of their share. About this time *Vonones*, who had been removed to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, attempting to make his escape, was overtaken and killed by one *Remmius*, a veteran, to whose custody he had been committed (R).

IN the mean time, *Germanicus*, having satisfied his curiosity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of *Egypt*, left that kingdom, and returned to *Syria*, where to his great surprise he found all the regulations he had made utterly abolished, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Hereupon, no longer able to bear with such insults, he reproached *Piso* in very sharp and severe terms, which, notwithstanding his natural boldness, heightened by the confi-

(R) The circumstances of this unhappy prince's death are differently related by the ancients. *Tacitus* tells us, that having corrupted his keepers, he obtained leave of them to hunt in the neighbouring forests, and under that pretence attempted his escape to *Armenia*, with a design to pass from thence thro' the countries of the *Albanians* and *Heniochians* into *Scythia*, and there take sanctuary with one of the kings of that country, who was his kinsman. But the country people, being soon apprised of his flight, broke down the bridges of the *Pyranus*, a river of *Cilicia*; so that the prince, as the stream was not fordable, was overtaken and seized on the banks of that river by *Vibius Fronto*, who had pursued him close with a body of horse. Soon after *Remmius*, his late keeper, came up, and, pretending to be transported with rage, ran him through with his sword. It was commonly believed, that *Remmius*, gained by the prince's presents, had connived at his escape, and therefore in an affected rage slew him through fear of being discovered (64). According to this account, *Tiberius* had no hand in his death. But *Suetonius* throws the whole blame of this cruel action upon the emperor. *Vonones*, says that writer, being driven out of his kingdom, retired to *Antioch* with great wealth, and there continued some time, thinking himself safe under the protection of the *Roman* people; but was in the end, contrary to all justice and faith, not only pillaged by the emperor's order, but most treacherously slain (65). We take the account of *Tacitus* to be the most genuine, that writer being no ways inclined to lessen or suppress the faults of any of the *Cæsars*, but where truth, to which he ever pays the utmost regard, obliges him.

(64) *Tacit. c. 68.*(65) *Suet. in Tib. c. 49.*

*Falls sick
and reco-
vers.*

*He relap-
ses.*

*Suspects
Piso.*

*His speech
to his
friends.*

dence he placed in the protection of *Tiberius*, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave *Syria* and abandon his government. But while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, *Germanicus* being taken ill, he thought it adviseable to wait the issue of the distemper. The young prince soon recovered, and, as he was universally adored, his recovery was celebrated at *Antioch*, where he then was, with public vows, sacrifices, and all possible demonstrations of the most sincere and unaffected joy. This proved new matter of rage to *Piso*, who, no longer master of himself, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, to overturn the altars, and disperse the people assembled to celebrate the festival: a bold attempt this! and therefore *Piso* immediately after it leaving *Antioch*, withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after his departure *Germanicus* relapsed, and his persuasion that *Piso* had caused him to be poisoned heightened the violence of the distemper. Some of his domestics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his house had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the grave, ashes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of *Germanicus* engraved on sheets of lead. These reports and the frequent visits of persons, who were supposed to be *Piso's* creatures, and to have been sent by him to watch the progress of the malady, doubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehensions. *If my house, said he, is thus beset by treacherous friends in my life-time, what will become after my death of my unhappy wife, of my little children?* *Piso*, impatient to command alone the legions, to govern alone the province, thought poison too slow in its operation, and therefore had recourse to charms and incantations. In the height of the resentment, which these reflections raised in his mind, he wrote a letter to *Piso*, utterly renouncing his friendship, according to the custom which obtained among the *Romans*, and was a solemn declaration that they intended to have no farther intercourse or communication with the person, whose friendship they thus renounced. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Be that as it will, *Piso* soon after put to sea; but kept hovering upon the coast of his province, that he might return the sooner, should the government of *Syria* become vacant by the death of *Germanicus*. In the mean time, the violence of the malady somewhat abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain some hopes of his recovery. But short-lived was their joy; a sudden relapse threw them into despair; and the unfortunate *Germanicus*, finding his end approached, sent for his friends, and spoke to them in this manner: *Were I to die a natural death, yet should I have*

I have just cause to complain of the gods for thus snatching me from my relations, my children, and my country, in the flower of my age. But being thus brought to an untimely end by the malignity of Piso and his wife, the last favour I beg of you, my faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and brother, with what persecutions afflicted I end a most miserable life by a most inglorious death. My relations, dependents, and even those whom envy provoked against me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate, in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a woman, after having escaped so many dangers in war, and survived so many battles. But it is a duty incumbent upon you, my faithful friends, to do something more, than to commemorate my death with useless tears. It is the principal office of a true friend, to remember the wishes of those with whom they lived in friendship, and fulfil their last desires. If therefore you loved me rather than my fortune, you will revenge my death, you will complain to the senate, and prosecute the authors of my misfortunes as our laws direct. Shew to the Roman people my wife, the granddaughter of Augustus, shew them our six children (S). This sight will move the conscript fathers to compassion, which will prove favourable to you, who accuse; and the accused, if they pretend wicked commands, either will not be believed, or not pardoned. At these words his friends, drowned in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, all swore, that they would sooner lose their lives, than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their common children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that she would lay aside her haughty spirit, and yield to the cruel shocks of fortune, lest on her return to the city she should, by an unreasonable competition, provoke those who were more powerful than herself. Thus much he spoke openly, other things he said in secret, whence it was conjectured, that they related to *Tiberius*, warning her perhaps to be upon her guard against his snares. However that be, the words he spoke to her in secret were

His advice
to Agrippina.

(S) Germanicus had by *Agrippina* nine children; *Nero*, *Drusus*, *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, three other sons who died infants, and three daughters, born successively in the space of three years, *Agrippina*, the mother of *Nero*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*, commonly called *Julia*. One of the sons that died was so beautiful a child, that *Livia* had caused him to be painted in the habit of *Cupid*, and consecrated the picture in the temple of *Venus Capitolina*, whence it was removed to *Augustus's* chamber, who used constantly to kiss it when he came in (66).

(66) Suet. in *Calig.* c. 7.

his

His death.

Whether
poisoned.

his last; for he had scarce done, when he fainted away, and soon after expired, to the unexpressible grief of the province and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, exposed naked in the forum of *Antioch*, where the funeral pile was erected: *Tacitus* tells us, that it remained uncertain whether any marks of poison appeared on the body, the people, who saw it, giving opposite accounts, as they pitied *Germanicus*, or favoured *Piso*. But *Suetonius* says, that the body appeared covered with black and blue spots, that foam flowed from his mouth, and that his heart, the body being burnt, was found among the ashes untouched by the flames; for the naturalists of those days believed, that the heart, if in the least touched or infected with poison, could not be consumed with fire. *Vitellius*, who afterwards charged *Piso* before the senate with the death of *Germanicus*, made use of this argument to prove, that the prince had been poisoned, and openly declared, that his heart was found intire among the ashes*. But after all, this argument, even allowing the truth of the fact, was no ways convincing, since, in the opinion of the ancients, the hearts of such as died of the malady called by the physicians *Cardiaca passio*, were equally proof against fire†. The ashes of the deceased prince were carefully gathered by his wife *Agrippina*, and inclosed in an urn in order to be conveyed to *Rome*.

His character.

SUCH was the end of the renowned *Germanicus Cæsar*, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a prince no less famous for his military prowess, than his extraordinary accomplishments and inimitable virtues. The *Roman* people had so great an opinion of his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare, on several occasions, that, since the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the gods had not blessed *Rome* with such a citizen. He was, says *Tacitus*, alike venerable, whether you saw him or heard him; and, without ever betraying the least arrogance or pride, yet supported the dignity of his high station. His complaisance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the *Roman* people, but of the barbarians themselves, who, tho' enemies to *Rome*, yet could not refrain their tears upon the first news they received of the death of *Germanicus*. Some of them at war with one another, and even with *Rome*, forbore hostilities for some time to bewail so great, so general, a loss.

He is universally
lamented.

* TACIT. c. 73. SUET. in *Calig.* c. 1. PLIN. l. xi. c. 37.
† Vide PLIN. *ibid.*

Some of their princes cut off their beards, and shaved their wives heads, a token among them of the deepest sorrow. The proud monarch of the *Parthians* denied himself for some time the pleasure of the chase, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the princes and lords of his court ; which was a token of grief, like the shutting of the courts of justice among the *Romans*, and never used but upon some very extraordinary disaster. As for the people of *Antioch*, they carried their grief to impiety ; for hearing that *Germanicus* was dead, in the transport of their sorrow they threw stones at their temples, overturned their altars, flung contemptuously their household gods out of doors, &c. nay, some of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, exposed and forsook their new-born children. Strange tokens of sorrow these ! It is more easy to conceive than express the consternation which the news of his death occasioned in *Rome*, where he was adored by all ranks of men (T). The first account of his illness alarmed the whole city ; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was spread, nobody ever knew how, that he was recovered and in good health. Hereupon the people, not able to refrain their joy, flew immediately with victims and sacrifices to the capitol, impatient to discharge the vows they had made for his recovery. *Tiberius*, awaked out of his sleep with the noise of their mutual congratulations and loud shouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words echoed in every street, *Salva Roma, sal-*

*The grief
of the Ro-
man people*

(T) He was to such a degree beloved by the people, says *Suetonius* (67), not only of *Rome*, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, such crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being stifled in the throng. On his return from *Germany*, after having appeased the mutinous legions, all the prætorian cohorts went out to meet him, though two only had orders to pay him that compliment. As for the people, the road was thronged with persons of all ages and ranks for twenty miles distance (68). The people, says *Tacitus*, (69), adored him, not only on account of his own good qualities, but likewise for the sake of his father *Drusus*, whose memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no one doubting, but he would have restored *Rome* to her ancient liberty, had he ever succeeded to the empire. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the same hopes ; and hence their partiality for him, before he was of an age to gain their affections by his personal qualities.

(67) *Idem* *ibid.* c. 4.
annal. l. i. c. 33.

(68) *Idem* *ibid.* c. 3.

(69) *Tacit.*

va patria, salvus Germanicus; Rome is safe, our country is safe, since Germanicus is safe. But their joy was soon changed into the deepest sorrow; certain news of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the streets, nothing in the houses, but sighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or senate, all the courts of justice, the houses of the citizens, and shops, were shut, and the most frequented streets, no one appearing abroad, turned into a desert. The emperor by several edicts endeavoured to restrain these public expressions of grief; but even the most cautious, not able to moderate their sorrow, in spite of all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited by the festivals of *December* to mirth and jollity². His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly supposed to have been poisoned by *Piso*, at the instigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two persons in the whole Roman empire, says *Dion*³, who were not affected with so great, so general, a loss (U).

AND

² Suet. in Calig. c. 6.³ Dio. l. lvii. p. 615.

(U) *Germanicus* was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and, if *Ovid* did not flatter him, one of the best poets of his age (70). He expressed his thoughts with great ease and elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and pleaded several causes with extraordinary applause (71). He gave a specimen of his taste for poetry in some *Greek* comedies, which, as he was thorough master of that language, he wrote and published. *St. Jerom* and *Laëtantius* tell us, that he translated into *Latin* a treatise of astronomy, written originally in *Greek* by *Aratus*, under the title of *Phænomena*: but *Vossius* and *Rutgersius* ascribe this translation to the emperor *Domitian*, who assumed the title of *Germanicus*, as we shall observe hereafter. But what above all gained the affections both of the *Romans* and foreigners was, the extraordinary sweetness of his temper, his affability, complaisance, and obliging behaviour, even towards the meanest of the populace, a behaviour no ways affected, but to him quite natural, as arising from a sincere desire of doing every one the best offices he could. *Augustus* was so taken with these good qualities, that he was long in suspense, if *Suetonius* is to be credited (72), whether he should declare him his successor himself, or leave him to be adopted by *Tiberius*. Soon after his death *Tiberius* abandoned himself to all manner of cruelties, which added new lustre to the memory of the deceased prince, and made him the more regretted, every one concluding from thence, that, had he lived, the emperor would never have dared to commit such

(70) *Ovid. Fast. l. i. v. 23:*
Suet. ibid. c. 4.(71) *Suet. ibid. c. 3.*

(72)

excesses,

AND now the government of *Syria* being vacant, by the death of *Germanicus* and flight of *Piso*, the lieutenants of the legions, and senators, who were at *Antioch*, committed the administration of the province to *Cneius Sentius*, who, at the suit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, two illustrious senators and friends to *Germanicus*, immediately seized and sent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that province for poisoning, and greatly cherished by *Plancina*. In the meantime, *Piso* being overtaken at the island of *Cous* by a messenger, acquainting him with the death of *Germanicus*, did not so much as pretend to disguise his joy, but caused victims to be publicly slain, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples for so signal a favour. His wife *Plancina* declared her joy in a manner still more arrogant and insulting; for she no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which she wore for the death of her sister, she appeared in a dress adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which *Piso* had commanded in *Syria*, flocked to him, assuring him, that the legions were ready to receive him, and reinstate him in the government, which had been injuriously taken from him. Hereupon *Piso* summoned a council of his friends to consult what measures he had best pursue; whether he should go with all speed to *Rome*, or return to *Syria*. His son *Marcus Piso* was for the former, but *Domitius Celer*, an intimate friend of *Piso*, declared for the latter, and prevailed. But as *Piso* was well apprised, that *Sentius* would oppose him, which would give rise to a civil war in *Syria*, in order to bias *Tiberius* in his favour, he transmitted a letter to him, filled with invectives against the conduct, luxury, and pride of *Germanicus*; he enlarged on the injustice the young prince had done him in driving him out of his government, and concluded with acquainting the emper-

*Piso's joy
for the
death of
Germani-
cus.*

excesses (73). His military exploits we have related above; and therefore shall only observe here, that after his death the inhabitants of *Antioch* compared him to *Alexander the Great*, as to the gracefulness of his person, the nobility of his descent, his age, the circumstances of his death, &c. and concluded, that if his authority had been uncontrouled, he would have equalled that great warrior in the glory of his conquests, as he far surpassed him in prudence, clemency, moderation, and other virtues (74). And indeed, if he had not been stopt in the midst of his career, and snatched away from his victorious legions, he would, in all likelihood, have compleated the final reduction of *Germany*, already broken by so many overthrowes.

(73) *Idem*, c. 5.
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(74) *Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 70*,
Q q q

*He resolves
to return
to his go-
vernment.*

ror, that he was preparing to return to his province, and resume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, putting *Domitius Celer* on board a galley, he sent him before him into *Syria*, while he himself, having formed into companies the deserters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the servants who attended the camp, sailed over to the continent, where he had the good luck to intercept a body of new-raised soldiers on their march into *Syria*. He also wrote to the petty kings of *Cilicia*, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By this means, having got together a considerable body of men, he put to sea again, and steering along the coasts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, met the fleet, which carried *Agrippina* with the ashes of her husband to *Rome*. Both fleets prepared for battle; but, as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to hard words. *Vibius Marsus*, who commanded *Agrippina's* galleys, summoned *Piso* as a criminal to his trial at *Rome*, which summons he answered with derision and contempt. After this both fleets continued their course, the one for *Italy*, the other for *Cilicia*, where *Piso* made a descent, and seized a strong castle on the frontiers of *Syria*; which *Sentius* no sooner understood, than he flew thither at the head of his legions, overthrew *Piso's* men at the first onset, obliged him to take shelter behind the walls of the castle, and soon reduced him to such straits, that he offered to surrender the place, upon condition that *Sentius* would suffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleasure was known. But this being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmost extremity, he was forced to submit upon what terms *Sentius* thought fit to impose upon him, which were, that he should forthwith embark, and return to *Rome* ^b.

*He is forced
to abandon
Syria.*

*Honours
decreed at
Rome to
Germanicus.*

DURING these troubles in the east, the senate was wholly taken up at *Rome* with inventing and decreeing new honours to *Germanicus*, in order to eternalize the memory of a prince so much beloved, and so well deserving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name should be inserted in the *Salian* hymns (W); that curule chairs should be placed for him among the priests of *Augustus*

^b TACIT. c. 74---82.

(W) This honour was peculiar to the gods; for, till this time, only their names were sung in the *Salian* hymns. Afterwards *M. Antoninus* the philosopher ordered the same honour to be conferred on his son *Verus*, as *Spartianus* informs us (74).

(74) *Spart. in M. Anton. philosoph.*

(X),

(X), and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgment of his having saved many citizens; that his statue in ivory should be carried before the procession at the *Circensian* games; an honour peculiar to the gods, and such men as were deified; that none but one of the *Julian* family should be appointed flamen or augur in his room, &c. To these honours triumphal arches were added, one at *Rome*, another on the banks of the *Rhine*, and a third upon mount *Amanus* in *Syria*, with inscriptions of his exploits, and a declaration that he died for the republic; a sepulchre at *Antioch*, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at *Epidaphne*, where he ended his life (Y). Many statues were raised to him, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great master of eloquence, a golden shield, remarkable for its bulk (Z); but this *Tiberius* would

(X) It was deemed a particular mark of distinction at *Rome*, for any one to have a fixed place allotted him at the public shows. This honour was in process of time improved by flattery, and extended not only to such as were absent, but even to the dead. *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who was made dictator in the year of *Rome* 409, first enjoyed the honour of being distinguished, though absent, with a fixed place in the circus, which was allotted to him and his posterity (75). The same honour was afterwards bestowed upon *Julius Caesar*, *M. Marcellus*, and others, with this improvement; that curule chairs with golden crowns should be placed for them in the circus and theatre, even after their death, to preserve their memory (76). The emperor *Severus* caused three curule chairs to be placed in the theatre, to honour thereby the memory of *Pertinax* (77). To *Germanicus* was probably decreed but one chair in each of the three theatres.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that he died at *Epidaphne*, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, of which we have spoken in our history of *Syria*; but all other writers agree, that he ended his days in the city of *Antioch* (78).

(Z) It was an antient custom among the *Romans* to set up the images of illustrious men in the curia, and in their temples. Thus the image of *Scipio Africanus* was set up in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Cato* the censor in the curia, or senate house, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* (79). *Augustus* caused the images of all those *Romans*, who before his time had eminently distinguished themselves, in the arts either of peace or war, to be set up in the curia, allotting to each profession its proper place. Thus *Tacitus*

(75) *Liv.* l. ii. (76) *Dio.* l. xliv. (77) *Xiphil.* l. iii. (78) *Dio.* l. lvii. p. 615. *Suet. in Tib.* c. 1, &c. (79) *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 15.

Livilla delivered of male twins.

would not allow, saying, that in eloquence no regard was to be had to the dignity of the person, and that therefore he himself would dedicate a shield equal in size to those of other orators, it being sufficient glory for him to be ranked amongst the antient writers. The Roman knights, in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceased prince, agreed to change the name of that body of horse, which, being composed of the young nobility, was styled *The Squadron of the juniors*, and call it thenceforth *The Squadron of Germanicus*, appointing at the same time, that the effigies of *Germanicus* should be carried before the said squadron as their standard at their public reviews, which were annually made on the ides of *July*. In the height of the public grief *Livia*, called also *Livilla*, sister to *Germanicus* and wife to *Drusus*, was delivered of male twins, which proved such matter of joy to *Tiberius*, that he could not help boasting to the senate,

c Idem, c. 83.

tells us, that the image of *Hortensius* was placed amongst the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to *Germanicus*, as to one of the masters of eloquence. These images are called by the antients *shields* (80), because engraved in gold, silver, or brass, in the form of a shield. This is the common opinion; though some writers think, that in *Latin* they ought not to be called *clypei*, which word signifies a shield; but *clupea*, that is, *engraved work*, from the antient word *cluere*, to engrave. This derivation *Pliny* despises as a fond conceit of the grammarians: *Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum est*, says he, *continebantur imagines, unde & nomen habuere clypeorum, non, ut perversa grammaticorum subtilitas voluit, a cluendo*. However, *Livy* calls them *clupea*; *clupea*, says he, *de columnis dempsit* (81). Frequent mention is made of these shields in antient inscriptions: *Lipsius* quotes the following: *Huic. Decuriones. Funus. Publicum. Statuam Equestrem. Clypeum. Argentum. Locum Sepulturae. Deceverunt*. These shields were sometimes hung up to preserve the memory of the deceased without any effigies, and only with the names of the persons, by whom, and to whose honour they were offered (82). Such shields were sometimes set up by private persons, to honour the memory of their ancestors, without any order or decree of the senate; for *Pliny*, in speaking of *Appius Claudius*, who was consul in the year of Rome 259, says, that he was the first, who, though a private person, set up in public, and consecrated the shields of his ancestors (83).

(80) Vide *Plin* l. iii c. 7. *Suet.* in *Domit.* *Capitol.* in *Antonino.* *Trebel.* in *Claud.* *Liv.* l. lx. *Phil.* legat. ad *Caium*. (81) *Liv.* l. lx. (82) Vide *Phil.* *Jud.* ubi supra. (83) Vide *Lip.* in *excurs.* in lib. ii. *annal.* *Taciti*, *litera N.*

that to no *Roman* of the same rank had ever before been born two sons at a birth. But the increase of *Drusus's* family doubled the grief of the people, who saw with regret that of their beloved *Germanicus* removed farther and farther from the throne^d. This same year severe laws were enacted by the senate to restrain the lewdness of women, and it was provided, that no woman should prostitute herself, whose father, *Larus a-* grandfather, or husband, were *Roman* knights. The fathers *gainst the* were prompted to make this prohibition by the monstrous im- *lewdness* pudence of one *Vistilla*, who, though a lady of great quali- *of women.* ty, and born of a prætorian family, was not ashamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herself a prostitute, pursuant to an antient law, which obliged all women, who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above-mentioned magistrates. By this public declaration the antient *Romans* had thought prostitutes sufficiently punished; but *Vistilla* making no account of such a chastisement, and the fathers fearing other women of distinction might follow her example, they published the above-mentioned prohibition, and at the same time banished the infamous *Vistilla* to the island of *Seriphos*. Measures were also taken by *The Jewish* the fathers for utterly extirpating the *Jewish* and *Egyptian* and *Egyptian* ceremonies; and, by a decree of the senate, four thousand *monies abo-* young men, all descended from manumitted slaves, and in- *lised at* fected, says *Tacitus*, with that superstition, were inrolled *Rome.* and transported to *Sardinia*, to suppress the robbers who in- fested that island: if they perished through the badness of the air, the senate thought it would be no great loss (A). The rest

^d Idem, c. 84.

(A) *Josephus* complains of this severity; for, according to him, the four thousand men sent into *Sardinia* were all *Jews*. *Suetonius* agrees with *Josephus*. *Tiberius*, says that writer, put a stop to foreign ceremonies, and likewise to the *Egyptian* and *Jewish* rites, obliging all those, who were inclined to such superstitions, to burn the furniture belonging to their religion. He listed the *Jewish* youth, and sent them into the most pestilent and unwholesome provinces under his command, obliging the remainder of that nation, and such as followed their footsteps, to depart the city upon pain of perpetual slavery. Thus far *Suetonius* (84). To the expulsion of the *Jews* an impostor of that nation gave occasion, who, being obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to *Rome*, where he set up for an expounder of the law of *Moses*, and,

(84) *Suet. in Tib. c. 36.*

with

rest were ordered to depart *Rome*, and all *Italy*, if within a stated time they did not renounce their national ceremonies^c.

The

^c Idem, c. 85.

with the assistance of three others, all of the same stamp with himself, gained over to the *Jewish* religion one *Fulvia*, the wife of *Saturninus*, a woman of great distinction. The zealous proselyte was easily persuaded to make a rich present of purple and gold to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which she delivered to her directors; but they, instead of sending the offering to *Jerusalem*, converted it to their own use. This *Fulvia* disclosed to her husband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the *Jews* to depart *Rome*, after having listed four thousand of their youth, and sent them into *Sardinia*. *Josephus* tells us, that such as scrupled serving in the *Roman* army were severely punished (85). At the same time the *Egyptians* were driven out of *Rome*, and their rites utterly suppressed: they had been formerly forbidden by *Augustus* (86), but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occasion of a very scandalous story related at length by *Josephus*. *Decius Mundus*, a young *Roman* knight, falling in love with a married lady of the first quality in *Rome*, by name *Paulina*, and not being able to prevail upon her, as she was a mirror of chastity, even with the offer of two hundred thousand drachmas, to comply with his unlawful desires, had recourse to the priests of the god *Isis*. These pretending that the god *Anubis*, to whose worship *Paulina* was greatly addicted, was in love with her, persuaded her to pass a night in the temple of that deity; when *Mundus*, by paying down twenty five thousand drachmas to the priests, and promising them the like sum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to *Paulina* herself with the tender of two hundred thousand drachmas. The next day the deluded lady bragging of the honour done her by the *Egyptian* deity, some believed her, while others ascribed the whole to the strength of her imagination. But three days after *Mundus* meeting her, *I thank you, Paulina*, said he, *for saving me two hundred thousand drachmas, and granting me at the same time, not under the name of Mundus, but of Anubis, the favours which I would willingly have purchased at so dear a rate.* At these words the virtuous *Paulina* was thunder-struck; she burst into tears, tore her garments, and, hastening to her husband, she acquainted him how she had been abused, and betrayed by the priests: and, drowned in tears, besought him to exert himself in the prosecution of the priests, by whom her simplicity and credulity had been thus enormously abused. Hereupon her husband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of so base an action; and he, upon a narrow enquiry into the fact, and a strict examination of

(85) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 5.*

(86) *Dio. l. liv. p. 525.*

The same year *Tiberius* gave several instances of generosity, which ought not to be omitted. *Occia*, who had presided over the vestals fifty-seven years with great reputation of sanctimony, being dead, he represented to the senate, that another virgin was to be chosen in her room; and *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Asinius Pollio* offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but preferred *Pollio's* daughter, for no other reason, but because her mother had had but one husband: to comfort the other, who was postponed, he gave her for her fortune a thousand great sesterces. Corn being very dear, he settled the price *Instances of* which the buyer was to pay; and that the seller might not *Tiberius's* lose the advantage naturally arising from the scarcity of grain, *generosity.* he took upon himself to pay two *nummi*, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a bushel, over and above the fixed price. For these bounties the people offered him again the title of *Father of his country*, which he rejected, and at the same time sharply rebuked such as styled him *lord*, shewing thereby, says *Tacitus*, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he could not abide flattery. The same author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of those times, some of them senators, that letters were read in the senate from *Alfandestrius*, prince of the *Catti*, offering to dispatch *Arminius*, provided poison were sent him for that purpose: to which *Tiberius* returned this answer; that it was not the custom of the *Roman* people to take vengeance on their enemies by treachery, but openly and in the field; wherein he gained equal glory, says our historian, with the antient *Roman* commanders, who would not suffer king *Pyrrhus* to be poisoned, but disclosed to him the whole plot. *Arminius*, however, after the departure of the *Death of* *Romans*, and expulsion of his rival in power *Maroboduus*, at *Arminius.* tempting to enslave his country, fell by the treachery of his kindred in the thirty-seventh year of his age. *Tacitus* calls

the priests, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of *Anubis* to be pulled down, his statue to be thrown into the *Tiber*, the *Egyptian* rites to be utterly suppressed, and all who professed them to be banished *Rome*. *Ida*, the freed woman of *Mundus's* father, who first advised him to apply to the priests, for which advice she received fifty thousand drachmas, was crucified with the priests; but *Mundus* himself was only banished, *Tiberius* exempting him, says *Josephus*, from a more severe punishment in regard of his passion, which was so violent, that, finding the chaste *Paulina* proof against all temptation, he had resolved to starve himself to death.

(87) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.*

him,

him, not undeservedly, the deliverer of *Germany*; for under his conduct the *Germans* shook off the *Roman* yoke, and long maintained their liberties, in spite of the utmost efforts of the generals sent from *Rome* to bring them again under subjection. He commanded the troops of his country twelve years, during which time he was often defeated, but always found means to repair his losses, and renew the war with fresh vigour. His name in *Tacitus's* time was still celebrated by his countrymen in their songs †. *Pliny* observes, that this year on the eighth of *July* a new island was formed near that of *Deles* in the *archipelago* ‡.

Agrippina's arrival in Italy with the ashes of her husband.

IN the beginning of the next year, *M. Valerius Messalinus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being consuls, *Agrippina* arrived at *Brundisium* with the ashes of her deceased husband, and was received at her landing with tokens of the deepest sorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked to *Brundisium* to condole with her on so melancholy an occasion. She no sooner appeared on the shore, attended by her two children, *Caius* and *Julia*, with the funeral urn in her arms, and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burst into tears; nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, strangers, being equally affected at the sight of so moving an object. *Tiberius* had dispatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceased prince from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, and ordered the magistrates of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania* to pay their last offices to the memory of his son. The urn therefore was carried on the shoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magistrates of the places through which it passed, the lictors of the deceased general marching before it with their fasces reversed (B). When the funeral procession arrived

† Idem, c. 88.

‡ PLIN. l. ii. c. 87.

(B) This custom of carrying the fasces reversed in token of grief is likewise mentioned by *Pedo* in his elegy to *Livia*;

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

And *Statius* :

—versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges 88).

(88) *Stat. Thebaid. l. vi.*

Not

arrived at any *Roman* colony, the nobility in their best apparel, and the people in mourning, flew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, testifying with loud lamentations their common sorrow. The nearer they drew to *Rome*, the greater *How received.* was the concourse. At *Terracina* they were met by *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, by *Claudius*, *Germanicus*'s younger brother, and by such of his children as had been left at *Rome*. At some distance from the city the conscript fathers, with the consuls at their head, and immense crouds of people, lined the road, through which the procession passed, all drowned in tears and testifying their grief with sighs, in which flattery had no share, every one being well apprised how real was the joy, how insincere was the grief of *Tiberius*. Neither he nor his mother *Livia* appeared abroad, either because they thought it below their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances some marks of joy amidst the public lamentations (C). The remains of the deceased were repositied in the tomb of *Augustus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that stately monument was erected, and crying aloud in the height of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. But nothing offended *Tiberius* so much as the affection which the people shewed for *Agrippina*, calling her, *The ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, a true pattern of an-*

Not only the lictors carried their fasces reversed, but the soldiers their arms, as appears from the funeral procession, which *Virgil* describes on occasion of the death of *Pallas*:

—Tum mœsta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & versis Arcades armis (89).

It is well known, that *Virgil* introduces in his poem the customs that prevailed at *Rome*.

(C) *Tacitus* tells us, that neither in any historian, nor in the journals of the city, he could find, that *Antonia*, the mother of *Germanicus*, bore any part in the funeral, though *Agrippina*, *Drusus*, *Claudius*, and the other relations of the deceased, were there recorded by name. Perhaps she was prevented by sickness; perhaps she was sensible, that she would have sunk under the weight of her sorrow; or else she was detained by *Tiberius*, that he and *Livia* might seem to have followed her example, and the people not think it strange, that the grandmother and uncle had absented themselves when the mother had not appeared; but ascribe their absence to the same cause, viz. an equal affliction.

(89) *Virgil. Æneid. l. xi. v. 92, 93.*

Vol. III.

R 1 2

time

Tiberius
by a decree
checks the
public
grief.

Drusus's
artful an-
swer to
Cneius
Piso.

tient virtue, and at the same time imploring the blessings of the gods for her issue, that they might outlive the persecutions of the wicked. As the people set no bounds to their grief, he thought proper to check it by a public decree, exhorting them to resume their several vocations, and, as the *Magnesian* games were at hand, to indulge themselves in their usual diversions, now they had by their lamentations given sufficient vent to their grief. He urged the examples of the deified *Julius* and the deified *Augustus*, who upon the loss, the former of an only daughter, the latter of his beloved grandsons, had both got the better of their sorrow; he put them also in mind of the constancy with which the *Roman* people had formerly borne the slaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and the utter destruction of many noble families, adding, that princes were mortal, but the commonwealth eternal. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of justice were opened again, public affairs resumed, and an end put to the vacation. *Drusus*, who was come to *Rome* on purpose to attend the funeral, returned to the army in *Illyricum*; which he had scarce reached, when *Piso* appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince less incensed against him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. *Drusus* at their first meeting told him, that if the crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the first to revenge it, but that he hoped the current report was groundless, and that the death of *Germanicus* would be pernicious to none. This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with *Piso*. This artful answer and the cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwise frank and unwary, prompted most people to believe, that he had been instructed beforehand by his father how to behave in so nice and critical a conjuncture. Young *Piso*, whom the father had sent to *Rome* with instructions how to soften the emperor, was received very kindly by him, and honoured with such presents as were usually bestowed on the sons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. This he did to shew himself utterly unbiaſſed. In the mean time, news was brought, that *Martina*, famous for the art of poisoning, who, as we have related above, had been sent in custody towards *Rome*, was found dead at *Brundisium* with poison bound up in the knots of her hair, but without any marks of poison on her body. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from *Tiberius* or *Piso*, was never known. By her death the accusers were deprived of their chief evidence; for she had ever lived in close confidence with

Plautina

Plancina, and the senate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a sincere confession of the crime and a discovery of her accomplices. Not long after *Piso* arrived at *Rome* Cn. *Piso* with his wife *Plancina*, and landed, as he had imbarqued, at *Narnia* upon the *Nar*, and thence sailed into the *Tiber*, near the tomb of *Augustus*, where the ashes of *Germanicus* had been lately repositied. This with their insolent behaviour heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances, and, attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domestics and she of women, proceeded to their stately palace, which overlooked the forum, and was on occasion of their return magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they passed in rejoycings, having invited their friends and relations to a great banquet, with which they solemnized their safe arrival. But the very next day *Piso* was arraigned by *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and others who had attended *Germanicus*, before the emperor; who, after having heard in a private audience the charge of the accusers and the defence of the accused, referred the intire cause to the senate, being well apprised of the reflections that would be cast upon him, whether he condemned or absolved the accused. When the senate met for this great trial, *Tiberius* made a speech full of affected moderation; he told the conscript fathers, that *Piso* had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himself, at the direction of the senate, to assist *Germanicus* in settling the affairs of the east: whether he had there by his haughtiness and opposition provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unbiaſſed minds, " If you find him guilty, said the emperor, of having only exceeded the bounds of his commission, and not submitted to the will of his general, or even of having betrayed joy at his death and my affliction, I shall ever hate him and banish him from my house; but cannot for private injuries exert the prince, and condemn him as a criminal. But if you find him guilty of *Germanicus's* death, it is incumbent upon you to revenge it, and afford his children, and us his father and grandmother, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for such an enormous attempt. Examine too with great care, whether he endeavoured to debauch the army, whether he countenanced licentiousness in the soldiery, or attempted to recover the province by force of arms. I have just cause to be offended with the indiscreet zeal of his accusers: to what purpose strip the corpse, and expose it naked to the eyes of

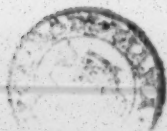
Is arraigned
ed

Tiberius's
speech to
the senate
on this oc-
casion.

Articles
of im-
peachment
brought
against
Piso.

“ the multitude ? Why was it proclaimed among foreign na-
 “ tions, that he was taken off by poison, if all this was still
 “ doubtful and remains to be examined ? I am grieved for
 “ the death of my son, and ever shall lament so great a loss ;
 “ but far be it from me any ways to hinder the accused from
 “ doing all he can to shew his innocence, or even from ex-
 “ posing and laying open the faults of *Germanicus*, if he had
 “ any faults. I beseech you to proceed with the same im-
 “ partiality : let not your regard to me mislead you to take
 “ crimes for proved, because they are committed against me.
 “ As for the accused, if he has any friends or relations, let
 “ them exert their eloquence, and use their utmost endea-
 “ vours to clear him from the crimes laid to his charge. Let
 “ his accusers take the same pains to convict him of the
 “ charge which is brought against him : by this means we
 “ shall be able to judge impartially, to absolve the accused, if
 “ innocent ; to condemn him, if guilty.” Two days were
 then allowed to the accusers to make good their charge, and
 six days after, three to the accused to make his defence. The
 articles of impeachment, brought against *Piso* by *Servæus*,
Veranius, and *Vitellius*, were, that he had permitted a gene-
 ral licentiousness in the army, and corrupted the common sol-
 diers to that degree, that he was styled, by the most profligate,
 father of the legions ; that he had abused in a most outrage-
 ous manner the friends of *Germanicus* ; and lastly, that by
 poison and witchcraft he had destroyed *Germanicus* himself,
 and borne arms against the commonwealth ; insomuch, that
 they had been obliged to engage and defeat him before they
 could bring him to his trial. He defended himself but weakly
 against these accusations ; only the charge of poisoning *Ger-
 manicus* could not be sufficiently proved. However, the se-
 nate could not be persuaded, that *Germanicus* had died a na-
 tural death ; and at the same time the people were heard cry-
 ing aloud, at the door of the senate-house, that though the fa-
 thers absolved the accused, yet he should not escape the pu-
 nishment due to his crimes ; nay, they had already overturn-
 ed the statues of *Piso*, and would have dragged them to the
scalæ Gemoniæ, the place where criminals were executed, had
 they not been rescued by *Tiberius*’s orders. These distur-
 bances induced the senate to put off the final decision of
 the cause ; and *Piso*, that he might not be exposed to the
 outrages of the incensed multitude, was conveyed to his house
 in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom
 some looked upon as a guard for his safety, others as the
 minister of his death.

THE



THE people were no less incensed against *Plancina* than *Piso* abandoned by *Livia* done by his wife *Plancina*; but she, having by the secret solicitations of *Livia* secured her own pardon, began by degrees to drop her husband, and to make a separate defence, though she had declared from the beginning, that she would employ all her interest and favour with *Livia* in behalf of both, and that by the same sentence they should both be either absolved or condemned. This so disheartened *Piso*, who had placed more confidence in the interest of his wife, than his own, that he was some time in suspense whether he should make any farther defence. But his son prevailed upon him to appear once more before the senate, and try whether he could move the fathers or *Tiberius* to compassion. But the senate proving implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to shew, even in his countenance, the least mark of tenderness towards him in his distress, he returned home, as if he designed to prepare for his farther defence against the next day. But instead of that, he wrote a letter to the emperor, which he sealed and delivered to his freedmen. He then bathed, according to the Roman custom, and supped as usual. His wife kept him company till the night was far spent, and then retired; which she had no sooner done, than *Piso* ordered the door of the chamber to be shut, and was found at break of day with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him. *Tacitus* tells us, that while he was a youth, he heard from some old men, that a bundle of writings was frequently seen in *Piso's* hands during his trial, which contained, as his friends constantly affirmed, the letters of *Tiberius*, ordering him to dispatch *Germanicus*. These letters, said they, he designed to lay before the senate, and accuse the prince; but was diverted from it by *Sejanus*, who in the emperor's name promised him his pardon: they added, that *Piso* did not fall by his own hand, but by that of an executioner sent privately by *Tiberius* to dispatch him. Our historian tells us, that he dares affirm neither of these things, but yet thought himself obliged to acquaint his readers with such relations (D). *Tiberius* fearing the death of *Piso* might

His death.

(D) *Suetonius* writes, that he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the populace, and was condemned to death by the senate (90). *Dion* says, that he was brought into the senate by *Tiberius* himself, who desired, that he might have time to prepare for his defence, and that he laid violent hands on himself. But, according to *Tacitus*, the sentence was not awarded against him till after

(90) *Suet. in Calig. c. 2.*

Tiberius
favourites
Plancina.

Who is ab-
solved.

Tiberius
favourites
the chil-
dren and
memory of
Piso.

might be imputed to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther discoveries, examined his domestics in the senate about the circumstances of his death, and then read the letter which *Piso* had written to him, imploring his protection for his sons, whom he cleared from having any share in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife *Plancina* he said nothing. One of his sons had remained at *Rome*, and therefore could be no ways accessory to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into *Syria*, and served under him in the war he raised in the province; but *Tiberius* would not allow that to be imputed to him as a crime, alledging the orders of his father, which, he said, a son could not disobey. As for *Plancina*, who was supposed to have been more guilty than her husband, *Tiberius* openly declared, not without blushing, and betraying great confusion in his speech and countenance, that at the earnest intreaties of his mother he could not help pleading for her, and assisting her in her trial. However, *Vitellius* and *Veranius* did not drop the prosecution; but after they had in a trial, which lasted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and silenced those who pleaded for the accused, she escaped the punishment due to her crime by the indulgence of the servile senate. For the consul *Aurelius Cotta* being first asked his opinion by the emperor, who collected the voices himself, answered in the following terms: I am of opinion, that the name of *Piso* be razed out of the consular fasti, or tables, part of his estate forfeited, and part granted to his son *Cneius* upon his changing that name; that his son *Marcus* be driven out of the senate, banished for ten years, and allowed out of his father's estate only fifty thousand great sesterces; as to *Plancina*, I think she should be pardoned at the request of *Livia*. This sentence seemed too rigorous to the emperor with respect to *Piso's* children and memory; he therefore would not allow his name to be struck out of the consular tables, saying, that the name of *Marc Antony*, who had made war upon his country, and that of his son *Julius Antonius*, who had by adultery dishonoured the house of *Augustus*, remained still there. He likewise delivered *Marcus Piso* from the infamy of being divested of his dignity, and left him his paternal inheritance intire. He also opposed the motion of *Valerius Messalinus*, who was for erecting a golden statue in the temple of *Mars the avenger*, and that of *Cæcina*

his death; neither does that writer say, that he laid violent hands on himself, but only that he was found with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him.

Severus,

Severus, who proposed building an altar to *Revenge*. Such monuments, he said, were fit to be raised for victories over a foreign enemy; but domestic evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief (E). As the emperor had shewn great favour to *Plancina* and her children, to maintain the opinion of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial he moved in the senate, that *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and *Servæus*, who had accused *Piso*, might be rewarded; and they were accordingly preferred to pontifical honours ^h.

THE death of *Germanicus* being thus revenged, *Drusus* who had returned from *Illyricum* to be present at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though decreed him the year before for having settled peace in *Germany*, he had postponed till the trial was over. A few days after died his mother *Vipsania*, of all the children of *Agrippa*, the only one, says *Tacitus*, who died a natural death (F). The same year *Tacfarinas*, who had been some time before defeated by *Furius Camillus*, as we have related above, renewed

Vipsania
the mother
of *Drusus*
dies.
Tacfarinas
renews the
war, but
is defeated.

^h TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—19.

(E) *Messalinus* added to his motion, that public thanks should be rendered to *Tiberius*, *Livia*, *Antonia*, *Agrippina*, and *Drusus*, for having revenged the death of *Germanicus*, but omitted to mention *Claudius* the brother of the deceased prince. Whereupon *Lucius Asprenas* asked him, whether he had omitted him designedly; and then *Messalinus* subjoined the name of *Claudius* too. This shews how little regard was then paid to *Claudius*: and indeed he was despised and neglected by all, and thought incapable of any public employment. But for all this, fortune reserved the sovereignty to him, and we shall see him one day, notwithstanding the weakness both of his body and mind, master of the *Roman* empire.

(F) *Agrippa* had three wives, viz. *Pomponia*, the daughter of *Atticus*, *Marcella* the daughter of *Octavia*, and *Julia*. By *Pomponia* he had *Vipsania* the mother of *Drusus*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*; *Marcella* likewise brought him children, if *Suetonius* is to be credited; but as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young: by *Julia* he had five children, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, *Agrippa Posthumus*, *Agrippina*, and *Julia*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were supposed to have been poisoned; *Agrippina*, perished by hunger, and *Posthumus Agrippa* by the sword; but as to *Julia*, she died a natural death, according to the account which *Tacitus* himself gives of it (91); though he tells us in this place, that *Vipsania* was of all the children of *Agrippa* the only one who died a natural death.

(91) Tacit. annual. l. iv.

the

The trial
of Æmilia
Lepida.

the war in *Africa*, but was obliged by *L. Apronius*, who had succeeded *Camillus* in the government of that province, to shelter himself again in the deserts. A Roman cohort having on this occasion given ground at the first onset, the proconsul caused every tenth man of that cowardly body to be executed; which exemplary rigour, at this time very rare, had so good an effect on the rest, that a numerous body of the enemy was soon after put to flight by a detachment of no more than five hundred veterans, and their numerous army utterly routed by another detachment commanded by *Apronius Cæsianus*, the proconsul's son. This year, *Æmilia Lepida*, descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*, and besides great-granddaughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once designed for the wife of *Lucius Cæsar*, and for the daughter-in-law of *Augustus*, was charged with imposing upon her husband *Publius Quirinius* a supposititious child, with adultery, and with consulting the *Chaldeans* about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence, *Tiberius* behaving on this occasion with such subtlety, that it was impossible to discover his real sentiments. At first he begged the senators not to meddle with the articles of treason, and soon after charged *Marcus Servilius* to produce those very proofs which he pretended to suppress: He would not suffer the slaves of *Lepida* to be examined by torture as to the articles of treason, nor his son *Drusus*, though consul elect, to vote first, lest the rest should think themselves obliged to follow his example. However, the slaves of *Lepida* confessing upon the rack, that she had imposed upon her husband a supposititious child, and even attempted to poison him, she was condemned to perpetual banishment; but at the request of *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, either before her marriage with *Quirinius* or after her divorce, her estate was not confiscated. After she was condemned, *Tiberius* told the senators, that he had learnt from the slaves too of her husband *Quirinius*, that she had attempted to poison him¹. *Suetonius* tells us, that she had committed the crimes, for which she was at this time condemned, twenty years before; but *Tacitus* only says, that she was prosecuted by her husband even after their divorce; which drew compassion upon her, however guilty and infamous. This year *Tiberius* softened the rigour of the law *Papia-Poppæa*, which, as we have related above, loaded those with heavy fines who did not marry at a certain age. But great numbers of *Romans* chusing rather to pay the said fines,

The severity
of the
law
Papia-
Poppæa
softened.

¹ Idem, c. 22, 23. SUET. in Tib. c. 49.

than

than incumber themselves with a family, so that the law served only to enrich the exchequer, *Tiberius* with great disinterestedness appointed five persons, who had been formerly consuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other senators, to examine all the regulations made before his time against celibacy. These explained the intricacies of the laws enacted against a single life, which the pleaders, that is, the lawyers of those days, laid hold of to undo many noble families; and at the same time they qualified the rigour of the ancient law by lessening the fines, which, according to the regulations of *Augustus*, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a certain age. This, as *Tacitus* observes, was some relief to the city, the number of laws proving as great an evil as the crimes, for the restraining of which they were enacted. Towards the end of this year, *Nero*, *Germanicus's* eldest son, being now of age, *Tiberius* recommended him to the senate, that he might stand for the quæstorship five years sooner than the laws directed, which, as we may well imagine, was readily granted, as also a place in the college of pontiffs. The first day he entered the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed by *Tiberius* to the populace, overjoyed to see a son of *Germanicus* now of age. Their joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*; but soon after the people saw with the utmost concern and indignation the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Drusus*, the nephew of *Germanicus*, and son of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match the *Claudian* family seemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whose power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raised still higher. But a few days after *Drusus* died at *Pompeii* by a very strange accident, being choaked by a pear, which stuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and and caught it in his mouth¹.

Death of
Drusus
nephew to
Germani-
cus.

THE following year, *Tiberius* was consul the fourth time, and *Drusus* the second; but *Tiberius*, soon after he had resumed the fasces, under pretence of his health, retired to *Campania*, either with a design to accustom himself by degrees to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Drusus* the honour of discharging that office alone. Not long after his departure he wrote to the senate, acquainting them, that *Tacfarinas* had raised new disturbances in *Africa*, and exhorting them to chuse a proconsul to be sent into that province equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon the receipt of this letter the fathers met, but, instead of naming a governor themselves, de-

Tiberius
goes into
Campania.

¹ TACIT. c. 29. Suet. in Claud. c. 27.

creed, that the appointment of a proper person for the government of *Africa* should be left to the emperor. On this occasion *Cæcina Severus* made a speech against any magistrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being opposed by *Valerius Messalinus* and *Drusus* himself, his motion was over-ruled (G). The next time the senate met, a letter
was

(G) *Cæcina* introduced this motion with a long preamble, that he lived in perfect concord with his wife, and had six children by her; but nevertheless had practised himself, though he had served forty years in different provinces, what he offered to the public. He said, that it had not without cause been provided of old, that women should not be carried into the countries of confederate or foreign nations, since they introduced luxury in peace, retarded war with their fears, and made the *Roman* armies on their march resemble those of the barbarians. Women, said he, are not only tender and unfit to bear fatigues; but, if not restrained, cruel, ambitious, and greedy of power. They even march among the soldiers, and are attended and obeyed by the centurions. A woman has lately acted the chief part at the exercise of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions. Besides you well know, conscript fathers, that as often as any of the magistrates are accused of plundering the provinces, their wives are always concerned in the guilt. To them the most profligate in the provinces immediately apply; by them all affairs are undertaken and transacted. They are no less respected than their husbands, have the same court paid them, are equally obeyed, nay more readily obeyed, their orders being generally more imperious. This authority in women was formerly restrained by the *Oppian* and other laws; but now they rule without controul, not only their families, but the forum, the courts of justice, and even the armies. To this speech, which was applauded by some, but disliked by the far greater part, *Valerius Messalinus* answered, that many of the institutions of their forefathers were changed for the better; that women were so far from burdening the provinces, that they were no burden to their own husbands; that in time of peace they proved no incumbrance to them, but a great relief after the fatigues of war, to which it was not proper they should attend their husbands. As to the pride, cruelty, and ambition, to which some of them had given a loose, he answered, that if on that account none were to be allowed to accompany their husbands into the provinces, no governors ought, according to that method of reasoning, be sent thither, since some of them had proved cruel, haughty, rapacious, &c. The *Oppian* laws, he said, were once judged necessary, and their severity thought expedient for the state; but afterwards their rigour was softened, and that too was judged expedient for the public good. As to the wives being accessory to the guilt of their husbands, the latter, he said, ought to bear the blame; but he thought it very hard, that for
the

was presented to them from *Tiberius*, wherein, after complaining of them for casting upon him the care of all public affairs, he named *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæsus*, leaving it to them to chuse for the proconsulate of *Africa* which of the two they pleased. Hereupon *Blæsus* was chosen, *Lepidus* excusing himself with great earnestness, and pleading his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable. There was another reason too, says *Tacitus*, which, though not mentioned by *Lepidus* was understood; *Blæsus* was uncle to *Sejanus*, and therefore, as his interest prevailed, *Lepidus* declined standing in competition with him^k. The moderation and mildness with which *Drusus* governed, during his father's absence, encouraged some senators to apply to him for redress to an evil, which was by degrees grown unsupportable. The statues of the emperor were become sanctuaries to profligates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten, and wantonly insult whom they pleased, not even a master being allowed to punish a slave for the invectives he had uttered against him, while he held the emperor's statue. Against this abuse *Caius Sestius*, a senator, spoke with great vehemence, as he had been lately abused in a most outrageous manner by one *Annia Rufilla*, whom he had got condemned for forgery. To put a stop to this disorder, *Drusus* summoned *Rufilla*

Statues of the emperor become sanctuaries.

^k Idem, c. 35.

the too great compliance of one or a few weak husbands, all the rest should be deprived of the comfort and relief which the fellowship of their wives, the natural partners of their good and bad fortunes, afforded them. He added, that the sex, weak by nature, would be thus left defenceless, a prey to their own passions, and exposed to the temptations of thousands, who would make it their business to seduce them; whereof the natural consequence in an absence of many years was to every one obvious, since the marriage-bed was scarce preserved undefiled under the eye of the husband. He concluded his speech with exhorting the fathers, so to redress the evils abroad, as not to neglect the disorders at home. *Drusus* approved of this speech; and having alledged the example of *Augustus*, who travelled mostly accompanied with *Livia*, added, that he himself had taken a progress to *Illyricum*, and was ready, if it were thought expedient, to visit other nations; but not without uneasiness, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, by whom he had so many children. For these reasons, if they deserve that name, the motion of *Cæcina* was defeated (92).

(92) *Tacit. c. 34.*

S f f 2

before

Drusus re- before his tribunal ; and finding her guilty of uttering invec-
dresses this tives against *Sestius*, under shelter of the emperor's statue,
evil. he committed her to prison. The punishment of this pro-
 fligate woman, and that of two *Roman* knights, *Confidius*
Æquus and *Cælius Cursor*, who had forged a charge of trea-
 son against the prætor *Magius Cæcilianus*, gained *Drusus* the
 affections of the people, and made them overlook his love of
 pleasure and the luxury in which he lived, spending the day
 at the shows of gladiators, and the greater part of the night

Antistius in revels and banquets. *Antistius Vetus*, a principal nobleman
Vetus tri- of *Macedon*, being tried for adultery, during *Drusus's* ad-
ed. ministration, was absolved ; which highly offended *Tiberius*,
 who wrote a letter to the senate, reproaching the judges, and
 ordering them to recall *Vetus* and try him for treason, as a
 disturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late
 king *Rhaseiporis*, when having killed his nephew *Cotys*, whom
Tacitus through mistake calls his brother, he designed to
 make war upon *Rome*. The charge of treason, says our
 historian, proved in those days the sum and bulwark of all
 accusations whatsoever, and was the most effectual means of
 making sure of the criminal. *Vetus* was therefore condemn-

And con-
demned.

ed to perpetual banishment, and to his sentence was added,
 that he should be confined to an island, neither in the neigh-
 bourhood of *Macedon*, nor of *Thrace*. The troubles which
 began about this time in *Thrace*, prompted the judges, or ra-
 ther *Tiberius*, to add this clause. For the *Odrysians*, and
 other warlike nations of *Thrace*, being dissatisfied with the
 government of *Rhometalces*, to whom *Tiberius* had given that
 part of *Thrace*, which his father *Rhaseiporis* had held, and
 much more with the government of *Trebellienus Rufus*, whom
Tiberius had appointed guardian to the sons of *Cotys*, who
Arevolt in were minors, openly revolted ; and having committed dread-
Thrace ful ravages, besieged *Rhometalces* in the city of *Philippopolis*.
suppressed. But divisions arising among them, *Publius Velleius*, whom
 some writers take to be the historian *Velleius Patercu-*
lus ¹, marching against them from the neighbouring pro-
 vince, where he commanded, defeated them, and obliged
 them, without losing a single man, to abandon the siege.

The Gauls
revolt.

THE same year, the *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the
 heavy tributes, with which they were loaded, and the cruelty
 and pride of their governors, attempted to shake off the *Ro-*
man yoke, being stirred up by *Julius Florus* a native of
Treves, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a leading man among the *Ædui*,
 that is, those of *Autun*. The *Andecavi* and *Turones*, that is,

¹ Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 24.

² TACIT. c. 36, 37.

the inhabitants of *Angiers* and *Tours*, first took up arms ; but the former were soon reduced by *Acilius Aviola* at the head of a cohort, drawn from the garison of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*; and the latter by the same *Aviola* with a detachment sent him by *Visellius Varro*, governor of *Lower Germany*. *Julius Florus*, having attempted in vain to debauch a body of horse, which had been raised by the *Romans* at *Treves*, made to the forest of *Ardea*, attended by a rabble of his own clients and followers ; but finding all the passes beset by *Visellius Varro* and *Caius Silius*, he was obliged to venture a battle with his countryman *Julius Indus*, whom the *Romans* had sent forward with a chosen body of men, as one who was well acquainted with the roads, and a declared enemy to *Florus*. *Indus* put him to flight at the first onset, and by pursuing him from place to place, reduced him to such straights, that finding no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he put an end to his life with his own sword. By his death the insurrection of *Treves* was quelled. But that of the *Ædui* gave the *Roman* generals no small uneasiness, *Sacrovir*, the chief author of it, having raised an army of forty thousand men, and made himself master of *Augustodunum* or *Autun*, the capital of the nation, where he found and seized all the young nobility of *Gaul*, hoping by that means to engage their parents and relations in his interest. A contention which arose between the two *Roman* generals about the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a vigorous defence. At length *Varro*, who was old and infirm, yielding to *Silius*, who was vigorous and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and advancing towards *Augustodunum*, were met by *Sacrovir* twelve miles from that city. Whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Gauls* were routed with great slaughter, and *Sacrovir* obliged to fly first to *Augustodunum*, and thence to a neighbouring town; where he slew himself, and those who attended him one another, after having set fire to the place, by which it was reduced to ashes. Our historian observes, that when news of this insurrection in *Gaul* was brought to *Rome*, the best men were grieved for the sake of their country, but many rejoiced in their own dangers, and in hatred to *Tiberius* wished success to the common enemy^a.

WHEN the insurrection was intirely suppressed, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the rise, progress and conclusion of the war : he added, that it was brought to a happy issue by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants.

^a Idem, c. 40—47.

Tiberius's directed by his counsels. As some had complained of him *reasons for* for not going in person to suppress it, in the same letter he *not going* yielded reasons why neither he nor *Drusus* had, during those *in person* commotions, offered to stir out of *Italy*, telling them, that *into Gaul.* the *Roman* empire was an immense body, and that it was below the dignity of princes, upon the revolt of one or two cities, to abandon the capital, whence proper directions were sent to govern the whole; but nevertheless, that he would visit those nations and settle them, since they were again brought under subjection; which before would have been doing them too much honour, as if he had not been able to conquer them by his lieutenants. The senate decreed vows, supplications, and the other usual honours on such occasions; but *Cornelius Dolabella*, a notorious flatterer, moved, that *Tiberius*, on his return from *Campania*, should be honoured with an ovation. This ridiculous motion occasioned a letter from the emperor, wherein he declared, that he was not so destitute of glory as to hunt after empty honours in his old age, for a short progress in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, after having in his youth vanquished most warlike nations, and either enjoyed or despised many triumphs. This year *Publius Sulpicius Quirinius*, whom *St. Luke* calls *Cyrenius*, dying at *Rome*, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, desiring that he might be honoured with a public funeral. He was a native of *Lanuvium*, a municipal town; but though of a mean descent, had raised himself by his valour to the highest posts in the army, and had been honoured by *Augustus*, first with the consulship, and afterwards with the ensigns of triumph, for driving the *Homonadenses* out of their strong-holds in *Cilicia*. Upon the disgrace of *Marcus Lollius* he was appointed governor to *Caius Cæsar*, then employed in settling the affairs of *Armenia*, in which high station he made use of all his interest in behalf of *Tiberius*, then at *Rhodes*, and by degrees reconciled the young prince to him. These kind offices *Tiberius* now remembered, and extolled them in his letter to the senate, inveighing at the same time against *Lollius*, as the author of the misunderstanding between him and *Caius*. When *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod*, was deposed by *Augustus*, *Quirinius* was appointed governor of *Syria*, and ordered to seize the country, which *Archelaus* had held, and reduce it to a *Roman* province; which he did accordingly, taxing the *Jews* according to the estimate of their estates, which had been made eleven years before by *Sentius Saturninus*. The senate readily complied with the request of *Tiberius* as to the funeral of *Quirinius*, though they had no great respect for his memory on account of his covetousness, his

P. Quirinius
honoured
with a
public fu-
neral.

his great credit with the emperor, and above all, for his prosecuting *Æmilia Lepida* in the manner we have related above ^o. At the end of the year, *Drusus* falling sick, *Caius Lutorius Priscus*, a Roman knight, thinking the distemper would prove mortal, composed a poem bewailing his death, and out of vanity read it in the house of *P. Petronius* in the presence of *Vitellia*, mother-in-law to *Petronius*, and of other women of great distinction. As *Rome* swarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accused of this before the senate; all the ladies, who had heard him, were summoned to appear against him, and frightened into a confession, except *Vitellia*, who maintained to the last with great firmness, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to those who deposed against him, *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as consul elect, voted first, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be punished with death; *Lepidus* was for condemning him to perpetual banishment and confiscating his estate. But of all the consulars, *Rubellius Blandus* alone voting with *Lepidus*, and the rest with *Agrippa*, *Priscus* was conveyed to prison, and immediately put to death. To what a deplorable state of slavery was *Rome* already reduced! But *Lutorius's* real crime was, it seems, his having composed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been so well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it ^p. The emperor, who was still in *Campania*, behaved on this occasion with his usual ambiguity; for in a letter, which he wrote to the senate, he commended their zeal in thus punishing the slightest injuries done to the prince; but at the same time intreated them not to be so hasty in punishing words: he praised *Lepidus*, blamed not *Agrippa*. His seeming to disapprove of this sudden execution gave rise to a famous decree of the senate, viz. that their orders should not be carried to the treasury (H), nor the condemned person executed, in less than ten days. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this respite in *Tiberius's* reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never softened by time, as *Tacitus* well observes ^q.

THE

^o Idem, c. 48. STRAB. l. xii. DIO. l. lvii. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. & ii. ^p TACIT. c. 49. DIO. l. lvii. p. 616, 617. ^q TACIT. c. 51. DIO. ibid. p. 617. SUET. in Tib. c. 75.

(H) In the treasury were lodged the public registers and the decrees of the senate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called *the orders or authority* of the senate, as is evident from *Cicero*, *Dion Cassius*, and other antient writers.

THE following year, *Caius Sulpitius Galba*, and *Decimus Haterius Agrippa*, being consuls, *Caius Bibulus*, one of the ædiles, moved, that some regulation might be made against luxury, which, in spite of the sumptuary laws, was grown to a monstrous excess in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domestics, in the quantity of gold and silver plate, of pictures, statues, precious stones, &c. The motion was seconded by the other ædiles, who made long descants on the mischievous consequences of the growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to *Tiberius*, which occasioned a letter from him to the conscript

writers. This decree of the senate, by which it was provided, that no person condemned should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, was observed by *Caligula*, even with respect to those whom he himself sentenced to death (93), and probably by all the succeeding emperors to the time of *Theodosius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to those who were condemned (94) either by the prince, or the senate (95). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion, without all doubt, well grounded, since *Tacitus*, *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, and *Seneca*, affirm, in express terms, that *Tiberius* granted ten days respite to criminals after sentence, and the more modern writers unanimously ascribe to *Theodosius* the thirty days reprieve. But on the other hand, we read in *Quintilian*, who flourished about this time, the following words: *The law forbidding a criminal to be executed till after thirty days, was wisely established, seeing the accuser may be deceived* (96); and in *Calpurnius Flaccus*, who wrote long before *Theodosius's* time, *Let the punishment of a ravisher be deferred thirty days* (97). As there is no reconciling testimonies so evidently opposite and contradictory, and on the other hand we have innumerable instances of transcribers mistaking numbers, we shall with the most judicious critics impute to them the present disagreement among authors. Perhaps in transcribing the declamations of *Quintilian* and *Calpurnius* in or after *Theodosius's* time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted. *Baronius* pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge soever condemned; and thence infers, that *Pilate* transgressed the law of his prince, in causing our Saviour to be crucified as soon as he had pronounced sentence against him (98). But it is manifest from *Gothofredus* in his comments upon the *Theodosian* code, that neither the decree of *Tiberius*, nor the law of *Theodosius*, extended to the magistrates in the provinces till the time of *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who ordered all judges and magistrates to conform to the law of *Theodosius* (99).

(93) *Senec. de tranq. c. 14. p. 351.*
c. de pœnis. (95) *Sid. l. i. epist. 7.*

303. (97) *Calpur. Flacc. declamat. 25.*

34. (99) *Cod. Th. tom. 3. p. 307,*

(94) *In l. si vindicari,*

(96) *Quintil declamat.*

(98) *Baron. annal.*

fathers, wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the excesses they complained of required a regulation, that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the severest laws; but nevertheless, if such laws were enacted, even those who now censure, at their entertainments, and in their conversations, the profuse luxury of the times, would be the first to complain, that the state was utterly undone, that snares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. In the end of his letter he told them, that if any of the magistrates would undertake to put a stop to so great an evil, he should have both his praises and thanks for easing him of part of his burden; but that as to himself, he would not take upon him that odious task: Believe me, conscript fathers, said he, I am not fond of being the object of the public hatred; I have already enemies enow; let me not therefore, I intreat you, wantonly and vainly raise more by such regulations, as promise no advantage to you or to me. The senate, upon reading the emperor's letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the project of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhaustible fund of crimes, impeachments, and confiscations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility, with whose wealth the accusers would not have failed to enrich themselves, had the emperor either enforced the antient, or enacted new, sumptuary laws^r. Soon after *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the senate, desiring the tribunitial power for *Drusus*, which the fathers granted with the more refined flattery, as they had foreseen this request: statues were decreed both to *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, altars were erected to the gods, arches raised, &c. *M. Silanus* moved, that for the future not the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitial power, should be prefixed to all public and private records; *Haterius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day should be written in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate. Thus the lords of the Roman senate, who once headed mighty armies, raised and deposed great kings, bestowed or took away empires, were by degrees changed into mean slaves, and become by their infamous flattery an object of derision and contempt to all foreign nations, nay to that very prince, whose favour they strove to gain by disgracing themselves. *Drusus*, who was then in *Campania*, probably with his father, wrote to the senate, returning them thanks for the tribunitial power with which they had invested him;

Tiberius
refuses to
take upon
him the
cure of
luxury.

Drusus in-
vested
with the
tribunitial
power.

The de-
basement of
the senate.

^r TACIT. *ibid.* c. 52—55.

The number of sanctuaries lessened.

Livia's illness. Tiberius returns to Rome.

Other instances of the servile spirit of the senate.

but did not condescend to come to *Rome*, as was expected, to receive it. Soon after, *Servius Maluginensis*, who, as priest of *Jupiter*, was not allowed to leave *Italy*, nay, to sleep one night out of *Rome*, demanding the government of *Asia*, and his suit being opposed by *Lentulus* the augur and others, the affair was referred to *Tiberius*, who in his answer to the senate, postponing the pretensions of the priest of *Jupiter*, moderated the honours which had been decreed to *Drusus* with the tribunitial power, and particularly censured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the custom of *Rome*. As the liberty of instituting sanctuaries and privileged places at pleasure had long since prevailed among the *Greek* cities, and filled their temples with fugitive slaves, debtors, and criminals, *Tiberius* this year referred to the senate the examining of the privileges which those cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded. The senate and consuls, after having heard the *Greek* deputies, and carefully searched into the validity of their several pretensions, utterly suppressed some sanctuaries, and either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities, of others, ordering the decree they enacted on this occasion to be engraved on brass, and hung up in the temples of *Greece*^c. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* absolutely suppressed all sanctuaries throughout the whole *Roman* empire^d. Not long after *Livia* being seized with a dangerous distemper, *Tiberius* hastened back to *Rome*; since the mother and son either still lived in perfect amity, or cunningly disguised their mutual hatred: the latter was commonly believed at *Rome*; for *Livia* having not long before dedicated a statue to *Augustus*, and placed her own name before that of *Tiberius*, the emperor was thought to have grievously resented this, as an undervaluing the majesty of the prince, but to have smothered his resentment with a deep dissimulation. However that be, the senate upon her illness decreed supplications to the gods, with the celebration of the great *Roman* games for her recovery, and betrayed on this occasion such a mean spirit of servitude, that *Tiberius* himself was ashamed of their vile debasement and scandalous submissions^e. The next time the senate met, *Caius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, *Cæsius Cordus*, proconsul of *Crete*, and *Lucius Ennius*, a *Roman* knight, were accused before them, the two first of robbing the public, and the other of treason, for having used as the current coin a piece of silver on which was engraved the effigies of *Tiberius*. To the charge of rapine and extortion against *Silanus* and *Cordus*, that none of

^c Idem, c. 55. ^d *Suet.* in *Tib.* c. 37.

^e Idem, c. 64.

their

their friends or relations might dare to plead for them in their trial, articles of treason were subjoined, a sure bar, says *Tacitus*, to all assistance, and a seal upon their lips. They were *Caius Silanus* and *Caius* both found guilty of male-administration and extortion, and *Silanus* and *Caius* condemned to perpetual banishment, and their estates declared confiscated. But *Cneius Lentulus* moving, that the estate of *Silanus* descending to him from his mother *Cornelia*, who was related to the *Cæsars*, might be restored to his son, *Tiberius* approved of, and assented to, the motion: nay, he even mitigated the rigour of the sentence which the senate had pronounced against him, alledging, that the island of *Gyarus*, to which they had confined him, was an inhospitable place, and destitute of inhabitants, and begging, that in favour of the *Junian* family, and in regard of his sister *Torquata*, a vestal of an unblemished character, they would allow him for the place of his exile the island of *Cythera*. This the senators readily granted at the request of the prince, who by this affected show of clemency pretended to cover the artifice and violence, which he had employed to destroy the unhappy proconsul (I). To what place *Cordus* was confined, we are not told. As for *L. Ennius*, the emperor judged the charge brought against him frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. Whereupon *Ateius Capito*, with an affected spirit of liberty, cried out, that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the senate; that all injuries done to the prince were public injuries, injuries done to commonwealth, which it was the province of the senate charged with the care of the republic to revenge and restrain, in spite

(I) *Silanus* was very hardly used in his trial, as *Tacitus* observes. The best pleaders of all *Asia* were chosen on purpose to accuse him. They charged him with cruelty and extortion in his government. To this charge was added that of treason by *Mamercus Scaurus* once consul, *Junius Otho* prætor, and *Brutidius Niger* ædile. The number of his accusers was increased by *Gellius Poplicola* and *Marcus Paconius*, the former quæstor to *Silanus*, the other his lieutenant. As he was accused of treason, no one dared to appear in his favour, he himself was no pleader or orator, and besides, *Tiberius*, with an awful voice and countenance, was continually interrupting and confounding him with questions, which he was not allowed time to refute, nay, he was often forced to confess, lest the emperor should have asked in vain. His slaves too were first by the emperors orders sold to the public, and then examined upon the rack. He was no doubt guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the hatred and spite, which *Tiberius* shewed him, and his eagerness to get him condemned, were justly censured.

of any one's private clemency and compassion. *Tiberius* had reason to cry aloud, as we are told he used to do, as often as he went out of the senate, *Oh men prepared for bondage!* He was, says *Tacitus*, irreconcilable to public liberty; but abhorred flattery, as suiting only with the spirit of slaves. The infamy of *Capito* was the more signal, as he debased by it not only the dignity of the senator, but his own personal accomplishments^u (K). The condemnation of *Silanus* and *Cordus* was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering should be placed, which the *Roman* knights had vowed to *Fortune Equestrian* for the recovery of *Livia*. As there was no temple in *Rome* dedicated to *Fortune* under that title, but one at *Antium*, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights should be presented there. And now that matters of religion were on foot, *Tiberius*, as pontifex maximus, returned the answer which he had lately deferred, touching the pretensions of *Servius Maluginensis*, and produced a statute of the pontiffs made under *Augustus*, declaring, that when the priest of *Jupiter* was taken ill, he might with the consent of

Priest of
Jupiter de-
barred
from the
govern-
ment of the
provinces.

^u Idem. c. 66—71.

(K) *Ateius Capito* was a man of extraordinary accomplishments, and one of the most learned civilians of his age. All we know of his pedigree is, that his grandfather was only a centurion under *Sylla*, and that his father arrived at the prætorship. *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Festus*, quote several books wrote by him, viz. a comment upon the laws of the twelve tables, a hundred and twenty books *de jure*, ten books *de jure pontificum*, ten *de jure sacerdotum*, a treatise of the duty of a senator, and a volume of collections. But he debased, says *Tacitus*, his rare accomplishments by the most infamous flattery and a mean obsequiousness to power. *Augustus* honoured him early with the consulship, to raise him above *Antistus Labeo*, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemished character and probity which was proof against all temptations. However, *Labeo* obtained the prætorship; but his virtue checked his rise to greater preferments, whence he was no less beloved and adored by the people, than his rival abhorred and detested. We do not find the name of *Capito* in the consular tables; whence, as both *Tacitus* in this place and *Pomponius* in his book *de origine juris* (100) assure us, that he was raised to the consulship, we conclude, that he was one of the consuls who were called *suffecti*, because substituted, in the room of those who died or resigned. *Pighius* produces an ancient marble discovered at *Rome* with this inscription; *C. Ateio. Capitone. C. Vibio. Posthumo. cos. Vibius* was, according to *Pighius*, consul in the year of *Rome* 759.

(100) *Pomp* p. 1.

the

the pontifex maximus be absent from the city two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation shewed that the administration of a province, which required a year's absence, was incompatible with the office of the *flamen dialis*, or priest of *Jupiter* ^w, So that the government of *Asia*, which *Maluginensis* had demanded, was conferred on the consular, who was next in seniority to him. When this affair was over, *Æmilius Lepidus* asked and obtained leave of the senate to repair and beautify at his own expence the *basilic* (L) of *Paulus Æmilius*. On the other hand, the emperor undertook to rebuild the theatre of *Pompey*, which had been consumed by accidental fire, none of that family being equal to so great a charge, and promised that it should still be called by the name of its illustrious founder. On this occasion he enlarged on the praises of his favourite *Sejanus*, to whose care and vigilance, he said, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. Hereupon the servile senate, applauding the prince's speech, decreed a statue to *Sejanus* to be placed in the theatre of *Pompey* ^x. We are told by *Seneca* ^y, that upon the passing of this decree, *Cremutius Cordus*, of whom we shall speak anon, cried out, *Now is Pompey's theatre utterly destroyed*.

THIS year *Tacfarinas*, quitting anew the deserts, to which he had been so often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of *Africa* at the head of a numerous army; and having committed every where dreadful devastations, he arrived at *Tiberius*, ^{Tacfarinas's arrogant embassy to}

^w Idem, *ibid.*
tiam, c. 22.

^x Idem, c. 72.

^y *SENEC.* ad *Martiam*, c. 22.

(L) *Basilics* were originally spacious halls in which kings, from whom these buildings borrowed their name, administered justice to their subjects. The *Romans* appropriated that name to great halls, having two ranges of pillars and two wings with galleries over them. *Cicero* speaks of the basilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by *Æmilius Paulus*, then ædile, and afterwards consul, with *C. Marcellus*. It was afterwards finished under *Augustus* by *Paulus Æmilius*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 730, and afterwards censor (2); but being consumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another *Æmilius* (3). As it was at this time out of repair, *Lepidus* asked leave to strengthen and embellish it at his own expence.

(1) *Cic. ad Attic.* l. 4. ep. 17.
l. liv.

(2) *Dio.* l. xlix.

(3) *Idem.*

He is distressed by
Blæsus.

Who is honoured
with the
title of im-
perator.

Deaths of
several il-
lustrious
persons.

ved to such a height of boldness, as to send ambassadors to *Tiberius*, demanding a settlement for himself and his army, and threatening the emperor, in case he did not grant him his request, with an eternal war. Our historian tells us, that *Tiberius* never betrayed so much indignation and resentment as on this occasion, not being able to bear, that a deserter, a free-booter, should have the arrogance to offer terms of peace, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered *Junius Blæsus*, whom he continued another year in the government of *Africa*, to exert his utmost efforts against so bold and contemptible an enemy. *Blæsus* drove him every-where before him, and pursued him even into the deserts, where he took his brother prisoner; but *Tacfarinas* himself had the good luck to make his escape, tho' the passes were beset on all sides by the enemy. However, as most of his forces were cut in pieces and his brother taken, *Tiberius* looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to *Blæsus* the title of *imperator*, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was the last private person who enjoyed that title, thenceforth peculiar to the reigning family (M). He was likewise honoured with the ensigns of triumph, *Tiberius* declaring that he thus distinguished him in regard of *Sejanus*, who was his nephew, though in *Tacitus's* opinion his actions intitled him to all the honours that were conferred upon him². This year died three persons of great distinction, viz. *Ateius Capito*, the most learned civilian in *Rome*, but one who debased his extraordinary parts with the meanest and most servile flattery, as we have observed above; *Asinius Saloninus*, grandson to *M. Agrippa*; and *Asinius Pollio*, half-brother to *Drusus*, and betrothed to one of *Tiberius's* grand-daughters (N); and

² Idem, c. 73, 74.

(M) *Lipsius* observes here, that the title of *imperator*, when given to the prince, was placed before his name, thus; *Imp. Cæsar Augustus*, but put after the names of generals, to whom it was only a transient title of honour, thus; *Junius Blæsus imp. M. Tullius Cicero imp.*

(N) *Asinius Pollio*, the famous orator and poet, one of *Augustus's* chief favourites, and *Virgil's* patrons, had a son by name *Asinius Gallus*, who, according to *Lipsius* (4), was surnamed *Saloninus* from the city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, which was taken either by him, or during his consulship. *Saloninus*, or, as *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* constantly call him, *Asinius Gallus*, married *Vipsania*, the daughter

(4) *Lip. in Tac. annal. 3. N. 174.*

of

and the celebrated *Junia*, niece to *Cato* of *Utica*, sister to *Brutus* (O), and wife to *Cassius*, three most zealous champions for the public liberty. She died sixty four years after the battle of *Philippi*, in which her husband lost his life. As she was immensely rich, her will made a great noise ; for she left legacies to almost all the great men of *Rome*, but nothing to *Tiberius* ; who did not seem to resent in the least this omission, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obsequies to be performed with all the pomp suitable to her rank. Before the corpse were carried, according to the *Roman* custom, the images of twenty of the most noble families in *Rome*, to which the illustrious deceased was related ; but as those of *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not seen among the rest, the people took thence occasion to extol the zeal with which those two heroes had formerly signalized themselves in the cause of liberty ^a.

C. Asinius Gallus and *C. Antistius Vetus* were the following consuls. During their administration, the famous *Sejanus* took the first steps towards the execution of the black designs he had been long fostering in his heart. As this powerful and ambitious minister henceforth to his downfall is to act a principal part in the present history, we shall premise a succinct account of his original, manners, and character copied from the most creditable writers of antiquity. *L. Ælius Sejanus* was born at *Vulfinii* in *Hetruria* (P), son to *Sejus Strabo*, who,

The original character and pursuits of *Sejanus*.

^a Idem, c. 75, 76.

of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*. *Tiberius* had by her *Drusus* ; and *Asinius Gallus* many children, viz. *Asinius Saloninus*, or *Asinius Gallus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* in this place, *Asinius Gallus*, *Asinius Pollio*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 756, *Asinius Agrippa*, and *Asinius Celer*, whom *Pliny* calls a consular man.

(O) *Junius Silanus*, who was consul with *L. Licinius Muræna*, married *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and had by her *Tertia* or *Tertulla*, and this *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus* by the mother ; for *M. Junius Brutus* was the famous *Brutus*'s father.

(P) The poet *Juvenal* alludes to *Vulfinii* the birth-place of *Sejanus* in the following lines ;

— Idem populus, si Nurscia Tusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret securâ senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum, &c.

For

who, though commander of the prætorian guards under *Augustus*, and in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, was but a private Roman knight ^b. His mother was descended of an illustrious family, viz. the *Junian*; for *Junius Blæsus* who at the death of *Augustus* commanded the legions in *Pannonia*, and afterwards signalized himself against *Tacfarinas* in *Africa*, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been consuls ^c: but these were perhaps of the *Ælian* family, into which *Sejanus*, as we conjecture from his name, was probably adopted. In the very beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and even then in high favour with the prince; whence no colleague was assigned him in that important employment, when his father was sent into *Egypt*, the government of which kingdom was by the regulation of *Augustus* committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was suspected of having for hire abandoned himself to the lewd desires of the famous *Apicius* (Q).

As

^b Tacit. l. iv. c. 1. Dio. l. lvii. p. 616. ^c VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 127.

For *Nurscia*, or as some will have it, *Nortia*, was the tutelar god of *Vulfinii*, as appears from *Livy* (5).

(Q) The antients mention three *Apicius's*, all famous epicures. The first lived in the times of the republic, and is spoken of by *Athenæus* (6). The second, who is mentioned by our historian in this place, lived under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*: and the third, as appears from *Suidas*, under *Trajan*. The second was the most famous of all for gluttony; for after he had, by voluptuous eating and drinking, reduced his immense wealth to ten millions of small sesterces, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than retrench the usual expences of his table, for which the remaining sum was no ways sufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the most exquisite meats, that the forests, seas, or rivers, produced, were, says *Appian* the grammarian, his daily food (7). He is styled by *Pliny* *nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis*. *Seneca*, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he published a book of cookery with which he infected the age he lived in (8), a treatise *de re culinaria*, that is, of cookery, was discovered by *Albanus Torinus* in the island of *Maguelonne* near *Montpelier* in 1529, and printed at *Basel* twelve years after. Another copy of the same treatise had been discovered a hundred years before, by *Enochus* of *Ascoli*, under the pontificate of *Nicolas V.* To both these manuscripts was prefixed the name of *M. Cælius*

(5) *Liv. l. vii.*
iv. c. 20.

(6) *Athen. l. iv. c. 20.*
(8) *Senec. de consol. ad Albin.*

(7) *Vide Athen. l.*

Apicius;

As to his character, *Tacitus* draws it in the following lines : With various insinuations and artifices he got the ascendant over *Tiberius* so far, that he made him reserved to others, but to himself careless and open. He did not accomplish this so much through policy, for by that others overpowered him, as from the wrath of the gods against the *Roman* state, to which his rise and his downfall proved alike destructive. He had a strong body and a bold mind. He disguised his own faults, and impeached others : alike fawning and imperious. By his outward appearance one would have thought him modest, but in his heart he had the most insatiable thirst after power, to which he made sometimes luxury and bribery subservient, and sometimes industry and application, qualities no less pernicious, when they are assumed for the vile purposes of power. Thus far *Tacitus*. The ambitious favourite, seeing himself by the indulgence of his kind master, lifted up above his condition, and raised to the highest posts of the empire, began to entertain thoughts of soaring still higher. He was in power and authority the second man in the *Roman* state ; but this to his ambition seemed little ; he aimed at nothing less than the sovereign power, towards the attaining of which, his first step was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were all under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and dispersed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But *Sejanus* pretending, that while they were thus scattered, they lived loose and debauched, and could not be easily gathered into one body on any sudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to assemble them into one camp, where, he said, the military discipline would be observed with more exactness and severity. As soon as the camp was finished, he made it his chief study to gain the favour of the common soldiers by his affability and obliging behaviour ; as for the tribunes and centurions, they were all chosen by him, and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his interest this formidable corps, the flower of the *Roman* forces, his next care was to gain a strong party in the senate, which it was no difficult task for a favourite to effect, at whose disposal were both the public money and the public employ-

Apicius ; but *Vossius* is of opinion, that this *Apicius* lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whose books, *de irritamentis gulæ* and *de juscellis*, are mentioned by *Seneca* (9), *Isidore of Seville* (10), and the old scholiast of *Juvenal*.

(9) *Senec. ibid.*
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(10) *Isid. l. xx de orig. c. 4.*
U u u

ments ;

ments ; for no senator, however distinguished by his birth or personal accomplishments, was employed, unless recommended by *Sejanus* ^d. He is said to have gained over to his interest even the wives of all the men of quality in *Rome*, by a private promise of marriage to each of them, when he attained the sovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own, and at the same time to acquaint him with the most secret counsels of their husbands ^e. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendship too ^f. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, though a man of great penetration, instead of curtailing the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him, in his speeches both to the senate and people, as the sharer of his burdens, and even suffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions ^g ; for they all carried the image of *Sejanus* in their colours, except those that were then quartered in *Syria*, which refused to follow the example of the rest ^h.

BUT *Sejanus*'s design of raising himself to the sovereign power met with many obstructions. The imperial family had a numerous issue ; the emperor's son was a grown man, and his grandsons, the children of *Germanicus*, who was his son by adoption, were now of age. This, however, did not deter *Sejanus* from his wicked pursuits : he resolved to cut off the reigning family root and branch, that none of the blood of the *Cæsars* might traverse his ambitious design. But as it was dangerous to cut them off all at once, he resolved to destroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with *Drusus*, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (R),

^d TACIT. l. iii. c. 2.
antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.
Tib. c. 48.

^e DIO. l. lvii. p. 669.

^g TACIT. l. iii. c. 2.

^f JOSEPH.

^h SUET. in

ⁱ TACIT. l. iii. c. 3.

(R) *Drusus* complained, and indeed with a great deal of reason, that while he, the emperor's son, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government, nay, was in a manner declared colleague in the empire. *Sejanus*, said he, has already formed a camp for the guards, that thus united, they may all at once receive his orders ; the soldiery depend intirely upon him ; his statue is set up in the theatre of *Pompey* ; in his grandchildren the blood of the *Drusi* will be mixed with that of *Sejanus* ; what now remains but to see him invested with the sovereign power, while the emperor's son is excluded from any share in the administration.

and

and had lately upon some contest shaken his fist at him ; and, *His designs* as he offered to resist, given him a blow in the face. Upon *against* this affront, *Sejanus*, after having examined with himself various expedients to rid himself of such a rival, resolved at length to apply to his wife *Livia*, the sister of *Germanicus* ; which he did accordingly ; and having first, by pretending a violent passion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal desires, prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in destroying her husband. *He debauches his wife.* Thus the niece of *Augustus*, the daughter-in-law of *Tiberius*, the mother of several children by *Drusus*, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, with a mean adulterer, and all to exchange her present condition, both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain ; for *Sejanus* had promised to marry her upon the death of her husband, and make her his partner in the empire. *Eudemus* was made privy to the wicked design, because he, as physician to *Livia*, under colour of his profession, was frequently with her in private, and consequently could advise and direct her without giving any umbrage. *Sejanus*, to convince *Livia* of the sincerity of his intention, as to the promised marriage, and thereby encourage her to dispatch her husband, divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. But still the blackness of the crime frightened *Livia*, and her ambition could not smother, or get the better of her remorse. *Sejanus* himself, abandoned as he was, could not, without horror, think of imbruing his hands in the blood of the emperor's son ; and hence caution, delays, and great confusion in their counsels.

IN the mean time, *Germanicus's* second son, by name *Drusus*, putting on the *toga virilis*, or the manly robe, had the same honours decreed him by the senate, which had been conferred on his elder brother *Nero*. On this occasion *Tiberius* made a speech in commendation of the youth, and likewise of his son *Drusus*, on account of the kindness he shewed to his brother's children (S). This raised

TACIT. l. iii. c. 3.

(S) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius*, in the end of his speech, told the conscript fathers, as he had often done before, that he designed to take a progress into the provinces, alledging the multitude of veterans discharged, and thence the necessity of recruiting the armies. On this occasion he enumerated all the legions then in pay, and named the countries where they were quartered. As from this

U u u 2

detail

*He causes
Drusus to
be poisoned.*

raised new jealousy in *Sejanus*, who, judging it time to hasten the execution of his wicked design, ordered *Eudemus* to prepare a slow-working poison, that the death of the young prince might be ascribed to a casual distemper. The fatal potion was administered to *Drusus* by *Lygdus* the eunuch, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, that is, the year in which *Sejanus* was disgraced, and punished according to his deserts, this whole scene of iniquity being then brought to light by his wife *Apicata*, and the particulars of the murder owned by *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* on the rack. *Dru-*

detail we may learn what forces the *Romans* had then on foot, what kings were their confederates, and how far the boundaries of the empire extended, it would be an unpardonable omission not to acquaint our readers with it. In the first place, *Italy* was guarded by two fleets, one at *Misenum* in the *Mediterranean*, the other at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic* sea, and the coast adjoining to *Gaul*, by the galleys taken by *Augustus* at the battle of *Actium*, and sent well manned and equipped to *Forojulium*. As to the legions, there were eight upon the *Rhine*, to keep in awe both the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and three in *Spain*. In *Mauritania* reigned king *Juba*, of whom we spoke above, a friend and ally of *Rome*; the rest of *Africa* was kept in subjection by two legions, and *Egypt* by the like number. *Syria*, quite to the banks of the *Euphrates*, was maintained by four legions. *Thrace* was possessed by *Rhometalces* and the sons of *Cotys*, who were in alliance with *Rome*; on the banks of the *Danube* lay four legions; two were quartered in *Pannonia*, two in *Mæsia*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The latter two, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former, and might be soon in *Italy* upon any sudden emergency; though *Rome* had her peculiar guards, nine prætorian and three city cohorts. Besides the legions, fleets, and cohorts, which we have enumerated in the several provinces, were stationed, according to their situation and necessity, the fleets of the several allies, with bodies both of horse and foot, no ways inferior, either in number or strength, to the *Roman* legions. From this vast number of forces, kept in constant pay, we may judge of the strength and wealth of the empire at this time. As to the emperor's intended progress, *Suetonius* tells us, that he often declared, in the senate, his intention of visiting the provinces and armies abroad, and made almost every year the necessary preparations for his journey, ordering carriages to be bought, and provisions to be laid in at a great charge, in all the municipal towns, and in the colonies; nay, he went so far as to let the people make their solemn vows for his happy journey, and safe return, but in the mean time never stirred out of *Rome*, or went only to the neighbouring towns; whence he was generally nicknamed *Callipedes*, one who, according to the *Greek* proverb, was always running, yet never advancing (10).

(10) *Suet. in Tib. c. 38.*

us fell into a lingering distemper, pined away, and died.

Tiberius, during the whole time of the illness of his son, appeared altogether unconcerned, perhaps to make a show, says *Suetonius* no *Tacitus*, of the firmness and constancy of his mind; nay, *concern for* after his death, when his corpse lay yet unburied, he went to *the illness* the senate, and, finding the consuls had left their curule chairs, *and death* and placed themselves, as a token of their grief, on a com- *of his son.* mon seat; he put them in mind of their dignity and station, and the senate bursting into tears, he smothered his own sorrow to comfort them, which he did in a speech uttered without the least hesitation: he told the fathers, that he was well apprised he might be censured; for appearing among them while his grief was yet fresh, when few in the first transports of their sorrow could endure even the comforting speeches of their relations; or behold the day. Though those who thus *His speech* indulged their grief were not, he said, to be condemned of *to the se-* weakness; yet, for his part, he had sought for more power- *nate.* ful comforts, such as arose from pursuing the welfare of the republic. He then lamented the present condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own life in its decline, and begged, that the sons of *Germanicus*, who alone could lessen the present misfortunes, might be introduced. Hereupon the consuls went for them, and bringing in the two youths, *Nero* and *Drusus*, presented them to the emperor, who, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate thus: “Conscript *He recom-* fathers, these fatherless children I commended to their *mends to* uncle, and besought him, though he had issue of his own, *them the* to bring them up, and cherish them no otherwise than if *sons of* they were immediately descended from him. *Drusus be-* *Germani-* ing snatched from us, I address my prayers to you, and, *cus.* in the presence of the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection, and take under your tuition, the great-grandchildren of *Augustus*, descended from most illustrious ancestors; fulfil your own duty towards them, fulfil mine.” Then turning to the youths, “To you *Nero*, to you *Drusus*, these are in the stead of a father: your condition is such, that whatever good or evil befalls you, must befall the commonwealth.” This discourse was heard with great satisfaction; and drew tears from the eyes of all who were present. Had *Tiberius* stopt here, he had left the hearts of the senators full of compassion and admiration. But as he repeated anew what he had often said, and what had been as often ridiculed, *viz.* that he designed to restore the republic, the senators began to suspect the sincer-

Honours
decreed to
Drusus.

His obse-
quies.

rity of his other assertions^k. Before the senate broke up, they decreed the same honours to the memory of *Drusus*, which they had before decreed to that of *Germanicus*, adding many others to them; agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obsequies were performed with the utmost pomp, and the funeral procession distinguished with a long train of images, representing *Aeneas*, the supposed father of the *Julian* family, all the kings of *Alba*, *Romulus* the founder of *Rome*, all the heroes of the *Claudian* race, with *Aelius Claudus*, the first of that family who came to *Rome*, at the head of them. *Tiberius* himself pronounced the panegyric of his son, the people and senate assuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to see the house of *Germanicus* nearer the throne. Besides, *Drusus* was generally hated, being cruel (T), passionate, given to drinking, and all manner of debauchery (U). However, he lived in a friendly manner with *Germanicus*,

^k Idem, c. 8.

(T) *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* give us several instances of *Drusus's* cruelty. The former writer tells us, that when he first presided at a show of gladiators exhibited in the name of *Germanicus* and his own, he betrayed such delight in blood, that his father was said to have reprov'd him for it. *Dion Cassius* says, that he often upbraided him with his cruelty both in public and in private, and adds, that from him sharp swords were stiled *gladii Drusiani*. The person who exhibited the show of gladiators used, as *Lipsius* observes, to examine the weapons of the combatants before they entered the lists; on which occasion *Drusus* approved of such only as were exceeding sharp; and thence sharp swords were called *Drusian* swords. This was, no doubt, a great instance of his cruelty, as it was of humanity and good nature in *M. Antoninus* to approve, on the like occasion, of such swords only as were blunt, and incapable of occasioning deep wounds. Besides *Drusus*, as *Dion* informs us, was very passionate, and, upon the least provocation, ready to strike persons of the first quality; whence he was nicknamed *Castor*, whom the antients suppose to have been a famous boxer.

(U) *Tacitus* tells us, that, in relating the death of *Drusus*, he followed the greatest part of the *Latin* historians, and the most credible; but adds, that a strong report prevailed in those times, and was still current in his, as if *Tiberius* himself had, at the instigation of *Lygdus*, presented the poisonous potion to his son. The eunuch, according to this report, charged *Drusus* with a design of poisoning his father; and, privately warning the emperor of this, advised him to beware of the first draught offered him in the next entertainment at his son's house. Upon this *Tiberius*, fully persuaded

Germanicus, and, after his death, shewed himself kind, at least not ill-disposed, towards his children. He left behind him two sons born at a birth, one of whom did not long survive him, the other, named *Tiberius Nero Gemellus*, lived to the reign of *Caligula*, by whom he was put to death. *Tiberius*, if we may give credit to *Suetonius*¹, despised them both, as doubting whether they were really the sons of *Drusus*. As soon as the funeral ceremonies were over, *Tiberius* resumed his usual employments, prohibited any farther vacation, and, to the ambassadors of the *Illyrians* or *Trojans*, who came somewhat too late with their compliments of condolence, answered, by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loss had been quite effaced, that he in his turn consoled with them for having lost so brave and eminent a citizen as *Hector*^m.

Sejanus, when he saw the death of *Drusus* pass unrevenge, encouraged with the success of his first attempt, began to meditate how he might destroy the sons of *Germanicus*, whose succession to the empire was now unquestionable. But as he could not compass his wicked ends by poison, on account of the great vigilance of their mother *Agrippina*, and the distinguished fidelity of their governors, he chose to attack them another way, which was to rouse the old hatred *Livia* bore to *Agrippina*, and by her means raise jealousies and suspicions against her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counsels had the desired effect; for having by a thousand calumnies and false insinuations rendered *Livia*, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcilable to the widow

*attempts to
destroy A-
grippina
and her
children.*

¹ Suet. in Tib. c. 62.

^m Idem, ibid. c. 52.

suaded of *Drusus*'s wicked design, after he had sat down to table, delivered to his son the first cup that was presented to him, which the young prince, not in the least suspecting any plot, gayly drank off. This heightened the jealousy of *Tiberius*, who, upon the death of his son, which happened soon after, the potion having beforehand been poisoned by *Lygdus*, concluded that *Drusus*, through fear and shame, had swallowed that death which he had prepared for his father. This report our historian refutes, as void of all appearance of truth. For who can believe, says he, that a man of common prudence, much less *Tiberius*, so long practised in great affairs, would to his own son, without so much as hearing him, present with his own hands the mortal potion? He would, no doubt, have tortured the informer, inquired into the plot, endeavoured to discover the authors of it, and used that caution and slowness towards his only son, hitherto never suspected of any such crime, which was natural to him, even in his proceedings against strangers.

of her grandson, he compassed, by her means, the ruin of that unhappy family, as we shall soon have occasion to relate.

Vibius Serenus tried and condemned.

Stage-players driven out of Italy.

IN the mean time *Tiberius*, resuming the care of public affairs, attended the administration of justice at *Rome*, and dispatched the petitions from the provinces. At his motion the cities of *Cityra* in *Asia* and *Ægyra* in *Achaia*, both overthrown by an earthquake, were by a decree of the senate eased of tribute for three years. *Vibius Serenus*, proconsul of the *Farther Spain* or *Bætica*, being accused of governing his province in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and banished into the island of *Amorgos*. But *Carfius Sacerdos* and *Caius Gracchus* (W), being charged with supplying *Tacfarinas* with corn, were both acquittedⁿ. This year at length, after many complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, *Tiberius*, who had before laid the players under various restraints, and curtailed their wages, represented to the senate, that they had on many occasions raised tumults, and disturbed the public tranquility, that they promoted debauchery in private families, that the obscenities of the *Oscan* farce, the same with the *Atellana*, of which we have spoken in a foregoing volume^o, were grown to such excess, that it required the authority of the senate to check them, &c. Upon these complaints from the emperor, the players were all driven out of *Rome* and *Italy*^p, and forbidden, if we believe *Dion Cassius*^q, to act in any place whatsoever of the *Roman* dominions. The same year, died one of *Drusus's* twins, for whose death the emperor was greatly concerned, and no less afflicted for that of *Lucius Longus*, his antient and constant friend, and the only

ⁿ Idem, c. 13. ^o Hist. Universal. Vol. XI. p. 463. not. (S).

^p TACIT. c. 14. SUEt. in Tib. c. 37. ^q Dio. l. lvii. p. 617.

(W) *Caius Gracchus* was son to *Sempronius Gracchus*, who, on account of his amours with *Julia*, had been banished by *Augustus* into the island of *Cercina*, and afterwards assassinated there by *Tiberius's* orders. When he first left *Italy*, he took his son *Caius*, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. *Caius* grew up there among fugitives and men destitute of liberal education, and afterwards supported himself by traffic between *Africa* and *Sicily*. But, notwithstanding the low condition to which he was reduced, the splendor of his illustrious family would have occasioned his ruin, had not *Ælius Lamia* and *Lucius Apronius*, successively proconsuls of *Africa*, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

senator

senator who had attended him in his retreat to *Rhodes*, and shared with him both his good and bad fortune ; for which reason, though he was but a new man, the senate decreed him a public funeral, and a statue to be placed in the forum built by *Augustus*. At the same time, *Lucilius Capito*, the *Lucilius* emperor's procurator in *Asia*, being accused before the senate *Capito* by the province, *Tiberius* protested, that *Lucilius* had no au-
condemned.
 thority from him but over his slaves, that he had only empowered him to collect his domestic rents, and therefore, if he had usurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had therein transgressed his orders. Hereupon the senate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty and condemned him. The cities of *Asia* were so taken with the moderation *Tiberius* shewed on this occasion, and the severity with which he had proceeded the year before against *Caius Silanus*, accused of cruelty and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, *A temple erected to*
 and to the senate, and obtained leave to build it. For this *Tiberius.* concession *Nero* returned thanks to the senate and his grandfather in a speech which charmed the fathers, who imagined they heard and saw *Germanicus* himself^r. This temple was built at *Smyrna*, and finished three years after as *Dion Cassius* informs us^t. Towards the end of this year *Servius Mial- ginenfis* dying, his son was appointed *flamen Dialis*, or priest of *Jupiter*, in his room, and *Cornelia* chosen superior of the vestals in the place of *Scantia*, likewise deceased. To *Cornelia* a present of two thousand great sesterces was decreed, and a privilege granted to *Livia* of sitting amongst the vestals in the theatre^u, whose place was, as *Suetonius* informs us, over-against the prætor's tribunal^v, no other women, however distinguished, having a peculiar place, but all sitting promiscuously together, apart from the men, pursuant to the regulations of *Augustus*.

THE following year, *Sergius Cornelius Cethegus* and *L. Vi-* *Tiberius*
sellius Varro being consuls, the pontiffs, and after their ex-
betrays
 ample the other priests, making vows for the prosperity of
 the emperor, commended at the same time *Nero* and *Drusus* *some disaf-*
 to the gods ; which greatly provoked *Tiberius*, who, sending *Germani-*
 for the pontiffs, examined them, whether they had paid that *cus's chil-*
 compliment to the intreaties or menaces of *Agrippina*. *The dren.*
 pontiffs denied both, but nevertheless the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years, and afterwards in a speech to the senate warned the fathers

^r TACIT. c. 15.^t DIO. l. lvii. p. 607.^u TACIT.

l. iii. c. 16.

^v SUET. in Aug. c. 44.

to take care for the future not to feed the pride of the young men with untimely and too early honours. *Sejanus*, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*, laid hold of this to insinuate, that *Rome* was rent into factions, that already some had the boldness to declare themselves, openly, the partizans of *Agrippina*, and that there was no other remedy against the prevailing spirit of faction, but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the most forward and powerful. Hereupon it was by the deluded emperor thought expedient, that the supposed rising faction should be immediately suppressed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the house of *Germanicus*. The chief among these were *Caius Silius* and *Titius Sabinus*, and with them it was agreed to begin this general massacre. Other considerations, besides the friendship of *Germanicus*, concurred to ruin *Silius*. He had commanded for seven years a powerful army, and had been distinguished, as we have related above, with the ensigns of triumph for his exploits in *Germany*; he had routed *Sacrovir*, and suppressed the revolt in *Gaul*; but by boasting his services, and publicly vaunting that he had secured the sovereign authority to *Tiberius*, by keeping his soldiers in their obedience, when the other legions in *Germany* revolted, he had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who, thinking himself incapable of rewarding, as he ought, such important services, was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the person who had rendered them. So that his chief offence was over-much service done to *Tiberius*; thence that refined observation of *Tacitus*, that benefits are so far acceptable, as it seems possible to requite them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, by name *Sofia Galla*, contributed to his ruin by her friendship and intimacy with *Agrippina*. Both *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* thought it advisable to have *Silius* and his wife arraigned first, and postpone for some time the trial of *Sabinus*. Accordingly, the senate was summoned, and *Silius* accused by *Varro* (X)

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Silius*, seeing the consul engaged against him as an accuser, begged the emperor to postpone the trial till the time of his consulship was expired; but that his request was rejected by *Tiberius*, who, cloaking his acts of tyranny under venerable old names, answered, that as other magistrates were allowed to bring particulars upon their trial, the prerogative of a consul in the like case ought not to be infringed, since it was chiefly incumbent upon him to take care, that no damage accrued to the republic.

the

the consul of keeping up a correspondence with the authors of the revolt in *Gaul*, and of dishonouring his victory with cruel extortions: the behaviour of his wife, and her avarice were likewise objected to him. *Silius* made no defence, being well apprised it would be to no purpose: he only dropped some words to shew by whose malice he was oppressed. They were both declared guilty of treason, for under that article the whole charge was brought against them. *Silius* prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his estate was confiscated, contrary to the constant custom of *Augustus*, who bestowed on the children of the condemned the estates of such as died before sentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary. His wife *Sofia* was banished at the motion of *Asinius Gallus*, who proposed, that one half of her effects should be forfeited, and the other left to her children. *Marcus Lepidus* voted the fourth part to the accusers, as the law required, and all the rest to the children. Which of these two opinions prevailed, our historian does not inform us. On this occasion *Cotta Messalinus* moved, that by a decree of the senate, governors of provinces, however innocent in themselves, should be equally punished for the crimes of their wives as for their own. As this decree is mentioned by *Ulpian*, we may suppose that it passed this year, though that writer speaks of it as made four years before. *Calpurnius Piso* was tried next, and charged by *Quintus Granius* with treasonable words privately uttered against the emperor: to this charge the accuser added, that *Piso* kept poison in his house, and came into the senate armed with a dagger. The latter article seemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no less falsely accused, he was put upon his trial, but his condemnation was prevented by a natural death (Y). Then complaints were

*Prevents
his condem-
nation by a
voluntary
death.*

*Calpurni-
us Piso
tried.*

(Y) *L. Calpurnius Piso* was one of the boldest men at that time in *Rome*, and had threatened as we have related above, to quit *Rome*, and to retire into some distant corner of the earth, where he might be free from the merciless pursuits of the informers. *Tiberius* bore this calmly, nay, he even descended to soften him with kind words. Afterwards, the undaunted *Piso*, in defiance of the power of *Livia*, prosecuted her favourite *Ugularia*, and could not be prevailed upon to drop the prosecution, though she had taken sanctuary in the emperor's palace. This *Tiberius* dissembled; but though he often suppressed his resentment, yet deep impressions remained in his unforgiving soul. *Piso* is now charged with treason, and but for a natural death, which very seasonably intervened, must have been punished as a traitor.

Cassius Se-
verus con-
fined to Se-
riphos.

Plautius
Silvanus
prevents
his condem-
nation by a
voluntary
death.

made of *Cassius Severus* (Z), who, though formerly confined to the island of *Crete* for his petulant and satirical writings, yet continued even in his exile his former practices, defaming the most illustrious persons in *Rome*. He was therefore stript of his estate, and banished into the inhospitable island of *Seriphos*, which we have described elsewhere ^u. About this time *Plautius Silvanus* prætor killed his wife *Apronia*, by throwing her headlong out of one of the windows of his apartment. Whereupon, being carried by *Apronius* his father-in-law before the emperor, he pretended, that while he was asleep, his wife had been the occasion of her own death. Upon this answer, *Tiberius*, unmindful of his dignity, hastened to *Silvanus*'s chamber, and finding there evident marks of his violence and his wife's struggling, he made his report to the senate, who immediately appointed judges to try the prætor. In the mean time, his grandmother *Urgulania*, who, as we have observed above, was one of *Livia*'s chief favourites, finding she could not with all her interest save the life of her grandson, sent him, by the advice of *Tiberius*, as was supposed, a dagger, which was tacitly advising him to prevent his impending condemnation by a voluntary death. The criminal had not courage enough to make use of the dagger; but causing his veins to be opened, bled to death. After his death, his former wife *Numantia*, whom he had divorced to marry *Apronia*, was

^u Hist. Univerf. Vol. VII. p. 477.

(Z) *Augustus* was the first, as we have observed above, who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty or treason. To this he was chiefly induced by the insolence of *Cassius Severus*, who had in his writings wantonly defamed the most illustrious men and women in *Rome*. He was of a mean descent, but an excellent speaker, and had a particular turn for satyr. He wrote also a history, which we find quoted by *Suetonius* (11) and *Tertullian* (12). *Seneca* makes honourable mention of him in his controversy (13). *Tacitus* tells us in this place, that he grew old among the rocks of *Seriphos*; which is agreeable to what we read in *Eusebius*, viz. that *Cassius Severus*, a famous orator, died of want in the twenty fifth year of his exile, being reduced to such poverty, that he had not wherewithal to cover his nakedness (14). *S. Jerom* supposes him to have died for want of necessaries in the eighth year of his banishment (15).

(11) *Suct. in Vitell. c. 2.* (12) *Tertul in apolog.* (13) *Senec controvers. 3. init.* (14) *Euseb. in chron.* (15) *Hier. in chron.*

accused

accused of having, by charms and potions, disordered the understanding of her husband but was acquitted w.

THIS year at length put an end to the war with *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian*, who was utterly routed and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconsul of *Africa*, with the assistance of *Ptolemy*, who had succeeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*. The proconsul desired the ensigns of triumph for his victory, which had been granted to three others; but *Tiberius* refused him that mark of distinction in compliment to *Sejanus*, that the fame of his uncle *Blæsus* might not be thence eclipsed. *Dolabella* on his return to *Rome* brought with him many distinguished captives, among whom was the son of *Tacfarinas*; and was attended by ambassadors from the *Garamantes*, a people of the *Inner Libya*, who, being frightened with the death of *Tacfarinas*, whom they had assisted, thought it adviseable to appease, by an embassy, the resentment of the *Roman* people. To *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, who had bore great share in this war, was dispatched a senator with an ivory staff and an embroidered robe, presents which the *Roman* people used to send in antient times to kings, who were their friends and confederates*. The same year, one *Titus Curtius*, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards, sowed the seeds of a servile war, inviting by declarations publicly hung up all slaves to resume their liberty. But this tumult was suppressed just as it was breaking out, the leader himself and the most resolute men of his party being surprisèd and dragged to *Rome*, which was already in great consternation on account of the immense number of domestic slaves †.

Tacfarinas
defeated
and killed.

A servile
war sup-
pressed in
its rise.

DURING the same consulate, *Rome* saw an example of *Vibius Se-*
horror and unnatural cruelty, which alone is sufficient to ren- *renus ac-*
der the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the latest *cused by his*
posterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconsul of the *Farther Spain*, *own son.*
was condemned, as we have related above, for arbitrary ad-
ministration, and banished to the island of *Amorgos*. But
now that unhappy father is dragged from the place of his exile
to a fresh trial, being accused by his son of treasonable prac-
tices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appear-
ed before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected coun-
tenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while the son,
in the gayest attire, as if he intended to insult nature itself,
alleged a plot framed by his father against the emperor, ac-
cusing him at the same time of having sent conspirators into

w TACIT. *ibid.* c. 15—22. * *Idem*, c. 23—27. † *Idem*,
c. 27.

Gaul, to stir up the people there to rebellion. He likewise charged *Cæcilius Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. *Cornutus* though innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than, looking upon his accusation only as a signal of destruction, he laid violent hands on himself. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his son and shaking his chains, begged of the gods with tears in his eyes, that they would restore him to the place of his exile, where he might pass his days far from such objects of horror, and that they would one day take just vengeance of such a cruel and unnatural son. He then urged, that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a false accusation; and challenged his son to produce other witnesses and name other confederates, since it was not probable, that with one accomplice only he should have thought of murdering the prince, and introducing a change in the government. The accuser then named *Cneius Lentulus* and *Seius Tuberus*, both men of the first rank in *Rome*, and *Tiberius's* intimate friends. Besides, *Lentulus* was extremely old, and *Tuberus* broken with infirmities; insomuch, that *Tiberius* himself could not help blushing in hearing them named. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that *Lentulus*, finding himself, aged as he was, charged with the meditating the murder of the prince and a change of state, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor instantly acquitted him, saying, *I do not deserve to live, if I am hated even by Lentulus*². *Tuberus* was likewise discharged, but the slaves of the pretended criminal were examined upon the rack, and their testimony proved favourable to their master. Hereupon the populace, provoked at such monstrous and unheard-of proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural son with the punishments inflicted by the laws on parricides; which so terrified him, that he fled privately out of *Rome* and withdrew to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, still remembering some expressions, a little too free, which *Serenus* had used in a letter written to him eight years before (A), and no-wise disguising

² *Dio*. l. lviii. p. 630, 631.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that after the condemnation of *Libo Drusus*, *Serenus* had by letters upbraided the emperor for not rewarding the singular zeal with which he had signalized himself in that trial, using expressions more free than the tender ears of a prince, naturally proud and jealous of his prerogative, could bear. Our historian, in his account of that famous trial, which he seems to have described pretty minutely, does not mention *Serenus* among the informers, though he acted, as appears from this passage, a chief part on that occasion.

his

his old hatred, obliged the son to return and pursue the action begun against his father. Nothing could be proved against him; nevertheless the votes being taken, he was sentenced to death as a traitor. And then *Tiberius*, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from such a crying piece of injustice, granted him his life. Hereupon *Asinius Gallus* was for confining him to the island of *Gyarus*, or to that of *Donusa*; this motion was disliked by the emperor, because both these islands were destitute of water, and to whom life is granted, said he, the necessities of life ought likewise to be granted. *Serenus* was therefore remanded to *Amorgos*^a. The death of *Cornutus*, who had laid violent hands on himself, gave occasion to the following motion in the senate; viz. that when a person charged with treason should put an end to his own life before he was condemned, the accusers should lose their rewards, which were the fourth part of the condemned person's estate. This motion seemed reasonable, and would have been generally approved of, had not *Tiberius*, throwing off his usual disguise and reserve, openly declared himself an advocate for the accusers, saying with great sternness, that by this means the laws would be defeated and the republic overturned; and that they had better disannul the laws themselves, than remove their guardians. Thus these bloody and destructive instruments, says *Tacitus*, never sufficiently curbed by any terrors or punishments, were now allured and encouraged by ample rewards^b. The same year, were accused and convicted *Crius Cominius*, a Roman knight, *Publius Silius*, formerly quaestor to *Germanicus*, and *Catus Firmius*, a senator. *Cominius* had written a scurrilous poem against the emperor, who nevertheless pardoned him at the intreaties of his brother, who was a senator. *Silius*, being convicted of taking a bribe in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the senate only condemned to be driven out of *Italy*; but this sentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he caused him to be banished into an island, after having declared upon oath, that he consulted therein the welfare of the republic. This severity, which was then sharply censured, turned afterwards to the emperor's praise: for *Silius*, returning to *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, proved an abandoned mercenary, and one of the most mischievous ministers of that inhuman prince; a proof this, of *Tiberius*'s deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. *Catus Firmius* was likewise by the sentence of the

^a TACIT. c. 28—30.^b Idem, c. 30, 31.

senate to be expelled *Italy* for forging crimes of treason against his sister. But as he had been instrumental in procuring the destruction of *Libo Drusus*, by first maliciously seducing him, and afterwards informing against him, as we have related above, *Tiberius*, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, saved him from banishment, but did not oppose his being expelled the senate ^c.

Cremutius
Cordus
arraigned.

Tacitus begins the following year, when *Cassius Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Asinius Agrippa* were consuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of *Cremutius Cordus*, a celebrated historian, who was accused of having praised *Brutus* in the annals he had published, and styled *Cassius* the *last of the Romans*, which was the elogium bestowed upon him by *Brutus* himself. His accusers were *Satrius Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, both creatures of *Sejanus*; which he looking upon as a signal of his destruction, and besides observing great sternness and indignation in the countenance of *Tiberius*, he cast away all hopes of life, spoke in his own defence with the spirit, and in the style, of a true Roman (B),
and

^c Idem, c. 51.

(B) “ As to facts, conscript fathers, said he, I am so free from
“ guilt, that words only are produced against me. But neither
“ were my words uttered against the prince or his father, who are
“ the only persons comprised under the law of treason. I am charg-
“ ed with having praised *Brutus* and *Cassius*, men whose exploits
“ many have displayed, and all in honourable terms. *Titus Livius*,
“ one of our most famous writers, both for eloquence and veracity,
“ bestowed such high encomiums upon *Pompey*, that *Augustus* sty’d
“ him a *Pompeian*; nor did this in the least prejudice their friend-
“ ship. He no where calls *Scipio Africanus*, nor even this *Cassius*,
“ this *Brutus*, *thieves* and *parricides*, as they are now-a-days com-
“ monly termed, but often mentions them as worthy and famous
“ men. The writings of *Asinius Pollio* have conveyed down to us
“ the memory of the same men under honourable characters. *Mes-
“ sala Corvinus* was proud of having had *Cassius* for his general;
“ and for all this both these writers flourished, both in wealth
“ and honours, under *Augustus*. *M. Cicero* extolled *Cato* to the
“ skies; and nevertheless *Cæsar* the dictator contented himself
“ with answering it in the same style, as if he had been before his
“ judges. The letters of *Marc Antony*, the speeches of *Brutus*, are
“ full of reproaches against *Augustus*, false indeed and groundless,
“ but urged with great bitterness. The poems of *Bibaculus* and
“ *Catullus*, though stuffed with satirical and virulent reflections
“ upon the *Cæsars*, are still read. The deified *Julius*, the deified
“ *Augustus*,

and then, withdrawing from the senate, starved himself to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles ; but they were still privately dispersed and read, both in *Tiberius's* time and many ages after : whence our historian takes occasion to deride the stupidity of those, who imagine

“ *Augustus*, bore these invectives, and winked at them, whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot easily say. For things of that nature, if neglected, are but short-lived ; where-as they argue, when resented, a guilty conscience. I forbear mentioning the *Greeks*, among whom, not only the freedom, but even the licentiousness, of speech is unpunished ; or if any correction is returned, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever allowed, and at no time thought matter of reproach, to pass our judgment upon those whom death hath exempted from hatred and favour. Do I with seditious harangues inflame the people to civil wars, or exhort them to join *Cassius* and *Brutus*, now in arms, and masters of the fields of *Philippi* ? *Brutus* and *Cassius*, now above seventy years slain, are still known in their statues, which even the conqueror did not destroy : why then may not an historian preserve their memories in his writings ? Impartial posterity does every one justice ; and if my death is determined, there will not be wanting some, who will not only maintain the memory of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but mine too.” Notwithstanding this noble defence, the historian, not doubting but he would have been condemned by the servile senate, returned home, and ended his life by abstinence. What *Corndus* says here of the statues of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, is confirmed by other writers, namely by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Augustus* took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, should be preserved inviolable to them after their death, and relates to this purpose the following story : As *Augustus* was passing through the city of *Mediolanum* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he observed a statue of *Brutus*, which was of excellent workmanship, and strongly resembled the original. Upon this he halted, and, in the presence of many who attended him, called the magistrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league, and honoured one of his enemies. At first the magistrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he drove at, stared upon one another, as men under an inexpressible surprise. Then *Augustus*, pointing to the statue, asked them with a frown, *Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very heart of your city ?* At these words the magistrates, still more astonished, were struck dumb. Whereupon *Augustus*, smiling, commended them for their constancy to their friend, though in adversity ; and left orders, that the statue should remain standing as he found it. (16).

(16) *Plut in Bruto.*

The inhabitants of
Cyzicum
deprived of
their li-
berty.

they can by their present power conceal the transactions of their times from future ages; whereas it happens quite otherwise; for the punishment of writers gains credit to their writings, and kings reap no other fruit from it, than infamy to themselves, and glory to those whom they thus persecute^d. But time has done what the emperor could not effect with all his authority; only some few fragments of *Cremutius Cordus's* history have been transmitted to us by *Seneca*^e, the rest having been long since lost. For this whole year accusations were pursued with such warmth, that even during the festival of the *Feriae Latinae*, while *Drusus*, probably the son of *Germanicus*, who had been appointed governor of *Rome*, was ascending the tribunal to take possession of his new employment, *Calpurnius Salvianus* accosted him with a charge against *Sextus Marius*, which *Tiberius* highly resented, publicly rebuking the informer, who was thereupon immediately banished by the senate. The inhabitants of *Cyzicum* were this year accused of neglecting the worship of the deified *Augustus*, which they had established in their city, and of committing violences upon some *Roman* citizens (BB). They were therefore deprived of their liberty, which had been formerly granted them by the *Roman* people, in consideration of their gallant behaviour during the *Mithridatic* war^f, as we have related elsewhere. *Fonteius Capito*, formerly proconsul of *Asia*, was accused at the same time, but acquitted, it plainly appearing,

^d TACIT. c. 34. DIO. l. lvii. p. 619. SENEC. ad Marc. c. 22. CASSIOD. chr. Alex. p. 492. ^e Vide SENEC. in suas. de mort. Cic. ^f TACIT. c. 36. SUET. in Tib. c. 37. DIO. l. lvii. p. 619.

(BB) The *Cyzicans* had begun to build a temple in honour of *Augustus*, but neglected to finish it, and besides, had committed violences upon some *Roman* citizens (17). Of the latter fault they had been guilty also in the reign of *Augustus*, who thereupon deprived them of their liberties, which, however, he restored to them soon after (18). In the *Mithridatic* war they sustained a siege, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, with incredible bravery, and repulsed the king. But now, without any regard to their former services, they are stript of those privileges, which they had purchased by a most gallant behaviour, and at the expence of their blood (19). We do not find, that their liberties were ever after restored to them; whence we conclude, that *Strabo* was either dead, or had put the last hand to his work before this year, the eleventh of *Tiberius's* reign, since he writes, that in his time the city of *Cyzicum* was free (20).

(17) Suet. in Tib. c. 37. (18) Dio. l. liv. (19) Tacit. c. 36. Dio. l. lvii. p. 619. (20) Strab. l. xii.

that

that the crimes laid to his charge by *Vibius Serenus*, were forged. And yet *Serenus* escaped unpunished; nay, the public hatred he had incurred, by falsely arraigning persons of the greatest distinction, rendered him the more secure: for, as our historian observes, the more mischievous an accuser was, the safer he was, those only of the tribe being surrendered to punishment, who were incapable of doing great mischief^g.

ABOUT this time, embassadors arrived in *Rome* from the *Farther Spain*, to beg leave of the senate to erect a temple, after the example of *Asia*, to *Tiberius* and his mother. When they were introduced to the senate, the emperor laid hold of that occasion to confute those who had taxed him with ambition, for having allowed the *Asiatics* to pay him divine honours, and spoke in the following manner: "I know, con-
 " script fathers, that I am generally blamed, and taxed with
 " inconstancy, for not opposing the cities of *Asia*, when
 " they petitioned for this very thing. I shall therefore now
 " acquaint you with the motives of my former silence, and
 " at the same time with the rules I propose to follow for the
 " future. As the deified *Augustus* did not oppose the found-
 " ing of a temple at *Pergamus* to himself and the city of
 " *Rome* (C), I, with whom all his actions and sayings have
 the

Tiberius's
 wise rea-
 soning a-
 gainst ad-
 mitting di-
 vine ho-
 nours.

^g TACIT. *ibid.*

(C) Though in *Augustus's* time temples were built even in honour of the proconsuls and governors of provinces, yet that prince, as *Suetonius* informs us, would suffer no temples to be erected to him alone, but jointly to him and the city of *Rome*. Thus the temple mentioned here by *Tiberius*, was built at *Pergamus* by the communities of *Asia*, and consecrated to *Rome* and *Augustus*. The representation of this temple is to be seen on several coins which have reached our times, with this legend, *Com. Asiae Rom. et Aug.* that is, *The communities of Asia to Rome and Augustus* (21). The *Smyrneans* first erected a temple to *Rome* in the year of the city 558 22: their example was followed about twenty four years after by the inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria* (23). In process of time, a temple was erected in the city itself to *Rome* and *Venus*. Of this temple *Prudentius* speaks in the following lines:

— colitur nam sanguine & ipsa
 More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
 Æque urbis Venerisque pare se culmine tollunt
 Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.

(21) Vide *Dion. l. li. ad annum 735.* (22) *Tacit. c. 56.* (23) *Liv. l. xliii.*

“ the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved
 “ the more willingly, because to the worship bestowed up-
 “ on me was annexed that of the senate. But as the accept-
 “ ing of that honour in one instance deserves pardon, so to be
 “ adored in every province, under the sacred representations of
 “ the deities, favours of pride and ambition : besides, the ren-
 “ dering common, and in a manner prostituting, this honour,
 “ would be detracting from the glory of *Augustus*. For myself,
 “ conscript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have
 “ posterity to know, that I am a mortal man, and subject,
 “ like others, to the common functions of nature. It is e-
 “ nough for me to hold the chief place among you, and pos-
 “ terity will sufficiently honour my memory, if they believe
 “ me to have been worthy of my ancestors, careful of your
 “ affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearless of private hatred for
 “ the public welfare. These are the temples which I would
 “ raise in your breasts, these the best and most lasting images.
 “ As for temples and statues of stone, if those who are wor-
 “ shipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of
 “ posterity, they are despised as their sepulchres. I there-
 “ fore here implore our allies and citizens, all the gods and
 “ goddesses, beseeching the latter to grant me, to the end of
 “ my life, a mind undisturbed, and a thorough knowledge of
 “ the laws human and divine, and the former to celebrate my
 “ actions, whenever my dissolution comes, with a kind re-
 “ membrance.” Thus spoke *Tiberius* ; but his reasoning,
 however judicious and wise, was variously construed, some
 ascribing his thus rejecting divine honours to modesty, others
 to diffidence, and many to a meanness of spirit unbecoming a
 prince. But whatever was his motive, he thenceforth conti-

The same poet addresses elsewhere *Rome* as a goddess, thus :

*Exaudi, regina tui pulcherima mundi,
 Inter sydereos Roma recepta polos.*

Claudian places this temple on mount *Palatine* :

*Conveniunt ad testæ deæ, quæ candida lucent
 Monte Palatino, &c.*

Says that poet speaking of the temple consecrated to *Rome* (24).

(24) *Claudian. de laud. Stilic. l. ii.*

nued to slight, upon all occasions, and even in private conversation, divine honours †.

AND now *Sejanus*, intoxicated with his excessive power, *Sejanus* and besides egged on by the importunity of *Livia*, the wife of *asks young Drusus*, who was continually reminding him of his promise, *Livia in* presented a memorial to the emperor, begging that if a husband were sought for *Livia*, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given innumerable instances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that *Augustus*, in the disposal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts of some Roman knight; that he had nothing in view but the glory of such an affinity, and the safety of his children, since their alliance with the imperial family would sufficiently screen them against the wrath and malice of *Agrippina*; for himself, he said, he cared to live no longer, than he could be serviceable to so gracious and benevolent a prince. *Tiberius*, *Tiberius's* for a present answer, commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, cur- *answer to* forily recapitulated his own favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his request with more maturity. At length he returned this answer: "That princes were not, like other men, guided in their pursuits by the notions of conveniency, but were, in their actions, chiefly to consider the applause and approbation of the public; and therefore, that he would not put *Sejanus* off with this obvious and plausible answer, that *Livia* could herself determine whether she would marry again or no, or that she had a mother and grandmother, with whom, as nearer relations, she might advise; but would deal more candidly with him. And, in the first place, as to the enmity of *Agrippina*, it would become more outrageous, if, by the marriage of *Livia*, the house of the *Cæsars* were rent, as it were, into two opposite parties; that even as things stood, great emulation reigned among the women, which occasioned a mutual misunderstanding in his grandsons. What would be the consequence, if, by such a marriage, the contest and disagreement were heightened? For you are deceived, *Sejanus*, if you think to continue then in the same rank you are now in. Can you imagine that *Livia*, who was first married to *Caius Cæsar*, and afterwards to *Drusus*, will be satisfied to grow old with a person only of the equestrian rank? If I should suffer you, after your marriage, to remain in the same station, do you think that those would suffer it, who have seen her brother, her father, and her ancestors, shining in the first dignities? You propose con-

† Idem, c. 37, 38.

" taining

“ tinuing in your present rank ; but those very magistrates,
 “ and great men, who, in all affairs, affect to consult you,
 “ openly complain, that you are already lifted up above the
 “ rank of a knight, that you surpass in power all my father’s
 “ friends, and therefore, out of hatred to you, censure me.
 “ *Augustus*, you say, had some thoughts of giving his daugh-
 “ ter in marriage to a *Roman* knight. What wonder, if dis-
 “ tracted with innumerable cares, and well apprised to what
 “ a great height he raised the person whom he distinguished
 “ with that match, he talked of *Proculus* (D), and some
 “ others of the same rank, remarkable for the retiredness of
 “ their lives, and no-ways engaged in affairs of state ? But
 “ if we are moved by the hesitation of *Augustus*, how much
 “ more ought we to be influenced by the resolution he took
 “ in the end of giving his daughter first to *Agrippa*, and af-
 “ terwards to me ? These considerations I have, out of
 “ friendship, suggested to you ; however, I will not oppose
 “ your inclinations, or those of *Livia*. What I am now
 “ meditating with myself in your favour, by what ties I am
 “ contriving to bind you to me, I will forbear at present to
 “ relate. Thus much only I will say, that there is nothing
 “ so high, but your abilities and zeal for me may justly
 “ claim. These my sentiments I will, on a proper occasion,
 “ declare either in the senate, or the assembly of the people.”
Sejanus was alarmed at this answer, as being well acquainted
 with the emperor’s obscure and distrustful temper : laying
 therefore aside all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he earnestly
 intreated him not to give ear to the slanderous reports of his
 enemies, nor hearken to the malicious insinuations of such as
 hated him, only on account of his unshaken fidelity. The
 more he reflected on *Tiberius*’s answer, the more apprehen-
 sive he grew of giving him any umbrage. He was chiefly at
 a loss how to comport himself with respect to the crowds of
 persons of all ranks, who daily frequented his house to court

(D) *Caius Proculus* was brother to *Varro Muræna*, who con-
 spired against *Augustus*. Their sister was married to *Mecænas* (25).
 His two brothers, *Scipio* and *Muræna*, having lost their estates in
 the civil wars, he reserved only one third of his estate for himself,
 and gave the rest to them, for which generosity he is deservedly
 celebrated by *Horace* in the following lines :

Vivet extento Proculus ævo
Notus in fratres animi paterni.

(25) *Dio. l. liv.*

his

his favour. To refuse them admittance would be impairing his power, and the encouraging them might, as he justly apprehended, furnish a handle for criminal accusations. In this perplexity he came at length to the following resolution, viz. to urge the emperor to leave *Rome*, and to retire to some pleasant place remote from the noise and hurry of the city.

From this counsel he promised himself great advantages; *Sejanus* there could be no access to the prince but by him; all letters and expresses, as they were conveyed, according to the custom which then obtained, by soldiers, who were at his devotion, would pass through his hands; the emperor, declining in age, and, growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of the place, would more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himself should be removed from the crouds of such as, to make their court, attended him at *Rome*, which would stop one source of envy. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at *Rome*, cunningly insinuating to *Tiberius*, the great and enormous inconveniencies of the city, the constant trouble of attending the senate, the discontented and seditious temper of the people, highly extolling at the same time a quiet and solitary retirement, a life without anguish of mind, free from envy and ill-will, and therefore more fit to dispatch important and weighty matters. A trial, which happened about this time, gave no small weight to the cunning insinuations of *Sejanus*. One *Votienus Montanus* (E), a man of great wit, was charged with contumelious speeches against the emperor. *Æmilius* the witness, a rough and unthinking soldier, to make good his evidence, repeated word for word what he had heard. The fathers endeavoured with their clamours to stop his mouth; but to no purpose, *Æmilius* obstinately persisting in the odious detail, and rehearsing with a loud voice all the reproaches he had ever heard uttered against the prince, who was so affected with them, that he could not forbear crying out, that he would instantly clear himself, either in their presence, or before an assembly of the people. *Votienus* was condemned, and, according to *Eusebius* ^h, confined to the

urges the emperor to leave *Rome*, and his views in this.

Votienus Montanus accused and condemned.

^h EUSEB. in chron.

(E) *Votienus Montanus* is commended by *Seneca* as an orator of great fame (26), and by *Ovid* as a poet of no mean character:

*Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel equis
Sufficit, & gemino carmine nomen habes.*

(26) *Senec. l. v. controver. 7.*

Balcaric

Embassad-
ors from
the Lacedæmoni-
ans and Messe-
nians.

The death
of some il-
lustrious
Romans.

Balearic islands. At the same time was condemned to banishment *Aquila*, a woman of distinction, for adultery, and *Apidius Merula* expelled the senate for not having sworn upon the acts of *Augustus*¹. Next were heard ambassadors from the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messenians*, about the right each people claimed to a temple of *Diana*, which the senate, after hearing the parties, adjudged to the latter^k. The citizens likewise of *Segestum* in *Sicily* sent deputies to *Rome*, begging that the temple of *Venus Erycina*, fallen through age, might be rebuilt. This charge *Tiberius* readily took upon himself, because the *Segestani* were supposed to be likewise descended from the *Trojans*. Then a petition was heard from the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, claiming the estate of one *Volcatius Moschus*, who, being banished from *Rome* and by them admitted a citizen, had left to their republic, as to his country, his whole fortune. Their claim was approved, and the estate of *Moschus* surrendered to them. This year died three Romans of great distinction, viz. *Cneius Lentulus*, *Lucius Domitius*, and *Lucius Antonius*. *Lentulus* had been consul, and rewarded for his victories over the *Getuli* with the ensigns of triumph: he had long borne private poverty with great patience, and afterwards with equal modesty enjoyed great wealth virtuously acquired. *Domitius* was the son of *Lucius Domitius*, who, being condemned by the *Pedian* law as privy to the murder of *Julius Cæsar*, though he was no ways accessory to it, betook himself to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were his kinsmen, and continued with them till their death; after which he retained the command of the fleet, which they had given him long before, and considerably augmented it in spite of all his disasters. At length, when the republican party was irrecoverably ruined, he surrendered the fleet under his command to *Marc Antony*, and was the only person, condemned by the *Pedian* law, who was allowed to return to his native country, where he was advanced to the highest honours. Upon the breaking out of the civil war between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former appointed him his lieutenant; but he not approving of *Antony's* conduct, and some offering to confer the supreme command upon him, he retired to *Augustus*, and died a few days after^l. His son, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, led a *Roman* army beyond the *Elb*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any had done before him; whence he was honoured with the ensigns of triumph. He married *Antonia* the younger, or, as *Suetonius* has it, the elder^m, and had by her

¹ *TACIT.* c. 41, 42.

^k *Idem*, c. 43.

^l *SUET.* in *Ner.*

c. 3.

^m *Idem*, *ibid.* c. 5.

Cneius Domitius, the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Lucius Antonius*, who likewise died at this time, was the son of *Julius Antonius*, whom *Augustus* put to death on account of his criminal conversation with *Julia*. Upon the death of the father the emperor removed the son, then a child, to *Marseilles*, where, under pretence of pursuing his studies, he was long kept in an honourable exile. However, as he was the grandson of *Octavia*, *Augustus*'s sister by his mother *Marcella*, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his bones were, by a decree of the senate, repositied in the tomb of the *Octavian* family ⁿ. During the administration of the same consuls, *Lucius Piso*, governor of the *Hither Spain*, as he ^{Lucius Pi-} travelled through the province unguarded, was attacked uana ^{governor} wares by a peasant, and dispatched with one blow. The ^{of Hither} assassin, by the fleetness of his horse, escaped to a neigh- ^{Spain kil-} bouring forest, and there quitted him. But the horse being ^{led by a} taken, the owner was soon discovered, seized, and put to the ^{peasant.} rack, which he bore with incredible constancy and resolution, declaring in the language of his country, that his accomplices might safely stand by ; for no torture or pain, however exquisite, should extort from him a discovery. The next day, as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and dashed his head with such violence against a stone, that he immediately expired *.

THE following year, *Lentulus Getulicus*, the son of *Cneius Poppæus* ^{Poppæus} *Lentulus* mentioned above, and *Caius Calvisius Sabinus* being ^{Sabinus} consuls, *Poppæus Sabinus* was honoured with the ensigns of ^{defeats the} triumph for his successful exploits against the wild *Thracians*, ^{Thraci-} who had taken arms, and endeavoured to drive the *Romans* ans. out of their country, on account of their raising recruits amongst them, and conveying their stoutest youth out of the country. They were, after a most vigorous resistance, utterly defeated by *Sabinus*, and forced to submit. This year, discord began to reign in the imperial family, which we shall see end at last in the destruction of *Agrippina*. *Claudia Pulchra*, her cousin, being accused by *Domitius Afer* of adultery with one *Furnius*, and likewise of employing magical charms and preparing poison for the emperor, she flew to *Tiberius* ; and finding him by chance sacrificing to *Augustus*, as she was, notwithstanding her great virtue, of a violent temper, she took occasion from the sacrifice he was offering to upbraid him, and tell him, that it ill became the same man to offer victims to the deified *Augustus*, and prosecute his posterity ; that his di- ^{Agrippi-} vine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues and images ; ^{na's just} ^{reproach} ^{upon Tibe-} ^{that rius.}

ⁿ TACIT. c. 44.

* Idem, c. 45, 46.

that the genuine images of *Augustus* were his descendants, of whom she herself was one, in great distress and in the state of a suppliant. She added, that other crimes were in vain alledged against *Pulchra*, when the only cause of her intended ruin was, that she had unadvisedly loved *Agrippina*, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of *Sefta*, whose condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the same crime, the like unseasonable affection. These bitter words highly provoked *Tiberius*; but nevertheless, as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her, by telling her in a *Greek* verse, which he quoted out of an ancient tragedy, *If you do not reign, you think yourself injured*; and then dismissed her, without vouchsafing her any further answer. *Pulchra* and *Furnius*, notwithstanding the solicitations and remonstrances of *Agrippina*, were both condemned. Some time after, *Agrippina* falling sick, the emperor went to pay her a visit, when she, after many tears and long silence, at length intreated him to give her a husband, in whom she and the children of *Germanicus* might find a faithful protector against the malicious designs of their enemies. But *Tiberius*, well apprised to what a height of power in the state the person would be raised, who married the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, and, on the other hand, not caring openly to withstand so reasonable a request, lest it should betray jealousy or fear in him, instantly left her, though very pressing with him, without returning her any answer. This behaviour was highly resented by *Agrippina*, and *Sejanus*, to inflame her still more, and by that means hasten her ruin, employed his secret agents to warn her, under colour of friendship, that poison was prepared for her, and that she ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As *Agrippina* was a stranger to all dissimulation, she followed their advice; and though she sat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat; which *Tiberius* observing, to be the better convinced of her suspicions, after having praised the apples that stood before him, presented some of them to her with his own hand. This only increased the suspicion of *Agrippina*, who, without so much as offering to taste them, delivered them to the waiters. However, *Tiberius*, always dark and reserved, spoke not a word openly; but turning to his mother, *No wonder*, said he, *that I should use severity with her, since she charges me with a design of poisoning her*. Hence a rumour was immediately spread abroad, that her ruin was resolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, had chose to dispatch her by some secret means. *Tiberius*, to suppress that report, by diverting the public talk upon other topic, attended the senate with great assiduity, and

*She desires
a second
husband.*

*She is de-
ceived by
the secret
agents of
Sejanus.*

and gave audience to several embassadors from *Asia*, contending in what city the temple lately decreed to *Tiberius*, should be built. For this honour eleven cities strove; but when the votes of the senators were collected, the pretensions of *Smyrna* were preferred (F). It was also moved by *Vibius Marfus*,
that

(F) For this honour eleven cities strove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity and distinguished zeal for the *Roman* people, during their several wars with *Perses*, *Aristonicus*, and other kings. But the *Hypæpenians*, *Trallians*, *Laodiceans*, and *Magneſians*, were dismissed at once as not sufficient for the charge. The *Ilenſes* or *Trojans* represented, that *Troy* was the mother of *Rome*; but had no advantage above the rest, besides the glory of antiquity. The *Halicarnassians* urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been shaken by earthquakes, and promised to lay the foundations of the temple on a solid rock. The same plea was brought by the inhabitants of *Pergamus*; but as a temple was already erected in their city to *Augustus*, that distinction was judged sufficient for them. The cities of *Ephesus* and *Miletus* were thought already sufficiently taken up with the ceremonies of their peculiar deities, the former with those of *Diana*, the latter with those of *Apollo*. Thus the dispute was confined to *Sardes* and *Smyrna*. The former urged their antiquity, power and opulence; they recited a decree of the *Hetrurians*, acknowledging them for kinsmen. For they pretended to derive their original from *Atys*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*, who, as we have related in the history of *Lydia*, is supposed to have had two sons, *Lydus*, and *Tyrrhenus*; the former remained in his native country, which from him was called *Lydia*, and the latter settled in *Hetruria*, where his followers were from him named *Tyrrhenians*. They likewise enlarged on the opulence, of the ancient *Lydians*; on the colonies sent under *Pelops* into *Greece*, which from him took the name of *Peloponnesus*; their league with *Rome* during the war with *Macedon*, &c. The account they give here of their original does not intirely agree with what we read of it in *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and *Velleius Paterculus* (27). The *Smyrneans* likewise displayed the glory of their antiquity and founders, of whom we have spoken at length in our history of *Asia*; but insisted chiefly on their early friendship with *Rome*, and kindly offices to the *Roman* people, whom they assisted, not only in their foreign wars, but in those which were waged in the very bowels of *Italy*. They desired the fathers to remember, that they had, before any other people whatsoever, erected a temple to *Rome*, when the power of the *Roman* people was indeed great, but not yet raised to its greatest height, since *Carthage* was still standing, and *Asia* governed by mighty kings: they laid great stress on their generosity to *Sylla*, the miserable condition of whose army, ready to perish in a severe

27 Vide Dion. Halicar. l. i. & Vell. Patercul. l. i.

that *Lentulus*, to whom had fallen the province of *Asia*, should have a legate extraordinary appointed to supervise the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and *Lentulus* impowered to chuse whom he pleased; but he through modesty declining to name one, *Valerius Nasso* was drawn by lot from among those who had been prætors ^P.

Tiberius
abandons
Rome.
Year af-
ter the
flood,
3025. Be-
fore
Christ, 26.
Of Rome,
774.

THIS year at length, the twelfth of his reign, *Tiberius* put in execution the design, which he had long meditated and from time to time deferred, of leaving *Rome*. At his departure he gave out, that he was going into *Campania* only to dedicate a temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and one at *Nola* to *Augustus*; but in truth determined never to return to *Rome*. Most historians, who wrote before *Tacitus*, ascribe this his resolution to the artful insinuations of *Sejanus*; but, as he continued in his retirement six years after the disgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, that writer thinks he was influenced by some other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing in the darkness of a retired and solitary place his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdness, and debauchery (G). Some believed; that

^P Idem. c. 53—57.

winter for want of cloaths, was no sooner related to the citizens of *Smyrna*, at that time by chance assembled, than they all stript themselves of their own garments, and sent them to the naked legions. This signal instance of their great fidelity and sincere attachment to the *Roman* people made so deep an impression upon the whole assembly, that the honour, for which so many cities contended, was by a great majority conferred upon them (28).

(G) As to his debauchery, *Suetonius* tells us, that in his youth he was much given to drinking, that instead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed *Biberius Caldius Mero*. Afterwards being raised to the sovereign power, continues the same writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he spent one night and two days in carousing with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piso*, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of *Syria*, and to the other the government of *Rome*, styling them in his letters, *jucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos*. Being invited to supper by *Sextius Gallus*, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by *Augustus*, and severely reprimanded by himself in the senate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition, that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were served at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of a mean extraction, who stood for the quæstorship, to several competitors of great distinction, for no other reason, but because he had drank with him an incredible quantity of wine

(28) *Tacit.* c. 55, 56.

that in his old age he was ashamed of the figure of his person ; for he was very thin, tall, and stooped ; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and for the most part besmeared with ointments (H). During his retirement at *Rhodes*, he used to avoid as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the recess of a solitary life ; whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not so much by the plausible persuasions of *Sejanus*, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some gave out, that he was driven from *Rome* by the restless and

at one meal. He presented *Asellius Sabinus* with two hundred thousand sesterces for a dialogue he wrote between the mushroom, the beccafico, or fig-pecker, the oyster, and the thrush, which were all his favourite dishes (29). As to his lewdness, excesses so detestably infamous are related of him by the same writer, that they seem almost incredible. We shall not defile our history with the infamous detail he gives us of them, but only relate one instance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very scandalous picture, done by the famous *Parrhasius*, and representing *Atlanta* and *Meleager*, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he should have a million of sesterces paid him immediately in its stead, he not only preferred it to the said sum, but caused it to be hung up in his room (30).

(H) *Suetonius* describes his person thus : he was, says he, of a strong well-set body, somewhat exceeding the common size ; broad in the breast and shoulders, in the rest of his limbs from head to foot well proportioned. He used for the most part his left hand, in the joints of which he had such strength, that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however sound, and stun a man with a filip. His complexion was fair ; his hair long behind, so as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the *Claudian* family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with small pimples ; he had large eyes, and could see in the dark, but only for a short time, and when he first awaked. He stooped, especially when he walked, and shewed always a great deal of severity in his stern looks. He was slow of speech, and in private conversation was continually moving his fingers, in a manner which no-ways became him. All these imperfections, says the same writer, and indications of arrogance, *Augustus* observed in him, and frequently endeavoured to excuse to the senate and people, representing to them, that they were defects in nature, but no imperfections in his mind. He was very healthy, and scarce ever out of order the whole time he was emperor, though from the thirtieth year of his age he lived as he pleased, without hearkening to his physicians (31).

(29) *Suet. ibid. c. 42.*
68.

(30) *Idem ibid.*

(31) *Idem ibid. c.*

What
prompted
him to re-
tire.

insupportable ambition of his mother, whom on one hand he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, but on the other could not intirely exclude, since the sovereignty itself was her gift (I). Whatever was his motive, though he removed to several places, he never returned once to the city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a small attendance, having with him but one senator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly consul, and well versed in the knowledge of the laws, one *Roman* knight, besides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius Atticus* (K), and some men of letters, chiefly *Greeks*, with whose conversation he was pleased and amused^q. *Suetonius* tells us, he left orders, that during his absence no one should come near him, and that on his journey he declined all communication^r. Upon his departure the astrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under such a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. That he was never to return to *Rome* proved true; but the conjectures, published by the astrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the falshood of that art, since it proved fatal to its professors, of

^q TACIT. c. 57, 58.

^r SUE T. *ibid.* c. 40.

(I) *Livia* having pressed him very earnestly, as we read in *Suetonius*, to advance a person, whom he had admitted citizen of *Rome*, into the number of the decuries, he absolutely refused to do it, unless she would allow it to be inserted in the register; *That it was extorted from him by his mother*. This *Livia* took greatly amiss, and immediately produced certain letters which *Augustus* had formerly written to her, complaining of his stubborn temper and the intolerable perverseness of his manners, and caused them to be publicly read. This inspired him with such an aversion to the empress, who had so long preserved, and so maliciously produced, these letters, that being no longer able to bear the sight of her, he was thought by some to have withdrawn from *Rome*, that he might have no farther intercourse or communication with her (32). *Tacitus* makes no mention of these letters, but only says, that *Livia*, who knew he was indebted to her alone for the empire, since she had prevailed upon *Augustus* to adopt, contrary to his inclination, *Tiberius*, and exclude *Germanicus*, imperiously reclaimed the power which she had procured him.

(K) *Curtius Atticus* was in high favour with *Tiberius*, which was the cause of his ruin, *Sejanus*, who was jealous of his power, having by false insinuations brought him into disgrace. To him *Ovid* inscribed two elegies, viz. the fourth and seventh of his second book *de Ponto*.

(32) *Idem ibid.* c. 51.

whom

whom many were, for their predictions, either put to death, or involved in endless calamities, which with all their knowledge of the stars they had not foreseen^c; whereas *Tiberius* lived eleven years after his retreat. However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being fulfilled soon after his departure; for, as he was supping in a cave of one of his villas, called thence *Spelunca* (B), its mouth fell suddenly

^c TACIT. *ibid.*

(B) *Seneca* tells us, that the Romans, generally speaking, chose to build their country seats near some cave, to which they frequently resorted, especially in the summer. He gives us a very particular description of two grottos or caves adjoining to the country seat of *Vatia*. The cave spoken of here lay, according to our historian, between the *Amyclean* sea and the mountains of *Fundi*, or, as it is now called, *Fondi*; that is, between *Caieta* and *Tarracina*; for between these two places stood *Amyclæ*, which gave its name to the neighbouring sea. *Pliny* (33) and *Solinus* (34) tells us, that the territory of *Amyclæ* was so infested with serpents and vipers, that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their dwellings and settle elsewhere. *Amyclæ* is mentioned by *Virgil*:

——— *ditissimus agri*
Qui fuit Ausonidum, & tacitis regnavit Amyclis,

says that poet (35). He gives the epithet of *tacitus*, *silent*, to *Amyclæ*, either because it was built by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they followed the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, always inculcating silence, were thence called *taciti*, or, because of a law which obtained in this place, forbidding under severe penalties any one to mention the approach of an enemy. These are the conjectures of *Servius* in his comments upon this place. He adds, that before this law was made the city was daily alarmed by false reports, as if the enemy had been already at the gates, from which terrors and uneasiness the abovementioned law indeed delivered them; but in the end it proved their ruin; for no one venturing to transgress it, even when the enemy appeared unexpectedly under the walls, the city was taken and destroyed. To this *Silius* alluded in the following words;

——— *quasque evertere silentia, Amyclæ* (36);

and *Lucilius*, as quoted by *Servius*, *I must speak, for by silence the*

(33) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5.* (34) *Sol. de Italia, c. 2.* (35) *Virg. Æneid. 10 v. 564.* (36) *Sil. l. viii. v. 529.*

Sejanus
exposes his
person for
Tiberius.

He brings
Nero into
disgrace
with Ti-
berius.

denly in, and buried under it some of his attendants; which so frightened the rest, that, abandoning the emperor, they all fled, except *Sejanus*, who covering the emperor's body with his own, and stooping upon his knees and hands, received all the stones that fell from the roof; so that *Tiberius* escaped quite unhurt. From this time the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardless of his own safety and only solicitous about his, reposed an intire confidence in him, blindly following all his counsels, however bloody and destructive. This confidence the wicked minister abused to the destruction of the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious designs. He attacked first *Nero*, *Germanicus's* eldest son, and consequently next in succession, suborning persons to misrepresent all his actions to *Tiberius*. *Nero* was a young prince no-ways ambitious, but unmindful of that circumspection which his present situation required. He was also misled and ill-advised by his freed-men and followers, who, desirous of having the power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and resolution becoming a person in his station; that both the people and soldiery longed to see him share the government with his grandfather; and that as to *Sejanus*, he would not dare to oppose him, though he now equally insulted the tameness of an old man and the sloth of a youth. As the young prince gave ear to such suggestions, some unguarded expressions escaped, which were immediately caught up by the spies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would not so much as allow him the privilege of clearing himself. He was even betrayed by his wife *Julia*, the daughter of *Drusus* and *Livia*, who acquainted her mother and by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the sighs and dreams, of her husband. His brother *Drusus* was likewise drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately succeeding *Tiberius*, if his elder brother, already in disgrace, were effectually set aside (C). The emperor, thus prejudiced against him, even by his nearest relations and those who were thought to be his best friends, al-

city of *Amyclæ* was destroyed. *Amyclæ* was built by a colony from another city of the same name in *Laconia* (37).

(C) *Drusus* was prompted to combine against his brother, not only by a passion for power, and by the usual and too common competition among brothers, but also by the partiality of *Agrippina*, who was fond of *Nero*, and shewed no great affection for him (38).

(37) *Sol. in ibid.*

(38) *Tacit. c. 60.*

ways received him with a stern countenance; if the youth spoke, there were crimes in his words; and crimes in his silence, if he spoke nothing. *Sejanus*, having by these base arts set *Tiberius* against *Nero*, began to consult with his creatures how he might inflame him at the same time against *Drusus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be involved in the same ruins^f. We shall soon see what steps he took towards the compassing of that design. In the end of this year, died *Asinius Agrippa*, descended of a family renowned rather than antient (D), himself not unworthy of his ancestors; and *Quintus Haterius* of a senatorial family, and famous for eloquence while he lived, tho' the orations he left behind him were not much esteemed, the harmony of his voice, as our historian observes, which charmed the ears of his hearers, dying with him^g (E). This year *Pontius Pilate* was appointed by *Tiberius* governor of *Judæa* in the room of *Valerius Gratus*^h. How he behaved during his ten years administration, appears from *Philo*^w, and from what we have said in our history of the *Jews*^x.

THE following year, *M. Licinius Crassus* and *Lucius Calpurnius Piso* being consuls, *Atilius*, one of the race of freedmen, having built an amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, in order to exhibit in it a show of gladiators, vast crowds flocked thither from *Rome*, eager for such shows, as during the reign of *Tiberius* they were debarred from diversions at home. But, as the spectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but slightly built and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall destroyed or maimed fifty thousand persons^y. *Suetonius* says, that twenty thousand

^f TACIT. c. 60. ^g Idem, c. 61. ^h JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. ^w PHILO, legat. ad Caium. ^x Hist. Univers. Vol. X. p. 287, & seq. TACIT. c. 62.

(D) *Asinius Agrippa* was the son of *Asinius Gallus*, of whom we have spoke above, and grandson of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, by whom he was raised to great honours, though the *Asinian* family had made no figure till his time; and hence *Tacitus* says, that *Asinius Agrippa* was of ancestors more illustrious than antient.

(E) *Quintus Haterius* is mentioned also by *Seneca*, who names him among the orators more applauded for their delivery than their compositions. *Eusebius* calls him a ready and popular orator, and adds, that he lived in great honours, and died in the ninetieth year of his age (39).

souls perished by this sad stroke ². On this occasion the great men of *Rome* threw open their doors to receive such as had been hurt, supplied them with medicines, and took all possible care of them till they recovered. Thus, to the great satisfaction of the city, was revived at this juncture the public spirit of the antient *Romans*, who after great battles constantly relieved the wounded, sustained them by their bounties, and restored them with care. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius*, upon the news of this dreadful calamity, immediately left *Capreae*, passed over to the continent, and allowed persons of all ranks to come to him; but according to *Tacitus* he had not yet withdrawn to that island, but was either at *Capua* or *Nola*. *Atilius*, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials and unskilful workmen, was banished; and it was provided for the future by a decree of the senate, that no man, who was not worth four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the show of gladiators ³. The public affliction from this terrible blow was yet fresh, when another supervened. A fire breaking out on mount *Caelius* burnt with such rage and violence, that it utterly consumed all the houses in that quarter of the city. On this occasion *Tiberius* gave proofs of a generosity truly worthy of a great prince. For at his own expence he made good the loss of every sufferer, seeking out, of his own accord, the unknown, and, without any ambitious views, without the application of friends, relieving them by his bounty. For this the senate returned him thanks, and decreed, that mount *Caelius* should for the future be styled *Mount Augustus*, since the statue of *Tiberius*, which stood there in the house of *Junius* the senator was spared by the flames, tho' every thing round it was consumed (F).

Mons Caelius consumed by fire.

Tiberius's generosity on that occasion.

As the universal zeal of the great men in *Rome* and the generous bounty of the prince administered great relief in the present misfortunes, so the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved without alleviation

² Suet. *ibid.* c. 40.

³ Tacit. c. 63.

(F) *Suetonius* disagreeing, as he often does, with *Tacitus*, tells us, that *Tiberius* exerted on this occasion his generosity, and made good to the sufferers all the losses they had sustained; but that he did it with so much affectation of his own liberality, that he caused mount *Caelius* to be called thenceforth mount *Augustus*, with a view of perpetuating the memory of his liberality. *Tiberius* was, as evidently appears from innumerable instances, an utter enemy to all flattery, pomp, and ostentation, which inclines us to prefer the authority of *Tacitus* to that of *Suetonius*.

the

the most illustrious citizens in endless calamities. *Quintilius Varus*, a man of great wealth and related to the emperor (G), was accused by *Domitius Afer*, the same who had arraigned *Informers* his mother *Claudia Pulchra*. The informer had, it seems, *become* squandered away what he had earned by procuring the con- *more* demnation of *Claudia*; and therefore in hopes of a more *dreadful* ample reward had marked out and doomed to destruction *Varus*, one of the most wealthy men in *Rome*. The city was surprised to see *Publius Dolabella*, a man of an illustrious family and nearly related to *Varus*, join a person of such an infamous character as *Afer*, against his kinsman. The senate was so shocked with it, that they refused to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial should be postponed till the return of the emperor ^b.

In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having dedicated the temples *Tiberius* in *Campania*, though he had by an edict warned the public *retires to* not to disturb him, and posted soldiers on all the roads to pre- *Capreae*. vent the concourse of people to the towns where he resided, nevertheless hating all towns and every place on the continent retired at length to *Capreae*, an island separated from the cape of *Surrentum* by a chanel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted by a mountain, and refreshed in the summer by gales from the west. The sea, open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence was seen then one of the most beautiful coasts in the world; but which was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of mount *Vesuvius*. The island was surrounded on all sides with inaccessible rocks, and a profound and almost bottomless sea, which was void of havens, and had but few stations for the smaller vessels, and those very difficult of access; so that none could put in unperceived by the guards (H); and this, as is commonly believed, was what chiefly took

^b Idem, c. 66.

(G) *Quintilius Varus* was probably son to the commander of that name, who was with the *Roman* legions cut off in *Germany* in the manner we have related above. He married one of *Germanicus's* daughters, as we read in *Seneca* (40). Besides, he was the son of *Claudia Pulchra*, whom *Tacitus* calls *Agrippina's* cousin, and by that means too related to the reigning family.

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that a few days after his arrival in the island of *Capreae*, a fisherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary size; but that the emperor, instead of rewarding him,

(40) *Seneca*. l. i. *controvers.* 3.

Gives him-
self there
up to all
manner of
wickedness.

The effects
of his sus-
picions.

took *Tiberius*, who confined himself to twelve stately villas on the island, some of which were probably built by *Augustus*, who, liking the solitude and mild air of the place, purchased it, according to *Dion Cassius*^c, of the *Neapolitans*. There *Tiberius* spent the last ten years of his life, giving himself intirely up to the most infamous lewdness and debaucheries, which for us shall be buried in oblivion, who think the detail *Suetonius* has published of them equally scandalous and unworthy of an historian. In that dark recess he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been to that time very assiduous in the administration of justice, and wholly intent upon public cares. But nevertheless he retained his old inclination to suspicions, and gave more credit than ever to informers, *Sejanus* inflaming his jealousies and fomenting his distrusts for the private views of his ambition. Secret spies and informers were employed in all parts of the city, which caused daily disturbances and the ruin of many worthy citizens. If a person of merit testified any zeal for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected it was from a secret design of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous person, and one who aimed at re-establishing the commonwealth. To praise any of the antient *Romans* was a capital crime; to bewail *Augustus* was complaining of *Tiberius*, &c. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the most innocent discourses expressed evil designs; a discreet silence concealed mischievous intentions; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death, melancholy envy of his prosperity, and fear the just apprehensions of a guilty conscience. So that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or assured, were all crimes, and frequently punished with death. But *Sejanus*'s pernicious practices, and wicked devices were chiefly levelled against *Agrippina* and her son *Nero*. As there was now no access to *Tiberius*, but by him, he made no longer his attempts upon them a secret, but openly placed guards about them to observe the messages they sent, the visits and company they received, their behaviour in public, their private conversation, &c. Besides, he suborned some of their friends,

^c DIO. l. lii. p. 495.

caused him to be used most barbarously, being frightened with the consideration, that he had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inaccessible (41).

(41) *Suet. ibid. c. 60.*

to advise them, as they were thus distressed, either to fly to the armies in *Germany*, or, embracing the statue of *Augustus* in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the senate and *Roman* people. These counsels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution ^d.

THE following year, when *Appius Junius Silanus* and *P. Titius Sabinus* were consuls, began tragically. *Titius Sabinus*, ^{born} an illustrious *Roman* knight, was hurried to prison, for no ^{circumven-} other crime but his steady and faithful adherence to the family of *Germanicus*, being circumvented by the blackest treachery. One *Latinus Latiaris*, having insinuated himself into his friendship with a design to betray him, first bewailed the case of *Agrippina* and her son *Nero*; and then, as *Sabinus* burst into tears, inveighed bitterly against *Sejanus*'s pride and cruelty, not sparing the emperor himself. *Sabinus*, not aware of the snare, approved all he said; and being softened with compassion for the misfortunes of the unhappy family of his friend *Germanicus*, he added many, but severe, reflections of his own upon the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and imperious conduct of his favourite minister. And now the traitor, wanting only witnesses to compass the ruin of one who reposed in him an intire confidence, placed three senators, who had combined with him against *Sabinus*, between the roof of his room and the ceiling, a place no less unbecoming men of their rank, than the treachery, which made them thus degrade themselves, was execrable. The senators, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus* and *Marcus Opsius*, who, having been all prætors, aspired at the consulship, to which there was no access but by *Sejanus*, and his favour was to be purchased only by iniquity, having thrust themselves into the above-mentioned lurking-place, *Latiaris* went abroad to find out *Sabinus*, whom he easily drew home and into his chamber, under pretence of relating to him some late discoveries. Then he began his former complaints, speaking mighty things of *Germanicus*, and exclaiming against the cruelties of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*. *Sabinus* not suspecting the least treachery, readily joined him, and, resuming his former detail of the calamities they had already undergone, and were likely to undergo, inveighed with great bitterness against the authors of them, *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*. This was enough; the three senators, who had been listening the whole time with their ears close to holes and chinks, dispatched forthwith a memorial to the emperor, acquainting him with what had passed, though they could not well do it,

^d Idem, c. 67.

He is con-
demned
and execu-
ted.

His accu-
sers meet
their just
doom.

without discovering to him at the same time their own detestable infamy. *Tiberius* immediately wrote to the senate, and after having charged in his letter *Sabinus* with treason, required the conscript fathers in plain terms to take vengeance of a traitor, who had aimed at his life. Hereupon the supposed criminal was immediately sentenced to death, and the same day, the first of the new year, which was a great festival among the *Romans*, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (I). The city was never seized with greater dread; one relation feared another; a general distrust reigned among men of all ranks; strangers and acquaintance were equally avoided; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occasioned dread and circumspection. The emperor no sooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the senate, thanking them for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, that he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehensions of the snares of his enemies; though he named none, yet it was no ways doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, against whom he was constantly incensed by *Sejanus* and his creatures. Just vengeance soon overtook the authors and contrivers of such a black piece of treachery; for some of them perished miserably under the

(I) *Sabinus*, says *Tacitus*, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe and a rope about his neck: but nevertheless, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, *With these solemnities the year begins; these are the victims which Sejanus offers*; for on the first day of the new year victims were slain in all the temples. Such a dismal sight occasioned universal terror, flight, and solitude; where ever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compassion, fled, and withdrew in the utmost consternation; so that all along, as he passed, the streets were empty, and the public places deserted. Some, however, who had fled, returned and shewed themselves again, dreading, that their having discovered dread might prove fatal to them. The law, which had been enacted a few years before, granting to every condemned person ten days respite, was, it seems, neglected on this occasion; for *Tacitus* tells us, that the unfortunate *Sabinus* was immediately after condemnation hurried away and executed without being imprisoned. The fidelity of *Sabinus's* dog made his death be more spoken of; for he constantly kept close to him, followed his body while it was dragged through the streets, and threw himself after it into the *Tiber*, where he perished (42). *Pliny* relates this story at length, and assures us, that it was preserved in the public registers of the city (43).

(42) *Dio. l. lxxiii. p. 621.* (43) *Plin. l. viii. c. 40.*

emperor

emperor *Caius*, and some under *Tiberius* himself, who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his tyranny to be crushed by others, yet, surfeited with their infamy, he often sacrificed them himself to the public vengeance, to make room for new ones, who were daily offering the same vile services *.

WHEN *Tiberius*'s letter was read in the senate, *Asinius Gallus* moved, that the prince should be desired to explain his fears, and suffer the senate to remove the cause of them. This the emperor highly resented, thinking that *Asinius* was apprised of his dissimulation; but, however, smothered his wrath for the present, *Sejanus* striving to appease him, not out of any kindness to *Gallus*, but because he knew the more his anger was restrained, the more tragical it would prove at last. This year the *Frisians*, no longer able to bear with the tyranny of the *Romans* sent to govern them, shook off the yoke, and defeated *L. Apronius*, who was dispatched against them with a considerable force (K). But *Tiberius* chose rather to dissem-
The Fris-
ians revolt
and defeat
L. Apro-
nius.
ble

* Idem. c. 68—70. DIO. l. lviii. p. 621.

(K) The *Frisians*, says *Tacitus*, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors, than impatient of the *Roman* yoke. *Drusus* laid a tribute upon them suited to their poverty, obliging them only to furnish certain hides for the uses of the soldiers, without insisting upon any particular size or thickness. But *Olennius*, whom *Tiberius* appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of some wild bulls, insisted upon their paying the tribute according to that measure. As their domestic cattle were but small, this proved a very hard task upon them: at length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds, next resigned their lands, and lastly surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miseries and complaints made no impression on their hard-hearted governor, which so provoked them, that in the end they resolved to seek relief from war. Accordingly, they fell unexpectedly upon the soldiers, who were gathering the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. *Olennius* had the good luck to make his escape to a neighbouring castle, which was defended by a numerous garison both of *Romans* and auxiliaries. *Lucius Apronius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, upon the first intelligence of this disturbance, drew together some companies of the legions, and a chosen body of auxiliaries both horse and foot, which he carried down the *Rhine*, and made a descent on the country of the *Frisians*. The enemy, who had invested *Olennius* in his castle, no sooner heard of the arrival of *Apronius*, than they raised the siege, and marched with all their forces to meet him. *Apronius*, seeing them approach in order of battle, ordered his auxiliaries, supported by some legionary horse, to charge them. The *Frisians* not only
flood

Tiberius
returns for
a few days
to the con-
tinent.

Sejanus's
arrogance.

ble the loss the empire had sustained, than trust any able general with the command of the army. The senate indeed met on this occasion; but, instead of deliberating about an affair of such importance, they only decreed statues to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, being no ways affected with the losses sustained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on securing themselves, by the most shameful flattery, against the evils that threatened them at home. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated solicitations, that they would be pleased only to shew themselves in *Rome*. But to no purpose; they could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it sufficient condescension to quit their island for a few days, and suffer themselves to be seen on the coast of *Campania*. Thither crowded senators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to be seen by *Sejanus*, who was more difficult of access than the emperor himself, and admitted such only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to him. His thus seeing the greatest men of the empire crouching, with the meanness of slaves, before him, heightened his arrogance; nay, persons of the first rank were not ashamed to cringe to his slaves, to court the favour of his porters, and bear their insults with incredible

stood their ground, but repulsed first the auxiliaries, and afterwards five cohorts, sent successively to their relief. Hereupon *Apronius* ordered the whole cavalry of the legions to advance; but that body being put into disorder by those who fled, before they could charge the enemy, *Cethegus Labeo*, legate of the fifth legion, was ordered to fall upon the *Frisians* at the head of the rest of the auxiliaries. He was attended with no better success; for his men, being soon put into disorder, would have given ground, had not the whole army, and first of all the fifth legion hastened to their relief. Then the *Frisians* retired in good order, the Roman general not thinking it adviseable to pursue them: nay, he did not deem it safe to remain on the field of battle, till he had buried the dead, tho' many officers of distinction were slain. Besides those who fell on the side of the *Romans* in the engagement, a body of nine hundred men, who had separated from the rest, were all cut off, after having defended themselves the whole night in a grove called *Badubenna*. Another band of four hundred men, having possessed themselves of a country-seat of a petty prince, named *Cruptorix*, once a tributary to *Rome*, and fearing they should be delivered up to the enemy, chose rather to fall by the hands of one another. This disgrace *Tiberius* dissembled, not daring to trust any experienced commander with the conduct of the war. So that the *Frisians* enjoyed their ancient liberties unmolested till the succeeding reign (44).

(44) *Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 72, 73.*

patience. Many, after having continued several days and nights in the open fields, in hopes of being admitted at last to his presence, were in the end ordered to depart without the satisfaction of seeing him. These returned trembling, and seized with dread and terror; whereas such as he had deigned to receive were filled with joy, not knowing how fatal his friendship would soon prove to them. As for *Tiberius*, having here betrothed *Agrippina*, his granddaughter by *Germanicus*, to *Cneius Domitius* (L), and ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at *Rome*, he quitted the continent and returned to his island^f. This year died *Julia*, grand-daughter to *Augustus*, by whom, after her marriage with *Æmilius Paulus*, she had been, on account of her loose and scandalous behaviour, banished to the island of *Trimetus*, where she died after twenty years of exile.

THE following year, *L. Rubellius Geminus* and *Caius Fufius Geminus* (M) being consuls, died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, *the death of and character of* *Livia*.

^f TACIT. C. 71—75.

(L) *Cn. Domitius* was descended of a very antient family, and besides was nearly related to the *Cæsars*: for he was the son of *L. Domitius*, of whom we have spoken above, and *Antonia Major*, the daughter of *Octavia* and *Marc Antony*; so that *Augustus* was his great uncle. By *Agrippina* he had the emperor *Nero*, and was, as *Suetonius* observes, worthy to be the father of such a prince, being in every part of his life detestable. In his youth he attended *Caius Cæsar* into the *Levant*, and there slew one of his freed men, for no other reason, but because he refused to drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to *Rome* he drove his chariot over a boy on purpose, and trod him to death: in the midst of the forum he pulled out the eye of a *Roman* knight, for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign he was accused of treason, of adultery, and of incest with his sister *Lepida*; but *Tiberius* dying, he escaped the punishment due to his crimes. He died under the emperor *Caius* of a dropsy, leaving behind him *Nero* by *Agrippina*. We are told, that being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his son *Nero*, he answered, that nothing could proceed from *Agrippina* and him, but what was detestable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (45)

(M) The consulate of the two *Gemini* is famous in the ecclesiastic history, many of the antient christian writers having held, that our Saviour was crucified during their administration, which opinion is

(45) *Suet. in Ner. c. 5, & 6.*

Tiberius, commonly styled in the antient inscriptions *Julia Augusta*, because adopted by *Augustus* in his last will into the *Julian* family. We have already spoken of her descent and marriage with *Augustus*, by whom she had no issue; but by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her blood came to be mixed with that of *Augustus* in their great-grandchildren. She had an absolute sway over *Augustus*, which she acquired and maintained, says *Dion Cassius*, by a ready acquiescence to his will, without ever betraying the least desire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealousy or dissatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women². In her were united the wisdom of her husband and the dissimulation of her son. She was so passionate for the grandeur of her children, that she was, not without good grounds, suspected of having purchased it with the destruction of her husband's family. For she was charged with the death of *Marcellus*, of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, of *Agrippa Posthumus*, nay, and of *Augustus* himself, which she was supposed by some to have hastened. She was an irreconcilable enemy to *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*, and never ceased persecuting her whole offspring. She challenged an equal share with her son in the power which she had procured him. This *Tiberius* was not of a temper to bear; and hence the misunderstanding between them, which gave occasion to the satirical verses, we have related above. He frequently warned her not to meddle with state affairs, which he said were above the sphere of a woman. He avoided her conversation, especially in private, as much as he decently could, lest he should seem to be governed by her counsels. Being informed, that on occasion of a fire she had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them and the soldiers to stop the rage of the flames, as she used to do in the time of *Augustus*, he reprimanded her with some acrimony³. We are told, that by degrees he arrived at such a height of iniquity, as to hate and detest her⁴. At least it is certain, that during the three years

Tiberius's ingratitude to her.

² DIO. l. lvii. p. 619.

³ SUT. ibid. c. 50.

⁴ Idem,

c. 51. DIO. l. lvii. p. 603.

now followed by very few. *Aulus Plautius*, famous for his wars in Britain under *Claudius*, and *L. Nonius Asprenas* were substituted to the two *Gemini* the fifteenth day of July, as we gather from *Gruter's* inscriptions (46), and cardinal *Noris's* *epistola consularis*, printed at Bologna in 1682 (47).

(46) *Grut. inscript. p. 1087.*

(47) *Nor. ep. con. p. 10.*
the

she lived after his retirement, he never saw her but once, and then for a very short time. In her last malady, he never came near her, though he constantly gave out that he designed to pay his last offices to her; insomuch, that her body was kept in a continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrify, and could be no longer borne. Afterwards he excused himself by a letter to the senate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not suffer any divine honours to be paid to her memory, pretending her express command to the contrary. Nay, in his letter to the senate, he reflected on those who courted the friendship of women, alluding to the consul *Fufius*, who was a great favourite of the sex, in high esteem with *Livia*, but hated by *Tiberius*, whom, as he was a man of wit, he used to play upon with biting sarcasms ^k. We are told, that he prosecuted all her friends, above all, those to whom she had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few, and that he suppressed her last will, which was not executed till after his death under his successor *Caius*, who caused divine worship to be appointed her ^l. She died, according to *Pliny* ^m, in the eighty-second, according to *Dion Cassius*, in the eighty-sixth year of her age.

THOUGH *Tiberius* allowed his mother no great power, nevertheless, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he avoided openly opposing her; so that by her means many innocent persons were saved from ruin, *Sejanus* not daring to arrogate an authority superior to that of a parent. But after her death, both the prince and his favourite, being let loose from all restraint, set no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately dispatched to the senate against *Agrippina* and *Nero*, which were thought to have been written before, and suppressed by *Livia*. They were couched in terms remarkably bitter, and yet they charged *Nero* with no crimes against the state, but only with unnatural lust and other impure pleasures. *Agrippina's* known virtue screened her from any imputations of this nature; her haughty looks therefore, and her violent, imperious, and ungovernable temper, were alledged against her. These letters, when read in the senate, struck the whole assembly with terror. The fathers continued long silent, looking with surprise at one another, till at length, some, desirous of currying favour with *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, demanded that they should proceed upon the

He becomes more cruel after her death.

Writes to the senate against Agrippina and Nero.

^k TACIT. annal. l. v. c. 1.

^l SUET. ibid. & LIPS. in Tacit.

annal. 5. not. 5.

^m PLIN. l. xiv. c. 16.

ⁿ DIO. l. lviii.

p. 621.

emperor's letters. The magistrates and leading men were at a loss how to behave on so nice and critical a subject; for though the expressions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the rest was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with *Junius Rusticus*, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, since by him he had been appointed to keep a journal of their proceedings. *Rusticus* had never before shewn the least instance of generosity, but nevertheless either by some secret impulse, or because unmindful of present dangers, he dreaded less *Tiberius* than the children of *Agrippina*, he opposed *Cotta Messalinus's* cruel motion, and exhorted the consuls to suspend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, since one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the same time, the people carrying with them the images of *Agrippina* and *Nero*, surrounded the senate-house, and, wishing happiness and prosperity to *Tiberius*, cried out incessantly, that the letters were counterfeit, and that the ruin of the prince's family was pursued against his will, and without his privity. Nothing was therefore concluded that day. In the mean time, several speeches were dispersed about the city, said to have been uttered in the senate against *Sejanus* by the consulars; but all feigned, and filled with most bitter and satirical reflections, as the authors of them were not known. This fired *Sejanus*, who immediately wrote to the senate, upbraiding them in the sharpest terms with despising the resentments of the prince, with listening to popular and disaffected harangues, with passing new and unprecedented acts, &c. He concluded, that nothing wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head those, whose images they had already chosen for their ensigns. *Tiberius* likewise wrote a second letter to the senate, repeating his reproaches against his grandson and daughter-in-law, and complaining of *Rusticus*, the senate, and the people, for insulting his authority, and making no account of his resentment; but at the same time he reserved to himself the final decision of the whole affair. The senate hesitated no longer, but instantly declared, that they were ready to inflict the deserved punishments on such as had by their crimes provoked his displeasure, provided he would allow them on so just an occasion to exert their authority. We are sorry we cannot give such an account as the reader may expect of the further proceedings of the emperor and the senate against the unhappy *Agrippina* and her children, being destitute

*Sejanus's
letter to
the senate.*

* TACIT. annal. l. v. c. 2—5.

in this place of our faithful guide *Tacitus*, in whose excellent history begins here a chasm for almost three years, by which we have lost the detail of the most material transactions of *Tiberius's* reign, namely of the condemnation and banishment of *Agrippina* and her two children, *Nero* and *Drusus*, of the disgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, of the further wickedness and death of *Livilla*, the widow of *Drusus* and daughter-in-law to *Tiberius*, &c. In short, time has robbed us of the flower, we may say, of *Tacitus's* incomparable annals; so that we must, for the transactions of this year and the two following, recur to other writers, and be satisfied with their accounts, however imperfect. As for *Agrippina*, she was condemned and banished to the island of *Pandataria*, now known by the name *Santa Maria*, over-against *Tarracina* and *Gaeta*. We are told, that, as she could not forbear reproaching *Tiberius* with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing against him, the centurion, to whose custody she was committed, gave her so many blows on the face, that he struck out one of her eyes ^p. *Nero* her eldest son, was likewise condemned and banished to the island of *Pontia*, now *Ponza*, near that of *Pandataria*; and *Drusus*, her second son, by the same vile arts of *Sejanus*, declared an enemy to the state, and kept under close confinement in the lower part of the palace. *Nero* died soon after in the place of his exile, some say for want of necessaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, frightened at the sight of the executioner, who entered his room with the instruments of death in his hand, as if he had been sent by the senate, chose to put an end to his life by voluntary abstinence ^q. *Agrippina* and *Drusus* lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of *Christ* 33, when we shall have occasion to speak of their tragical end. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* was this year appointed commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, in which employment he was continued for the space of ten years ^r.

THE next consuls were *L. Cassius Longinus* and *M. Vinicius* (N). This year the senate decreed many extraordinary honours

^p *Suet.* *ibid.* c. 54. p. 657.

^q *Idem*, c. 53.

^r *Dio.* l. liii. *janus*

(N) Both these consuls were chosen two years after by *Tiberius* for husbands to two of *Germanicus's* daughters: *Vinicius* married *Julia*, and *Cassius Drusilla*, who became so famous, or rather infamous, in the reign of her brother *Caligula*, who took her by force from

Tiberius
begins to
suspect
him.

honours to *Sejanus* ; amongst the rest, it was ordained that his birth day should be yearly celebrated ; that his statues, which were set up in every quarter of the city, should be adored ; that vows and sacrifices should be offered for his safety, &c. In short, he became, after the disgrace and condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, so powerful and formidable, that he was more respected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himself. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, the soldiers, the senators, and all the great men of the empire, were intirely at his devotion ; so that by their means he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to discover to the emperor the ambitious designs and views of his minister, though they were all well apprised of them^c. However, he began to suspect him at last. *Josephus* tells us, that *Antonia*, the widow of his brother *Drusus*, having received private intelligence of the deep designs and secret practices of *Sejanus*, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, sending the letter to *Caprea* by *Pallas*, one of her most trusty domestics, the same who afterwards became so famous under the emperor *Claudius*^c. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his fatal blindness, began to consider with himself, how he might thwart the ambitious views of his over-powerful minister, and deliver himself from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more addicted to the minister than to the sovereign, being filled with his creatures ; the senate was intirely at his devotion ; even those whom the emperor had about him were so many spies in the pay of *Sejanus* ; so that *Tiberius* was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was no easy matter to disengage himself. But he surmounted all difficulties with incredible address, which he thought it more adviseable to employ than open force, lest *Sejanus*, finding himself discovered, and thence driven to despair, should make a bold push and attempt the empire. The first step he took was to remove him from *Caprea*, and in order to this, he declared his intention of taking upon him the consulate the next year, and named *Sejanus* for his colleague. This the haughty minister, not suspecting any snare, looked upon as the greatest mark of dis-

He names
him his col-
league in the
consulship.

^c Idem, l. lviii. p. 653.

^c JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

from her husband (48). *C. Cassius Longinus* and *L. Nævius Surdinus* were substituted to them in the consulate (49). In an ancient inscription quoted by *Spon*, *Vinicius* is called *Venicius* (50).

(48) *Suet. in Calig. c. 24.*
p. 34.

(49) *Noris ibid.*

(50) *Spon.*

inction

tion the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted, but he created him at the same time senator; for *Sejanus* five years before, when the emperor removed from *Rome*, was but a knight, and we have not in the whole *Roman* history an instance of a knight being raised to the consular dignity. In the end of the year, *Tiberius* dispatched *Sejanus* to *Rome* to take possession of his new dignity there, on the kalends of *January*, which he did accordingly; but the emperor did not remove from his island, where he entered upon his fifth consulship, and held it to the fifteenth of *May*, when he resigned the fasces to *Faustus Cornelius Sylla*^u (O). As *Tiberius* continued to shew the same affection to *Sejanus*, the senate was for the greatest part of the year wholly taken up in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of *Tiberius* in all inscriptions; new statues were erected to him, and victims slain before them: a decree passed confirming the consulate to him and *Tiberius* for the term of five years; *Sejanus*. his house was crowded from morning to night with persons of all ranks; nay, the greatest men in *Rome* were not ashamed to court, with the meanest submissions, the favour of his slaves and freedmen. In short, one would have taken *Tiberius*, as *Dion Cassius* observes, for the prince of his small island, and *Sejanus* for the sovereign of *Rome*. However, several prodigies are said to have happened at this time, which seemed to forbode the downfall of the favourite minister; but if any deity, says our historian, had revealed what happened soon after, no one would have believed him^w. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, to sound the disposition of the senate and people, and discover the partizans of *Sejanus*, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers at one time, that he was greatly indisposed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and designed

^u Suet. ibid. c. 26. Noris ep. conf. p. 13. Grut. inscrip. p. 1087. ^w Dio. ibid. p. 623, 624.

(O) As the name of *Sejanus* was razed out of the consular tables, several writers of chronicles mark the name of *Tiberius* alone this year. Both he and *Sejanus* resigned the fasces, before the consular year expired, the one to *Faustus Cornelius Sylla*, the other to *Sextidius Catullinus* (51). *L. Fulcinius Trio* and *L. Pomponius Secundus* were substituted to them; the former held the consulate to the end of the year, but *Pomponius* resigned it on the kalends of *October* to *P. Maximus Regulus* (52).

(51) Grut. p. 1087.

(52) Vide Pagi, an. 30.

is forsaken
by some of
his friends.

Tiberius
refuses him
leave to
return to
Capreae.

The char-
acter of
Caius Ca-
lignula.

Honours
bestowed
on him by
Tiberius.

in a short time to return to] *Rome* : in some of his letters he blamed, in others he commended *Sejanus*. This conduct surprised the minister and his friends, who insensibly began to abandon him, seeing his authority with the prince somewhat diminished. The senate, however, conferred on him the proconsular power on his resigning the consulship ; which he did, according to some, on the eighth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of *May*, to *Sextidius Catullinus*. At the same time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his son with a place amongst the pontiffs ; but could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to give him permission to return to *Capreae*. The pretence *Sejanus* alledged for such a permission was, says *Dion Cassius*, to visit his future spouse, probably *Livilla* the widow of *Drusus*, who was indisposed ; but his real design was, to secure the person of the prince, whose guards were all at his devotion. *Tiberius*, to keep both him and the senate in suspense, returned no other answer to his earnest and repeated intreaties, than that he designed to come himself very soon to *Rome* *.

IN the mean time, he began to heap honours on *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the only surviving son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreae*, and artfully concealed under a deceitful appearance of modesty his savage and inhuman temper. He had so well learnt to bide his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, escaped him, though all arts were used to draw words and resentment from him. Young as he was, he smothered with the deepest dissimulation all symptoms of tenderness and sorrow. He was so observant of *Tiberius*, that he made it his whole business to study the bent of his temper, and to second it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his words and manner of expression, and conformed even to the change and fashion of his dress. Hence the observation of the orator *Passienus* that *never lived a better slave, nor a worse master*. *Tiberius* made him this year augur, in the room of his brother *Drusus*, and raised him before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of *Augustus*, bestowing upon him the highest encomiums, as if he designed to appoint him his heir and successor. This awaked the rage and jealousy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himself his past indolence. In the transports of his passion he condemned himself for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was vested with the consular authority : he reflected with the utmost

* Idem, ibid. 625.

anguish on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to secure the person of the prince, and seize the empire ; but the great joy the people testified at the preferments of *Caius*, deterred him at present from any attempts of that nature. At the same time, he had the mortification to see some of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room. But nothing mortified him so much as a letter from *Tiberius* to the senate concerning the death of *Nero* ; wherein he named *Sejanus*, without the usual encomiums and commendations which he bestowed on him in all his letters. Neither did he doubt, but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he wrote to the senate, desiring them to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worship to be paid to any mortal man ; for vows were every-where made, and victims slain, before the statues of *Sejanus* ; nay, he was arrived at such a height of arrogance that he joined his adorers, and, with an impudence hardly to be matched, offered sacrifices to himself^y. After so many tokens of coolness in the emperor towards his favourite minister, many who had professed an inviolable friendship for him, began to withdraw through fear of being involved in the calamities, which they apprehended would soon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him, in time consult their own safety. The crowds, which daily frequented his house, insensibly diminished : few persons, and those not of the first quality, attended him abroad ; no farther mention was made of him in the senate, &c. This encouraged *Tiberius*, who had hitherto doubted of the disposition of the senate and people, to come to a final resolution ; which was to secure himself, without further delay against the dangers that threatened him, by the utter destruction of *Sejanus* and his friends. However, to proceed in so nice an affair with all possible caution, and to prevent *Sejanus* from putting himself upon his defence, or taking any desperate measures, he gave out, that he designed to invest him with the tribunitial power. But in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, one in whom he knew he could confide : and dispatched him to *Rome* with a letter to the senate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully instructed him how to behave, with respect both to *Sejanus* and the senate. *Macro* entered *Rome* late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the consul *P. Memmius Regulus* who had been substituted to *L. Pomponius Secundus* ; for the

The power of Sejanus insensibly lessened.

Tiberius resolves upon his destruction.

He writes to the senate.

^y Idem, p. 625, 626.

other consul, *L. Fulcinius Trio*, was a friend to *Sejanus*. *Regulus* early next morning summoned the senate to assemble in the palace, whither *Sejanus* conveyed himself, attended according to his custom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he was entering the palace, he was greatly surprised to see *Macro*, the more, because he had brought no letters for him from the emperor; but *Macro* accosting him, whispered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the senate, wherein the emperor besought them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. *Sejanus*, over-joyed at this news entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of *Apollo*, where most of the fathers were already met. In the mean time, *Macro*, having first shewn to the soldiers of the prætorian guard his commission from the emperor, appointing him to command them in the room of *Sejanus*, and assured them, that *Tiberius* had ordered a very considerable sum to be distributed among them, took possession of his new office, by remanding them to their camp without the walls of the city. In their stead *Gracinus Laco*, who was privy to the secret, and commanded the *vigiles*, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent disturbances, placed a strong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple. And now the fathers being assembled, *Macro* appeared before them with the emperor's letter in his hand; which he had no sooner presented to the consuls, than he withdrew, hastening to the camp in order to prevent any disturbance that might happen there. In the mean time, *Regulus* read aloud the emperor's letter, which was very long, and wrote with great craft and address. For, after a long preamble upon other matters, came some complaints against *Sejanus*, which were immediately interrupted by quite different affairs: then followed other complaints, but without any bitterness of expression; so that *Sejanus* hitherto betrayed no great concern. But when at length the emperor's orders were read touching the execution of two of his most intimate friends, who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous designs, he was struck with such terror, that he could not utter a single word in their favour. Before he recovered from the consternation, into which those fatal orders had thrown him, he heard to his great surprise another article relating to himself, wherein the emperor, in an angry style, enjoined the fathers to secure his person. Hereupon the tribunes and prætors, quitting their seats, placed themselves by him, to prevent him from making his escape and raising disturbances². *Suetonius* tells us, that

The caution
used by *Ti-*
berius on
this occa-
sion.

Tiberius
orders him
to be secur-
ed.

² *Idem*, p. 626, 627. *JUVENAL. SATYR. 10. v. 71. 95.*

in this letter *Tiberius* betrayed a meanness of spirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongst other things, of the senate, that they would send one of the consuls with a convoy of soldiers to conduct to *Rome* a poor old man forsaken by all. The same author adds, that he was under such apprehensions, that he had given private orders to *Macro* to set *Drusus*, in case of any disturbance at liberty, to present him to the senate and people, and even to declare him emperor. He had several ships ready to put to sea, and convey him to some of his legions, if his affairs at *Rome* should not take a good turn. He kept himself the whole time upon the top of a high rock, to know by certain signals agreed on what passed in the capital, fearing the messengers might betray him, or not bring him the news with the necessary expedition^a. *Seneca* tells us, that while the consul was reading the emperor's letter, a huge globe of fire appeared in the air, and soon after vanished^b; a true symbol of what passed in the senate. For the senators at first, not doubting but the emperor demanded in his letter the tribunitial power for *Sejanus*, crowded round him, each striving to be the foremost in congratulating him with flattering speeches upon his new dignity. But they no sooner learnt the real contents of the fatal letter, than they all to a man forsook him, not one person in so numerous an assembly daring to utter a word in his favour. Even those who happened to sit by him, abandoning their places, seated themselves elsewhere, fearing they might be looked upon as his friends, if they continued near him. *He is abandoned by all*; The last article was no sooner read, than the whole temple resounded with curses and most bitter invectives, against the very person, on whom they had a few minutes before bestowed the highest commendations. Some inveighed against him out of the hatred they bore him, and others through fear of being reckoned amongst his friends. Though all the senators declared against him, nevertheless, as he had many friends and relations among them, the consul *Regulus* thought it adviseable not to propose condemning him to death, nor even to gather the suffrages of the whole assembly. He therefore only asked the opinions of some, whom he looked upon as the most impartial and unprejudiced; and finding they were for committing him to prison, he conducted him thither himself, attended by *Gracinus Laco*, and all the magistrates. A memorable instance this of the vicissitude of fortune, and the instability of all human grandeur! How different was *Sejanus* ruling the universe with an absolute sway, raising to

^a Suet. *ibid.* c. 65.^b Senec. *nat. quæstion* l. i. c. 1.

And committed to prison;

Insulted by the people.

Condemned and executed.

the highest honours, or dooming to death whom he pleased, from himself loaded with chains, and dragged like a common malefactor to the public prison ! Had he succeeded in his attempts, and entailed the *Roman* empire upon his race, there would not have been wanting flattering poets and historians, who would have echoed his praises, his liberality, his politics, with all the other topics which are urged in commendation of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*. But *Sejanus* failed, and is owned to have been a traitor ; *Cæsar's* iniquity and that of *Augustus* were triumphant, and so were their names. Iniquity unprosperous or punished no man praises ; but successful iniquity never wants flatterers. But to return to *Sejanus* ; he was followed from the palace to the prison by immense crowds, the populace all the way loading him with curses, upbraiding him with the many murders he had committed, and insulting him with bitter sarcasms upon his tribunitial power. His confusion was so great, that, not able to bear it, he threw his robe over his head, in order to cover his face ; but the guards who attended him, obliged him to shew himself to the multitude, eager to see him humbled, and to insult one who had so long rid upon their necks. At the same time, the populace in a sudden transport overturned and broke in pieces all his statues, those very statues which a few hours before they had adored. They same day, the senate assembled the second time in the temple of *Concord*, near the prison, when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city, by the care and vigilance of *Macro Gracinus*, and the consul *Regulus*, pronounced, without hesitation, no one daring to speak in favour of the criminal, sentence of death against *Ælius Sejanus*, accused and found guilty of high treason. The sentence was put in execution the same day, that is, the seventeenth of *October*, notwithstanding the late law, indulging ten days respite to every criminal after condemnation: His body was exposed, like those of other malefactors, on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the streets of *Rome*, and mangled it to such a degree that the executioner could scarce find a limb intire to throw, according to custom, into the *Tiber* ^d (P).

^d DIO. *ibid.* p. 627, 629. SENECA. *de tranq.* c. II. JUVENAL. *satyr.* 10.

(P) The mighty power of *Sejanus*, his disgrace and downfall, the inconstancy of the multitude, and instability of all human grandeur, are, with great elegance and no less humour, described by *Juvenal* in his tenth satire, to which we refer the reader.

THE death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general slaughter *The general* of all his friends and relations. *Tiberius*, after having for a *slaughter* course of years destroyed every man who was obnoxious to *of Sejanus's* this execrable favourite of his, destroyed every man who had *friends.* been well with his favourite. He spared none who were accused of any intelligence with *Sejanus*, and any thing upon earth, the most fortuitous, the most slight or foolish, served for proof of such intelligence. All the streets of *Rome* were covered with single carcases, or filled with carcases in piles; persons of all ranks, without distinction of sex or age, were promiscuously butchered, and their bodies cast into the public streets; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or bewail them, nor even at last to behold them: spies were placed every-where to watch countenances and the signs of sorrow; and when they putrified, and became noisome, and were thrown into the *Tiber*, whether they floated in the stream, or were cast upon the banks, no one ventured to touch them, no one dared to bury or burn them. Among the many who perished on this occasion, *Junius Blæsus*, uncle to *Sejanus*, of whom we have often spoken above, seems not to have escaped the common slaughter, being loaded with many odious imputations^e. *Publius Vitellius* being charged with offering the public treasure, which was committed to his care, towards compassing a revolution, *Junius Blæsus put to death.* *Publius Vitellius* was nevertheless only delivered into the hands of his brother *Lucius*, father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor. *Publius* being soon weary of his confinement, and finding his trial put off from day to day, called for a penknife under pretence of writing, and pricked his veins with it, but timorously and without effect. However, he died, before his trial, of grief, and by his death saved both his estate and the reputation of his family^f. He left, it seems, some writings behind him; for we find him quoted by *Tertullian*^g. *Pomponius Secundus*, who had a little before resigned the fasces to *P. Memmius Regulus*, was likewise accused of treason, *And Pomponius Secundus,* because *Ælius Gallus*, who was a friend to *Sejanus*, had, after the execution of that traytor, fled to the gardens of *Pomponius*, as to a place of safety. However, he was not committed to the public prison, but consigned to the custody of his brother *Quintus Pomponius*, who generously became his surety. As *Pomponius* was a man of a gay temper, he bore his disgrace with great constancy and resolution; so that he outlived *Tiberius*, and was set at liberty by his successor *Caius*.

^e TACIT. annal. v. c. 7. ^f TACIT. ibid. c. 8. Suet. in Vitell. c. 2. & 3. ^g TERTULL. in apologet.

This is the same *Pomponius*, according to *Vossius* ^h, whose victories over the *Catti* we shall see in the following reign honoured with a triumph. If *Pomponius* was kept confined so long as *Tiberius* lived after the death of *Sejanus*, that is, seven years, only for some signs, not shewn by him neither, of friendship between him and a friend of *Sejanus*, we may judge from thence with how much severity his relations were treated, and his avowed partizans, who had been privy to his ambitious designs ^h.

The execution of *Sejanus's* children.

AND now the chief friends and favourites of *Sejanus*, who could give any umbrage, being all to a man massacred, the senate ordered the two remaining children of the wicked minister to be executed; in order to cut off the whole family root and branch. *Sejanus* had three children, of whom the eldest son was already put to death, as *Tacitus* seems to insinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumstances of his execution, by reason of the lamentable chasm in *Tacitus's* annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. There still remained of that unhappy and generally abhorred family a son and a daughter, who were by a decree of the senate both sentenced to death, notwithstanding the tenderness of their age, and carried to prison; the boy, sensible of his impending death; but the girl so ignorant of it, that she often asked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if she had done any thing amiss, they might take the rod and whip her, and that she would do so no more. But the senate had no regard either to her age or innocence; she was by the common executioner strangled in prison with her brother, and the tender bodies of both first exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged with an iron hook through the city, and thrown into the *Tiber*. We are told by some writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard of to punish a virgin with death, the executioner deflowered her just before he tied the rope ⁱ (Q).

EVERY

^h *TACIT.* *ibid* & *DIO.* l. lix. p. 644. ⁱ *Idem*, *ibid.* c. 9.

(Q) The word *Virgo*, in the law forbidding a virgin to be put to death, signified a girl, or a young woman under such an age, whether she was a virgin or no; but the grave senators with a chicanery worthy only of such mean, crouching, slaves, took it in a sense quite different from that of the law, which they pretended to observe, by causing the innocent girl to be deflowered by the executioner before she was put to death. With a like cavil the triumvirs, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, that they might not seem to transgress the law forbidding children to be put to death, caused one, whom they

EVERY one hoped, that, after the execution of *Sejanus* *Tiberius* and his accomplices, the reign of *Tiberius* would prove more *more cruel* mild, since to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly *than ever.* imputed the many executions, which had occasioned such a dreadful havock of their best citizens. But, when they expected some alleviation of their evils, they found themselves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor waxing daily *more cruel*, and from this time commencing, as it were an open enemy to his people, and delivering himself up to cruelty without restraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciousness and plunder, a vice to which he hitherto seemed to have no bias. No person, however virtuous and cautious, could be safe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard against the snares of the accusers, and the false reports of informers; but they were liable to be sacrificed to the jealousy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themselves secure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts. He was under perpetual apprehensions of the great lords of the senate and making daily victims of them: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, *Spare no-* names, and quality, gave him umbrage: he was almost *body.* equally jealous of friends and enemies. Those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure hours, fell all at length victims to his furious and distrustful temper. He was so afraid of considerable men, and so unwilling to give them employments that made them so, that some, who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; insomuch, that great provinces for a course of years were left destitute of their governors, and abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, *Tiberius* chusing rather to suffer the insults and invasion of the enemy, than trust any one with the power of avenging the state and repulsing the public foe. This year *Apicata*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced, as we have related above, in hopes of marrying *Livia* or *Livilla* the widow of *Drusus*, seeing the bodies of her children publicly exposed among those of the other criminals, wrote a *Is informell* letter to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the manner of his son *of the se-* *Drusus's* death, with no other view but to torment him, and *cret of* then laid violent hands on herself. *Tiberius*, who had ascrib- *Drusus's* ed his son's death to his own intemperance and irregular life, *death:* was so transported with rage, when he understood he had been they had condemned, to put on the manly robe before he was executed (53).

Various instances of his cruelty.

Livilla put to death.

poisoned by a conspiracy of *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, that he resolved to exterminate all those who had ever shown the least token of friendship to either ^k, *Suetonius* tells us, that he applied himself to the examination of that affair so seriously, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depositions of some witnesses, that an inhabitant of *Rhodes* was arrived, at whose house he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be put to the rack, having at that time nothing in his thoughts, but blood, torments, and revenge. The same writer adds, that afterwards when he came to himself, and was sensible of his mistake, he commanded the innocent *Rhodian* to be privately murdered, lest he should divulge the injury he had received^l. Such as he condemned in the island of *Caprea* were from a rock thrown headlong into the sea, where numbers of seamen were disposed beforehand with their oars and long poles to dispatch them. He suffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent: for he looked upon death as so slight a punishment, that when he heard one of his prisoners, named *Carnulius*, had laid violent hands on himself, he cried out, *Carnulius has escaped me*. One of his prisoners begging him to hasten his execution, *No*, answered *Tiberius*, *You and I are not yet so good friends* ^m. But notwithstanding the severity with which he punished others, *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he was inclined to pardon *Livilla* his daughter-in-law, in regard of her mother *Antonia*; but that *Antonia* herself opposed such an unseasonable instance of mercy; so that *Livilla* was this year by *Tiberius's* orders starved to death ⁿ.

THE following year, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* being consuls (R), furious orders were

^k DIO. *ibid.* p. 628. ^l SUE. *ibid.* c. 62. ^m Idem *ibid.*
ⁿ DIO, *ibid.* p. 628.

(R) *Domitius*, the same who married *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, continued in the consulship the whole year; *Aulus Vitellius*, uncle to the emperor of the same name, was his colleague from the first of *July* to his death; for *Vitellius* died in his consulate (54). We find the name of *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* in an ancient inscription quoted by *Gruter*, (55), where he is said to have been consul the year after the fifth consulship of *Tiberius*; but the name of his colleague is razed both out of this, and out of another

⁵⁴) Suet. *in vit.* c. 2. *Noris ep. con* f. 15. (55) *Gruter. p.*
2087.

were passed against the statues and memory of *Livilla*, and *Several* likewise a decree of the senate, commanding the effects of *Se-flattering* *janus* to be taken out of the public treasury, and placed in that *motions in* of the emperor. This was the motion of *Scipio*, *Silanus*, and *Cassius*, the principal men in the senate, who all urged it almost *the senate.* in the same words, and with great zeal and eagerness. *Tagonius Gallus* moved, that *Tiberius* should chuse twenty senators to wait upon him under arms, and defend his person as often as he entered the senate. The emperor, who was too wise to allow the senators arms, returned them thanks for such an instance of affection; but rejected, and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it, adding in his letter, that he did not think his life of such importance to have it thus protracted. *Junius Gallio* moved, that the prætorian soldiers, after their term of service, should have the privilege of sitting in the theatre among the *Roman* knights. This pro-*The motion* posal was highly resented by *Tiberius*, who in his letter to the *of Gallio* senate fell upon *Gallio* with great warmth, demanding, as if *resented by* he had been present, what business had *Gallio* with the soldiers, *Tiberius.* whose duty it was to observe only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards; *Gallio* indeed meant to flatter, but *Tiberius* highly resenting that motion, which he said tended to corrupt the military discipline, and debauch the minds of the soldiers, he was instantly expelled *How his* the senate, and banished *Italy*. He chose the island of *Lesbos* for the place of his banishment; but the senate, *flattery* *was re-* thinking his exile would be too easy there, recalled him, and *warded.* put him under close confinement in the house of a magistrate. Such was the reward of his studied flattery. In the same letter the emperor demanded the death of *Sextus Paconianus*, who had conspired with *Sejanus* to compass the ruin of *Caligula*; but he escaped for the present by making an ample discovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among these was *Latinus Latiaris*, of whose detestable character we have spoken above. He was one of the most mischievous informers in *Rome*, and had procured the destruction of many illustrious citizens; but now met his just doom, being to the great joy of the whole city condemned and executed. The next accused was *Cotta Messalinus*, the most forward man in the senate to gratify on all occasions the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and therefore universally hated. He was charged made this year at *Terni*, which inclines us to believe that he was the same *Furius Camillus*, who afterwards rebelled against the emperor *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* (56).

(56) *Suet in Claud. c. 13.*

Cotta
Messali-
nus accused
and by the
favour of
Tiberius
discharged.

with having spoken contemptuously of *Caligula*, *Livia Augusta*, and of *Tiberius* himself (S); and the charge was proved by men of the first rank in *Rome*. But *Cotta* appealing to *Tiberius*, a letter was soon after brought from him in behalf of the criminal, wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendship with *Cotta*, and his many good services to himself, he besought the fathers not to wrest into crimes words perversely construed, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (T). Hereupon the fathers not only discharged *Cotta*, but inflicted on *Cæcilianus* the senator, who was the chief evidence against him, the same punishment which had been formerly decreed against the accusers of *Lucius Arruntius*, one of

(S) He had traduced *Caligula* as guilty of the most scandalous debaucheries, as a pathic, as one destitute of all shame and modesty; in celebrating among the priests the birth-day of *Livia*, the emperor's mother, he had spoken of her with disrespect without sparing *Tiberius* himself: in complaining of the great sway which *Manius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, with whom he had a suit about money, bore in the senate, he had said, *They indeed will be supported by the senate, but I by my little Tiberius*. These were the crimes alledged against him; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal; but as he studied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of *Tiberius*, and was the author, as our historian tells us, of every most bloody counsel, the emperor took him under his protection, and shewed that mercy to him, which he would have denied to the most worthy man in the senate.

(T) The beginning of his letter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words, *What to write to you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write to you at this time if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies, than those under which I feel my self daily perishing*. Such were the horrors that haunted him even among the rocks of *Caprea*; though hardly accessible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that pursued him, nor insure his tranquillity. This great prince, this sovereign of *Rome*, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of secret assassins, incessantly racked by his own apprehensions; and consequently with all the eclat of empire, the most miserable being in his dominions. His power indeed was unlimited; but so was his misery; the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. All the pleasures and debaucheries in which he wallowed without controul, had not sufficient charms to allay or mitigate his dreadful apprehensions, and the anguish under which he felt himself daily perishing. Private persons, however obnoxious and threatened, had but some things and some persons to fear; whereas *Tiberius* dreaded all men, and every thing but to do evil, which yet was the sole cause of his fears. Such was his situation and life, and such are the natural consequences of the abuse of power.

the

the most virtuous men in *Rome* ; but what this punishment was, we find no where recorded. Afterwards, *Quintus Servæus* Other persons and *Minutius Thermus* were arraigned, *Tiberius* charging sons of distinction them as principals in the treason of *Sejanus*, and ordering *Caius Cestius*, a senator, to report to the senate what he had written to him. Thus *Cestius* undertook the accusation ; for in those calamitous times the most illustrious chiefs of the senate were not ashamed, as *Tacitus* observes, to degrade themselves to the mean office of informers, some openly, some secretly, but both without regard to the ties of blood or friendship ; no distinction of kinsmen from strangers ; for words spoken in the forum, or in private conversation, upon what subject soever spoken, those who uttered them were accused, every one striving to get the start of another, some for their own safety, others as it were infected with the common contagion of informing. *Mutius* and *Servæus* were condemned, but saved themselves by becoming evidence against others, namely *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus*. While all men else were affecting to renounce the character of friends to *Sejanus*, a Roman knight by name *Marcus Terentius*, being accused on this very account, owned the charge before the senate in the following speech, which well deserves to be recorded : “ It would
 “ perhaps be more wise in me, conscript fathers, to deny
 “ than to acknowledge the crime with which I am charged.
 “ But whatever be the result, I cannot, I will not, deny it.
 “ I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one of
 “ *Sejanus*’s friends, that I courted and sought his friendship,
 “ that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. And what wonder
 “ that I did so ? I saw *Sejanus* joined with his father in the
 “ command of the prætorian guards, and next governing the
 “ state and the soldiery both as a minister and a general : his
 “ kinsmen and friends were raised to the first employments ;
 “ as every man was in credit with *Sejanus*, he was fa-
 “ voured by *Tiberius* ; such on the contrary as incurred his
 “ displeasure, were persecuted without mercy. Of this I
 “ need give no instances. *Sejanus* therefore the *Volsinian* was
 “ not the man we courted ; but *Sejanus* ingrafted by alliance
 “ into the *Claudian* and *Julian* families ; *Sejanus*, your son-
 “ in-law, O *Cæsar*, your colleague in the consulship, your
 “ favourite, and under you charged with the administration
 “ of the empire. It does not belong to us to judge who he
 “ is, whom you think fit to raise above the rest, nor on what
 “ considerations you have raised him. To you the gods have
 “ left the supreme disposal of all things, and to us the glory
 “ of obedience. We only behold the outward appearance of
 “ things ; we perceive upon whom you bestow wealth and
 “ honours,

*The noble
 defence of
 Marcus
 Terentius.*

“honours, to whom you trust the greatest power of relieving or oppressing us, which no man can deny *Sejanus* to have had. But to pry into the secret thoughts of the prince, and the designs which he industriously conceals, is both unlawful and dangerous. Let us not conscript fathers, fix our thoughts on the last day of *Sejanus*; but remember him for the space of sixteen years, during which time we adored such of his retainers as *Satrius* and *Pomponius*, and reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with his porters and freedmen. I speak here of those only who were guiltless of his last designs. Let those be punished who conspired with him against the state, who were privy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; nothing can be more just. But as for us, who are charged only with offices of friendship, and instances of benevolence, towards *Sejanus*, you cannot condemn us, O *Cæsar*, without condemning at the same time yourself.” The liberty of this speech, and the joy that one was at last found, who had courage enough to speak aloud what they all thought in their hearts, had such a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers, that *Terentius* was absolved, and his accusers, for this and other crimes, condemned, some to banishment, others to death^o. *Tiberius* himself approved of the proceedings of the senate on this occasion, probably not daring to oppose a truth spoken with such liberty, and so generally applauded. But what induced him to dissemble an affront offered him at this time by *L. Sejanus* the prætor, probably one of the disgraced minister’s kinsmen, ’tis no easy matter to guess. For the prætor, in the shows which he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed such only as were bald, and disposed five thousand boys, all shaven, with torches in their hands, to light the spectators home. No-body doubted but this was done to deride *Tiberius*, who was bald; but nevertheless he took no more notice of it than if he had never known it^p.

Who is
absolved.

Tiberius
sacrifices
his own
friends.

NEXT came letters from *Tiberius* against *Sextus Vestilius*, formerly prætor, one whom *Tiberius* had long since admitted into the number of his friends, in regard of his brother *Drusus*, to whom *Vestilius* was exceeding dear. He was accused of having composed a satyr against *Caligula*, reproaching him with the lewdness of his life. *Tiberius* forbid him his table, which so grieved him, that he resolved to lay violent hands on himself. Accordingly having, with a trembling and feeble hand, as he was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince, imploring his mercy;

• TACIT. *ibid.* c. 7, 8. ^p DIO. l. lviii, p. 633.

but

but *Tiberius* returning him an angry answer, he opened them again, and died. Not even women escaped the fury of accusers: as they could not be charged with designs of usurping the sovereign power, their tears were made treasonable; and *Vitia*, the mother of *C. Fusius Geminus*, consul three years before, was condemned and executed in her old age, for bewailing the death of her son condemned by the senate. Neither did *Tiberius* spare his own friends; for by him were this year doomed to die *Vesularius Flaccus* and *Julius Marcius*, two of his oldest friends, who had followed him to *Rhodes*, and not forsaken him at *Capreae*. The former had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of *Libo Drusus*, and the latter had been employed by *Sejanus* to procure the ruin of *Curtius Atticus*, of whom we have spoken above. This year *Lucius Pison* died *Lucius Piso*, who, being substituted to *Taurus Statilius* so dies. in the government of *Rome*, discharged that important office with such credit, that, by a decree of the senate, he was distinguished with a public funeral. He had obtained, for his warlike exploits in *Thrace*, a triumph, was universally esteemed and beloved, and nevertheless died in the eightieth year of his age by the course of nature, a rare thing, as our historian observes, in a man of great parts, and of such an illustrious descent ⁹ (U). A motion was afterwards made in the senate by *Quintilianus*, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the sibyl, which *Caninius Gallus*, one of the college of fifteen, had begged might be received by a decree amongst the rest of that prophets. The decree passed without oppo-

⁹ Idem, c. 10, 11.

(U) We read in *Tacitus*, that *Piso* governed *Rome* twenty years: if so, he must have been raised to that dignity by *Augustus*; for he died in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius's* reign. But, on the other hand, both *Pliny* (57) and *Suetonius* (58) tell us in express terms, that he was created governor of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, for having continued drinking with him a night and two days, or two days and two nights, as *Pliny* will have it, after he was emperor. We therefore conclude with *Lipsius*, that some mistake has crept into the text of *Tacitus*. That writer thinks, that we ought to read *ten* instead of *twenty*, because *Pomponius Flaccus*, who was with *Piso* at that famous debauch, was, on that score, raised to the government of *Syria*, which, at the time of *Piso's* death, he had held ten years (59).

(57) *Plin. l. xiv.*
in hunc locum Tacit.

(58) *Suet. ibid. c. 42.*

(59) *Vide Lips.*

fition

fiction; but *Tiberius*, in a letter to the senate, desired, that the book might first be examined by the quindecimvirs (W).

Other ar-
raignments
and exe-
cutions.

THIS year the dearth of corn occasioned some disturbances in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiousness. *Tiberius*, alarmed at their boldness, censured, in his letter to the senate, both them and the magistrates, for not quelling, by their authority, the mutinous populace. This encouraged the fathers to pass a severe edict against rioters, and such as disturbed the public tranquillity, which restored peace and quiet to the city. In the end of the year *Geminus*, *Pompeius*, and *Julius Celsus*, all Roman knights, were arraigned of treason, and condemned. *Geminus* was indeed one of *Sejanus*'s friends, but had never been trusted by him with his private designs. However, he was executed with *Pompeius*; but *Celsus*, by stretching his chain over his head, and straining with great violence against it, broke his neck, and escaped the infamy of a public execution^r. This year *Tiberius*, having crossed the chanel between *Caprea* and *Surrentum*, sailed along the coast of *Campania*, and entering the *Tiber*, as if he designed to proceed to *Rome*, came as far as the gardens on that river,

^r Idem, c. 13, 14.

(W) In his letter he gently chid *Quintilianus* as young, and therefore not well acquainted with the antient customs; but fell upon *Gallus* with some bitterness, for proposing to a thin senate the receiving of a book, whereof the author was unknown, among the prophetic books of the sibyl: he told him, that he who was so well skilled in the science of sacred ceremonies, ought not to have taken such a step without hearing the opinion of his own college, and without the usual reading and deliberation with the other priests. He also put the senators in mind of the conduct of *Augustus*, who, to suppress the many fictitious predictions every-where published under the name of the sibyl, had ordered, that within a fixed day they should be carried to the prætor, and declared it unlawful for any private person to keep them. Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate, notwithstanding their decree, ordered the book to be examined by the college of the quindecimvirs. Whether the book was admitted amongst the authentic prophecies of the sibyl, we are no-where told. *Augustus*, as we have observed in his reign, having gathered together a great number of prophecies, and books of predictions, written by unknown authors, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*, he caused them all to be burnt, to the number of two thousand and upwards, reserving only some select pieces, which he deposited under the pedestal of *Apollo Palatinus* (60).

(60) Vide Suet. in Aug. c. 31.

having

having first posted guards all along the banks, to keep off the multitude. But he advanced no farther, being ashamed of his cruelties and abominable lusts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks and beloved solitude, where he rioted, without check or controul, in the most infamous and unnatural debaucheries &c.

THE next consuls were *Servius Sulpicius Galba* (X) and *L. Cornelius Sylla Felix*. This year *Tiberius* disposed of his two granddaughters, who were now of age, bestowing *Drusilla* on *Lucius Cassius*, and *Julia* on *Marcus Vinicius*, as we have related above. On this occasion he wrote to the senate, with a short commendation of the young men; then touching upon the causes of his absence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himself by his zeal for the republic, he desired that *Macro*, commander of the prætorian guards, with some few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the senate. The fathers readily granted him his request, without any limitation, either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him: nay, they passed a decree, ordering that whenever the prince came to the senate, all the senators should be searched, to prevent their carrying arms under their robes[†]. But, for all this, *Tiberius* never appeared in the senate, nor entered the walls of *Rome*, though he came sometimes to the very gates, for the most part by solitary and by-ways, and flying back with great precipitation. This year great disturbances being raised by the debtors, the emperor, to administer some relief, declared that he would lend a hundred thousand great sesterces for the term of three years without interest, provided each borrower

The daughters of Drusus married.

Tiberius demands a guard.

[†] Idem, annal. 6. c. 1. SÆT. in Tib. c. 72. [†] TACIT. c. 15. [†] DIO. l. lviii. p. 633.

(X) *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was afterwards raised to the empire: *Suetonius* observes, that he succeeded in the consulship *Cn. Domitius* the father of *Nero*, and was succeeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of the emperor of the same name. As the name of *Otho* is not marked in the consular tables, *Onuphrius*, *Cassiodorus*, and the learned cardinal *Noris*, conclude, that he was substituted to *Galba*. *Lucius Vitellius*, one of the following year's consuls, was father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was likewise emperor, and succeeded *Otho*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* having sent for *Galba*, during his consulship, and sifted him upon several subjects, he at last told him in *Greek*, that one day he should taste of empire, signifying thereby his short sovereignty (61).

(61) *Tacit. c. 20.*

Further
instances of
his cruelty.

mortgaged in land double the value of what he borrowed. But this generosity did not in the least allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himself with his cruelties, many illustrious persons being this year condemned and executed, and many others banished, upon the most groundless suspicions. Among these, *Considius Proculus*, while, void of all apprehension, he was celebrating his birth-day, was suddenly accused of treason, hurried to the senate, condemned, and executed. *Pompeia Macrina* was sentenced to exile; her husband and his father, two men of great distinction among the *Greeks*, were both executed; but her father, an illustrious *Roman* knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that *Macrina's* husband being descended from *Theophanes*, who had been one of the confidants of *Pompey the Great*, they had all paid divine honours to that illustrious *Greek*. The death of *Sextus Marius*, the most wealthy man in *Spain*, reflected great disgrace upon *Tiberius*; for though he was accused of incest with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his immense riches had occasioned his ruin; and indeed not without good grounds; *Tiberius* having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himself his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public. So many bloody executions, instead of satiating, served only to whet and inflame *Tiberius's* cruelty. For

A general
massacre of
Sejanus's
friends.

this year he commanded all those to be put to death without distinction of sex or age, who were kept in prison under accusation of any attachment to *Sejanus* ^w. Insomuch, that twenty were executed on one day, and among them several women and children; their bodies were exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, from thence with iron hooks dragged through the city, and then thrown into the *Tiber*. The butchery, says *Tacitus*, was dreadful and general; exposed to the sun lay the carcases of the noble and ignoble; those of every sex and age scattered up and down, or ignominiously thrown together in heaps: their surviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail them, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch countenances, and observe the signs of sorrow: when the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the *Tiber*, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourse of humanity, and banished every symptom of pity and tenderness.

^w Idem, c. 19.

Among the rest perished this year three of the most illustrious persons of the empire, *Asinius Gallus*, *Drusus* the son of *Germanicus*, and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Of *Asinius Gallus* we have spoken above * (Y). He was the son of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and married *Vipsania* the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*: so that his children were brothers to *Drusus*, whom *Tiberius* had by *Vipsania*, nephews to *Agrippina*, and nearly related to the *Cæsars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him on account of his marrying *Vipsania*, but with his usual dissimulation concealed his hatred till this year, when *Gallus* being, we know not about what business, dispatched to him by the senate, he received him in a most obliging manner, but at the same time wrote to the senate, requiring his condemnation; so that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table in *Capreæ*, he was condemned as a traitor at *Rome*, and a prætor was sent to see the sentence put in execution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately dispatched; but caused him to be kept under close confinement, no one being suffered to come near him, except such as were charged to watch, lest he should, by a voluntary death, put an end to his miseries. He perished at length, after three years painful confinement, through famine; but whether of his own accord, or starved by *Tiberius*'s orders, was never known. The pleasure of the emperor being consulted, whether he would suffer him to be buried, he was not ashamed to reckon his allowing the last offices to be paid to him as a particular favour †. As for *Drusus*, he was condemned by the emperor to be starved; but protracted his life nine days by feeding, for want of other sustenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monster, not satiated with the death of his grandson, pursued him even beyond the grave with cruel invectives, and in a letter to the senate charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering at the same time the minutes of his words and actions to be read,

Tiberius
dissimula-
tion.

The death
of *Asinius*
Gallus.

The death
of *Drusus*.

The mean
and scan-
dalous be-
haviour of
Tiberius
towards
him.

* Vide p. 518. not. N. † TACIT. c. 23. DIO. l. lviii. p. 622.

(Y) *Lipsius* takes this *Asinius Gallus* to be the son of *Asinius Pollio*, who was surnamed *Saloninus*, and upon whose birth *Virgil* composed the famous eclogue *Sicilides Musæ*, &c. He owns, that no historian gives *Asinius* the surname of *Saloninus*, but founds his opinion intirely upon the authority of *Servius*, which is very surprising in so wary a critic, since *Servius* tells us in express terms, that *Saloninus* died soon after he was born; nam. ipsum puerum inter ipsa primordia periisse manifestum est, says that commentator.

His imprecations against Tiberius.

The death of Agrippina.

which had long and daily been registered by persons expressly appointed to observe his looks, to watch all his actions, and note down every word, every complaint, he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror; and indeed, that a grandfather should appoint persons to watch all the actions, should have all the weaknesses or crimes, of his grandson registered by secret spies, and thus exposed to the world, seems such a series of treachery and meanness, as would hardly be credited, were it not attested by the most eminent writers of antiquity. *Tacitus* quotes the letters of *Aëtius* the centurion and *Didymus* the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the slaves set purposely to abuse and provoke *Drusus*, with the several parts they acted, in order to draw from him complaints against *Tiberius*. The centurion, to whose custody he was committed, being introduced to the senate, repeated in the presence of the fathers, as matter of glory, his outrageous language to the young prince, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of hunger. He told them, that *Drusus*, at first pretending to be distracted, vented in the style of a madman dismal imprecations against *Tiberius*; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked him with great deliberation and sedateness the vengeance of the gods, beseeching them, that as *Tiberius* had slaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grand-children, and filled with slaughters his whole house, so they would in justice to the ancestors of the slain, in justice to their posterity, avenge on this man of blood, so many cruel and barbarous murders. The senators, in hearing the centurion, raised a mighty noise, as if they detested those imprecations; but they were struck with amazement in hearing the detail of the barbarities practised by the emperor's orders upon his grandson². The death of the son was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the seventeenth of *October*. *Agrippina* had been confined before the disgrace of *Sejanus*, upon whose execution she hoped *Tiberius* would use her and her son *Drusus* with more humanity. But finding him no less implacable than before, she put an end to her miseries by abstaining from all food. *Suetonius* tells us, that after she had taken a resolution to starve herself, *Tiberius* caused her mouth to be opened, and nourishment crammed down her throat by force³. But *Tacitus* questions whether she abstained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by *Tiberius's* orders; and a report was afterwards spread, that death had been her own choice.

² Idem, c. 23, 24.

³ Suet. ibid. c. 53.

Be that as it will, her death did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the outrageous tyrant, who charged her with several abominable crimes, especially with adultery, as if she had maintained a criminal correspondence with *Asinius Gallus*, and upon his death become weary of life. But *Agrippina's* character and known chastity sufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for she had sacrificed, as *Tacitus* observes, to a manly ambition all the passions and vices of her sex. The emperor, in his letter to the senate, observed, that she died the same day on which *Sejanus* had been executed two years before, adding, that such a day ought to be particularly distinguished; nay, he boasted of his clemency, since he had not caused her to be strangled, and her body to be exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged to the *Tiber*. For this instance of mock-mercy the senate solemnly thanked him, and decreed, that on the seventeenth of *October*, the day of the death of *Agrippina* and *Sejanus*, a yearly offering should be consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* for ever ^b. The death of *Agrippina* procured that of her declared enemy *Plancina*, the widow of *Cneius Piso*. She was guilty of many other crimes, besides that which was laid to her charge of poisoning *Germanicus*. When her husband fell, she was protected by the solicitations of *Livia*, and also by the animosity of *Agrippina*, whom the spiteful *Tiberius* could not find in his heart to gratify with the death of a person whom she abhorred. But as there was now no further room for favour or hatred, justice prevailed; and *Plancina*, being accused of crimes long since sufficiently proved, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late than too severe. Notwithstanding the pleasure *Tiberius* took in destroying the most illustrious families in *Rome*, yet he was sensibly affected with the death of *Cocceius Nerva*, though it was entirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the most learned civilians in *Rome*, had been consul twelve years before, had attended *Tiberius* to *Caprea*, and was in high favour with him, so that he had no reason to be weary of life. But tho' thus in full prosperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, he resolved to die, and accordingly refused all nourishment. *Tiberius*, having learnt his design, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives, and descended even to intreaties, declaring that it would be a great affliction to him, that it would reflect disgrace upon him, and tarnish his reputation, if one of his most intimate friends, his inseparable companion, should thus shew

Tiberius endeavours to blacken her reputation.

Plancina lays violent hands on herself.

The death of Cocceius Nerva,

^b TACIT. c. 25, 26. SUET. *ibid.* c. 53.

Of Ælius
Lamia,
M. Lepi-
dus, &c.

himself weary of life. But notwithstanding the remonstrances and reasoning of *Tiberius*, *Nerva* persisted in his purpose, and ended his life by abstinence. Towards the end of this year died three illustrious citizens, *Ælius Lamia*, *Manius Lepidus*, and *Pomponius Flaccus*. *Lamia* had for several years held the government of *Syria*, but had never been allowed to visit his province. Upon the death of *L. Piso*, which happened the preceding year, *Tiberius* discharged him from the mock-administration of *Syria*, and appointed him governor of *Rome*. A public funeral was decreed him by the senate. He was succeeded in his last employment by *C. Cossus*, who, though a famous drunkard, was never known, as *Seneca* informs us^d, to disclose a secret; whence *Tiberius* trusted him with his most private counsels. *Lepidus* was one of the most worthy men in *Rome*; we have already given various instances of his wisdom and moderation: as to his abilities, he was in the opinion of *Augustus*, as we have observed in the beginning of this reign, well qualified for the sovereign power, but not fond of it. *Pomponius Flaccus* was by *Tiberius* first raised to the government of *Mæsia*, where he betrayed and seized *Rhasciporis*, as we have related above. He was afterwards made proprætor of *Syria*, either for this piece of treachery, or upon the merit of his famous debauch with *L. Piso* and *Tiberius*. This year, *Claudia* daughter to *Marcus Silanus*, a senator distinguished by his illustrious birth and great eloquence, was married to *Caius Caligula*, the only surviving son of *Germanicus*. The people were no less pleased with this match, than dissatisfied with that of *Julia*, the daughter of *Drusus* and widow of *Nero*, who debased herself to marry *Rubellius Blandus*, whose grandfather was a native of *Tybur*, and only a *Roman knight*^e.

Christ cruci-
fied.

THIS year, the thirty-third of the common æra and nineteenth of *Tiberius's* reign, our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the best chronologers; *Phlegon*, the emperor *Adrian's* freedman, who wrote sixteen books of the olympiads, seems to speak of the darkness which happened at his death: his words are; *There happened the greatest and most remarkable eclipse that ever had been known; at the sixth hour the day was suddenly turned into night, inso-much, that the stars were seen: at the same time, an earthquake in Bithynia overturned many houses in the city of Nice.* This darkness, which *Phlegon* calls an eclipse, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two hundred and

Idem, c. 27.

^d SENEC. epist. 87.

^e TACIT. c. 27.

second olympiad, which ended about the middle of the present year ^f.

THE following year, when *Paulus Fabius Persicus*, or, as some call him *Priscus*, and *L. Vitellius* were consuls, many eminent persons fell, either by their own hands, or those of the public executioner, among the rest *Pomponius Labeo* and *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*; the former, once governor of *Mæsia*, being charged with male-administration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife *Paxea* following his example. The latter a noble orator, a man of an illustrious descent, but a professed debauchee, was accused by *Servilius* and *Cornelius* of adultery with *Livia* the widow of *Drusus*, and of offering magical sacrifices, but his true crime was the hatred *Macro* bore him; for *Macro*, who was at this time as much in favour with *Tiberius*, and no less mischievous than *Sejanus* had ever been, prejudiced the emperor against him, by persuading him, that *Scaurus*, in a tragedy which he had composed, described him, and displayed his cruelties under the name of *Atreus*. But the pretended criminal, before sentence was awarded against him, laid violent hands on himself, being encouraged thereto by his wife, who died with him ^g. *Servilius* and *Cornelius*, his accusers, were soon after banished into several islands for accepting a bribe, to drop the prosecution, which they had begun against *Varius Ligur*. *Abudius Ruso* likewise, once ædile, was himself condemned and driven out of *Rome*, while he attempted to get *Lentulus Getulicus*, under whom he had commanded a legion, condemned, because he had espoused his daughter to a son of *Sejanus*. *Getulicus* was at this time commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, and by them extremely beloved on account of his great mildness and clemency. He was likewise acceptable to the legions of *Lower Germany* in consideration of their general *Apronius*, his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to *Tiberius*, that not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had sought the alliance of *Sejanus*; that he had been as liable to be deceived as *Tiberius*, and that it was not reasonable a fault common to both should pass unblamed in one, and be punished in another: he added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the allegiance he owed him, and that he would continue unshaken in his fidelity to the last, provided no dark plots were framed against him; but that he would look upon a successor

Several
persons ar-
raigned.

Lentulus
Getulicus
accused.

His bold
letter to
Tiberius.

^f ORIO. contra. Celsum, p. 89. & 99. edit. Græc. ^g TACIT.
c. 29.

A counter-
feit Drusus

Two con-
suls of this
year put to
death.

as the messenger of death ; and therefore, that they should, as it were, strike up an agreement between them, by which the prince should enjoy the rest of the empire, and he always retain his province. This proceeding, however surprising, was believed, because of all those who were allied to *Sejanus*, *Getulicus* alone escaped unhurt, and continued in high favour to the last. *Tiberius*, sensible that he was universally hated, and that his authority was supported more by reputation than by force, did not care to attack a man, who had both sufficient power and courage to defend himself^f. This year, as *Dion Cassius* will have it, or four years before, while *Drusus* was yet living, as *Tacitus* relates it, a young man gave out, that he was *Drusus* the son of *Germanicus*. He was first seen in the *Cyclades*, and soon after on the continent, attended by some of the emperor's freedmen, and by great crouds of people, who flocked to him from all parts. But in the mean time, *Poppæus Sabinus*, governor of *Greece* and also of *Macedon*, where he was at that time, hearing the story hastened to *Nicopolis*, a Roman colony, to obviate the evil consequences of such a report. There he learnt that this counterfeit *Drusus*, being artfully examined, had declared himself to be the son of *Marcus Silanus*, and that many of his followers falling off, he had embarked, as if he designed to sail to *Italy*. Further than this, says *Tacitus*, we have found nothing concerning the origin or issue of that affair^g. But *Dion Cassius* adds, that the impostor being received by many cities, and strengthened with vast numbers of followers, would have reached *Syria*, and probably been acknowledged there by the armies of his pretended father, had he not been discovered by some who knew, seized, and sent, him to *Tiberius*^h. The same writer tells us, that this year, the twentieth of *Tiberius*'s reign, ending on the nineteenth of *August*, the consuls solemnized it with public vows and sacrifices ; which the emperor highly resenting, as if they had taken upon them to confirm to him the sovereign power for a further term of ten years, caused them both to be arraigned, condemned, and executedⁱ. What *Dion* says of the consuls of this year is not to be understood of those we have named, but of others, who were substituted in their room, it being evident both from *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, that *L. Vitellius*, the father of the emperor *Aulus Vitellius* was sent the year following into *Syria* to govern that province. We

^f Idem, c. 30.
lviii. c. 637.

^g TACIT. annal. 5. c. 10.
ⁱ Idem ibid. p. 656.

^h DIO l.

shall have frequent occasion to mention him in the following reign (Z).

IN the following consulship of *Cestius Gallus* and *M. Servilius Nonianus*, the domestic evils continued, *Tiberius*, though now three years since the execution of *Sejanus*, being no ways appeased, either by time or the innumerable victims he had already sacrificed to his jealousy. He still pursued with fresh rage stale and dubious imputations, punishing them as recent, heinous, and proved, crimes. The most distinguished persons who perished this year, were *Fulcinus* *Trio*, *Granius Martianus*, *Tatius Gratianus*, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sextius Paconianus*. *Trio*, who was consul the year that *Sejanus* was executed, being accused of having been privy to the treacherous designs of that minister, made his last will, in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities

The death of several persons of distinction.

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that in the consulship of *Fabius* and *Vitellius*, after many ages the phoenix appeared in *Egypt*, and furnished the learned, both of that country and of *Greece*, with matter for various observations concerning that miraculous bird. On this occasion he acquaints us with the opinions of such as have written on that subject and tells, that they all agree in this, *viz.* that it is a creature sacred to the sun, and that as to its beak and feathers it differs from all other birds; but as to the length of its life relations vary: the common opinion is, says our historian, that it lives five hundred years; but there are not wanting some who extend its life to 1461, and affirm, that the three former phoenixes appeared in reigns greatly distant, the first under *Sesostris*, the next under *Amasis*, and that the last was seen under *Ptolemy*, the third king of the *Macedonian* race, and flew to the city of *Heliopolis*, accompanied by a vast number of other birds wondering at her strange shape. But the Accounts of antiquity, says *Tacitus*, are obscure: between *Ptolemy* and *Tiberius*, scarce passed two hundred and fifty years; whence some thought that this was no true phoenix, nor come from *Arabia*, and that it had nothing of the instinct which antient tradition ascribes to the genuine; according to which tradition the true phoenix, having completed a certain course of years, builds just before its death a nest in its native land, upon which it sheds a generative power, whence springs up a young one, whose first care, when grown up, is to bury its father: this it does not undertake unadvisedly; but first tries its strength by gathering and carrying a great way loads of myrrh: when it finds itself equal to the burden and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the sun, and there burns it (62). Such were the opinions of the antients, touching this miraculous, or rather fabulous, bird.

and dreadful invectives against *Macro* and the emperor's chief freedmen, not sparing the prince himself, whom he styled an old dotard, and, on account of his long absence, a despicable exile. These invectives were suppressed by the heirs of *Trio*; but *Tiberius*, not ashamed to publish his own infamy, ordered them to be read in the senate, either to shew that he could bear such liberties, or because he was willing, since he had been so long ignorant of the black enormities of *Sejanus*, that whatever was said, and however said, concerning him and his administration, should be divulged, that he might at least learn from the reproaches uttered against him, the truths which flattery studied to disguise. *Granius Martianus*, the senator, being charged with treason by *Caius Gracchus*, laid violent hands on himself (A). *Tatius Gratinus*, who had been prætor, was for the same charge sentenced to death; and also *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been likewise prætor, and formerly appointed by the senate guardian to the sons of *Cotys*, king of *Thrace*; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. *Paconianus*, who had been chosen by *Sejanus* to plot the overthrow of *Caligula*, as we have related above, was after three years confinement strangled in prison for verses made there against *Tiberius* ^k. In the end of the year, died *Poppæus Sabinus*, who had been consul under *Augustus*, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed for the space of twenty four years the two *Mæstias*, to which *Tiberius* had added in the second year of his reign *Macedon* and *Achaia* ^l. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was not distinguished either by his birth or abilities; but was nevertheless raised and favoured by the princes, because he had talents equal to the employments given him, and not above them ^m. He was

^k Idem c. 38. 39. Dio. p. 626. ^l Tacit. ibid. Dio. p. 637. ^m Tacit. ibid.

(A) No wonder, that voluntary deaths should be so common at *Rome*, not yet illuminated with the light of the gospel. For those, who fell by the hand of the executioner, forfeited their estates with their lives, and were debarred the honour of burial. Their bodies were publicly exposed to the insults of the populace, dragged through the streets with iron hooks, and thrown into the *Tiber*. No criminal, of what rank soever, nay not even women, were exempted from this base treatment. On the other hand, the bodies of such, as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred; their wills remained in force, and their estates devolved to their children (63).

(63) Tacit. c. 29. Dio. l. lviii. p. 630. Suet. in Tib. c. 53. succeeded

succeeded in the government of the above-mentioned provinces by *C. Memmius Regulus* ⁿ. As for the disturbances which happened this year in *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Cilicia*, the reader will find them described by us at length in the histories of those kingdoms.

THE following year, *Q. Plautius* and *Sextus Papinius Gallienus* being consuls, the same course of slaughter continued unrelenting. *Lucius Aruseius* and several others were condemned and executed. Such executions were now become so frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of; but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a Roman knight, struck all with terror and amazement. After his accusers had finished their pleadings against him, he pulled out poison, which he had concealed under his gown, and swallowed it in open senate. He immediately fell, so potent was the poison; but nevertheless was hastily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where, though ready to expire, he was strangled by the common executioner ^o. *Caius Galba*, a consular and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two *Blæsi*, fell by their own hands; *Galba*, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to cast lots for the government of a province; and the *Blæsi*, because *Tiberius* bestowed their priesthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this they took as a signal of death, and obeyed it. *Tigranes*, grandson to *Herod* king of *Judæa* by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* by his mother *Glaphyra* ^p, and who had himself reigned some time in *Armenia*, was accused like a private citizen, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals ^q. This prince and his elder brother *Alexander* had renounced the Jewish, and embraced the Pagan, religion, out of complaisance to their grandfather *Archelaus*. *Agrippa* their cousin german was in the month of *September* dragged to prison loaded with chains; and kept there under close confinement till the death of *Tiberius*, as we have related in the history of the Jews. The same year, the city suffered greatly by an inundation of the *Tiber* ^r, and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to mount *Aventine*, and all the buildings on the mount itself. This misfortune turned to the glory of the prince, for he paid the value of the houses destroyed, and expended in this bounty a hundred thousand great sesterces; which proved the more ac-

Tigranes put to death.

The gentleness of Tiberius on occasion of a fire.

ⁿ DIO. *ibid.* ^o TACIT. c. 40. DIO p. 634. Suet. in Tib. c. 61. ^p JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xviii. c. 7. ^q TACIT. c. 40. ^r DIO. p. 638.

ceptable to the people, says *Tacitus*, as he had ever been sparing in private buildings (B). To make an estimate of every man's loss, he appointed his four sons-in-law, *Cneius Domitius*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Rubellius Blandus*, assisted by *Publius Petronius*, nominated by the consuls.* The ecclesiastic writers tell us, that in this or the preceding year, *Pontius Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* on account of the passion, resurrection, and miracles, of our Saviour, adding, that the number of his followers daily increased, and that he was accounted a god. Hereupon the emperor, say they, made a report of the whole matter to the senate, with this favourable suffrage, that Christ might be reckoned among the gods: the senate opposed this motion, and even by an edict commanded all christians to be banished the city. But *Tiberius* by another edict threatening their accusers with death, the persecution ceased, and the number of the believers daily increased both in *Judæa* and at *Rome*†. Whether this account is consistent with the servile spirit of the senate, and the dread they were all under of opposing any motion made by the emperor, is what we refer to the judgment of every impartial reader.

THE next consuls, and the last under *Tiberius*, were *Cneius Acerronius Proculus* and *Caius Pontius Nigrinus*, or, as *Suetonius* calls him, *Niger*. The emperor was now in the seventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indisposed since he came to the empire, though he neglected, and was even wont to ridicule, the rules and prescriptions of

* TACIT. c. 45. † TERTULL. in apol. c. 5. & 21. EUSEB. in chron. & hist. eccles. l. ii. c. 2. GILDAS.

(B) *Tacitus* tells us, that this bounty proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever sparing in private buildings; and adds, that his public works never exceeded two, *viz.* the temple of *Augustus*, and the scene of *Pompey's* theatre; nor, when he had finished both, did he consecrate either, whether prevented by old age, or despising popularity, is uncertain. Thus *Tacitus* (64), with whom *Suetonius* does not intirely agree. During the whole time he was emperor, says that writer, he built nothing that was great and magnificent; the temple of *Augustus*, and the reparation of *Pompey's* theatre, the only public works he ever undertook, he left unfinished after so many years (65). And in the life of *Caligula*, he finished the temple of *Augustus*, says he, and the ampitheatre of *Pompey*, which *Tiberius* had begun, but not completed (66). So that, according to *Tacitus*, he finished these buildings; but left them imperfect according to *Suetonius*.

(64) Tacit c. 45. Calig. 21.

65) Suet. *ibid.* c. 47.

(66) Idem in

physicians,

physicians, and such as after the age of thirty wanted to be informed, by them, what helped or hurt their constitutions. At Tiberius length he was taken ill at *Astura* between *Antium* and *Circæi*, *is taken ill.* as he was returning to *Capræ* from the neighbourhood of *Rome* (C). However, he went forward, and reached *Circæi*, where, to dissemble his indisposition, he not only assisted at the military games exhibited there, but threw darts himself at a boar, and killed him. From *Circæi* he advanced to *Misenum*, and finding his strength began to fail him, he settled in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. Already his strength, already his spirits, failed him; but his dissimulation failed him not. To hide his declension, now very visible, he exerted the same vigour of mind, the same energy in his discourse, and even affected sometimes to be gay. In the mean time, the course of executions was not interrupted at *Rome* by the emperor's illness. *Acutia*, once the wife of *Publius Vitellius*, being charged with treason by *Lælius Balbus*, was condemned. Afterwards *Albucilla*, who had been married to *Satrius Secundus*, and was infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accused of devising charms against the life of *Tiberius*. In the same charge were involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, *Cneius Domitius*, *Vibius Marfus*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, all three persons distinguished by their birth and employments. But as the minutes transmitted to the senate imported, that *Macro* *used.* had presided in the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the slaves, and the minutes were not accompanied by any letter from *Tiberius* against the accused, the fathers suspected, that while he was ill, the accusations were in great measure forged, perhaps, without his privacy, by *Macro*, an irreconcilable enemy to *Arruntius*. However, that brave Roman chose to die, and to his friends attempting to divert him from that resolution, by representing to him, that news of the em- *His fine and affecting reasoning.*

(C) About the end of the preceding year, *Tiberius*, leaving his island, approached *Rome*, and having staid some time at *Tusculum*, he came within six miles of the city, and thence beheld his metropolis floating, as it were, in blood. On his return to *Campania*, he was taken ill at *Astura*. *Suetonius* tells us, that he removed from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, being frightened with a kind of prodigy; for being wont to feed with his own hand a dragon, in which he took great pleasure, he found it one morning killed and half devoured by a swarm of ants. Hereupon, being warned by the soothsayers to avoid the multitude, he hastened back to *Campania*. We find no accounts of this nature in *Tacitus*, who only tells us, that *Tiberius*, after much shifting of places, settled in the end at the promontory of *Misenum* in a villa, which once belonged to *Lucullus*.

peror's death, which would deliver him from the present danger, was daily expected, he answered in the following manner :
 " The same measures are not alike honourable to all men :
 " I have lived long enough, and have not wherewithal to
 " reproach myself, save that I have submitted to bear thus far
 " an old age exposed to so many dangers, long hated as I was by
 " *Sejanus* ; and am now by *Macro*, always obnoxious to some
 " reigning minister, through no fault of mine, but because I am
 " irreconcilable to the wicked. 'Tis true, I may outlive,
 " and escape, the few and last days of *Tiberius* : but how
 " shall I escape the young prince, his heir ? If *Tiberius*, at
 " such an age, and after so long experience, has been in-
 " tirely changed by the spirit of an uncontrouled power, is it
 " to be hoped, that *Caligula*, who is yet scarce out of his
 " childhood, unexperienced in affairs, and brought up in the
 " worst of principles, will pursue a better course, having
 " *Macro* for his guide ? that *Macro*, who, being chosen to
 " oppress *Sejanus* as the more wicked of the two, has since
 " afflicted the republic with more mischiefs and cruelties.
 " I foresee a servitude yet more dreadful, and therefore will
 " fly both from the present and the impending calamities ".

His death.

Having uttered these words as if he had been inspired by the gods, he opened his veins, and bled to death ^b. Such was the end of *Lucius Arruntius*, a man of a most illustrious descent, of great fortune, and extraordinary accomplishments, for which he was accounted by *Augustus*, as we have observed in the beginning of this reign, equal to the sovereignty. *Domitius*, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and *Marsus*, by seeming resolved to end his life by abstinence, outlived *Tiberius*, and escaped the present danger. As for *Albucilla*, she attempted to lay violent hands on herself ; but the blow proving ineffectual, she was by order of the senate dragged to prison, and there executed. Against the accomplices of her debaucheries, it was decreed, that *Grafidius Sacerdos*, formerly prætor, should be banished to an island ; and that *Pontius Fregellanus* and *Lælius Balbus*, both senators, should be degraded. About the same time, *Sextus Papinius*, of a consular family, probably the son of *Sextus Papinius*, who was consul the foregoing year, ended his life, by throwing himself headlong from a high place, to avoid the impure solicitations of his own mother, who was thereupon accused, but only banished *Rome* for ten years, till her younger son had passed the dangers of youth ⁱ.

^b Idem, c. 48.

ⁱ Idem, c. 49.

IN the mean time, *Tiberius*, having read in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only writ that informations were lodged against them without mentioning witnesses, transported with rage, resolved to return at all adventures to *Caprea*, and there, as in a place of safety, revenge the affront offered him; but the bad weather and his distemper kept him against his will at *Misenum* ^k. However, he still hoped to overcome his present indisposition, depending upon the predictions of *Thrasyllus*, which he esteemed as so many oracles (D), that famous astrologer having assured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himself, or with a design to deceive *Tiberius*, that he might not hasten the execution of those who were

His indisposition prevents his return to Caprea.

^k Suet. in Tib. c. 73.

(D) *Tiberius*, during his retirement at *Rhodes*, applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology, under the direction of *Thrasyllus*, whose skill in that art he proved by the following trial. He led him to a house built on the top of a steep rock by the seaside, and there minutely consulted him about various events. *Thrasyllus* gave satisfactory answers to all his questions, assured him that he should be soon raised to the empire, and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened as they had been predicted. *Tiberius*, struck with amazement, asked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foresee what was to befall him the same year, nay, that very day? The reader is to know, that the way to the abovementioned house lay cross solitary rocks and dreadful precipices; and that *Tiberius*, if he suspected the predictions of the astrologer, whose art he meant to try, to be vain, used on his return to cast him headlong into the sea. This had been the fate of several, who, unskilled in the art they professed, had attempted to impose upon him with false predictions. *Thrasyllus*, therefore, when the abovementioned question was put to him, surveying the positions of the stars and calculating their aspects, began at first to hesitate, then to tremble, and the more he meditated, the more he appeared dismayed with wonder and dread; at last he cried out, that just then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At these words *Tiberius* embracing him, congratulated him upon his foresight of dangers and his security from them; and thenceforth, esteeming his predictions as so many oracles, held him in the rank of his most intimate friends (67). *Tiberius* himself is said to have been skilled in astrology, but nevertheless died, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited (68), ten years sooner than he expected; which discovers, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, the short bounds between the art and the falshood of the art.

(67) *Tacit. annal.* 6. c. 20.

(68) *Dio. l. lviii. f. 635.*

*Endea-
vours to
hide his
distemper.*

in prison. However that be, many were indebted to *Thrasyllus's* prediction for their lives ¹. *Tiberius*, relying upon this, pursued his former course of life, without so much as relinquishing his shameful debaucheries, or mentioning his distemper to any physician. However, *Charicles*, an eminent man in that profession, who always attended him, as if he were departing upon some private affair, under the appearance of kissing his hand as he went out of the room, touched his pulse. *Tiberius*, suspecting the artifice, instantly ordered the entertainment to be served up, persuaded *Charicles* to sit down again, and continued himself at table longer than usual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend, but in reality to feign health and hide his weakness. When the entertainment was over he did not forget his old custom; but standing in the middle of the room with an officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the guests in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. But for all this, *Charicles* assured *Macro*, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not last two days longer. Hence the whole court was filled with close consultations, and expresses were sent to the generals and armies ^m.

*Is puzzled
about settling
the
succession.*

Tiberius had no surviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandson, the son of *Drusus*, named *Tiberius Nero*, and surnamed *Gemellus*, or the *Twin*, because born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, was his grandson too, but only by adoption, he being the son of his nephew *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted by order of *Augustus*. Hence he was at a loss to which of the two he should bequeath the empire. The son of *Drusus* was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him, but too young to govern such a mighty empire; being at this time but in the seventeenth year of his age. *Caius* was in the flower and vigour of youth, but greatly beloved by the people, which was a sufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity the emperor thought even of *Claudius*, who was his nephew and brother to *Germanicus*; but the weakness of his understanding prevented the choice: for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To seek a successor out of his own family was disgracing, and in a manner insulting, the name of the *Cæsars* and the memory of *Augustus*. For he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and security of the Roman state. So

¹ DIO. l. lviii. p. 638. ^m TACIT. c. 50. SUET. in. Tib. c. 72, 73. DIO. l. lviii. p. 638.

that,

that, his mind still wavering and his strength decaying, he left to the decision of fate a deliberation, to which he was now unequal ⁿ. Thus *Tacitus*. But *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he bequeathed the empire to *Caius*, whom he knew to be naturally cruel, arrogant, and tyrannical, hoping that his vices would efface the memory of his own wickedness, and that he would complete the destruction of the *Roman* nobility, being often heard to say, that *Priam* was a happy prince, who had the pleasure to outlive all his subjects, and see his kingdom with his whole race perish with him; and that in *Caligula* he had brought up a serpent for the people of *Rome*, and a *Phaeton* for the rest of the world ^o. But with *Dion Cassius's* leave, we cannot persuade ourselves, that such horrible thoughts should have ever entered into the mind even of *Tiberius*; and if they had, we may boldly affirm, that he was not so impolitic as ever to have uttered them. *Suetonius* assures us, that two years before his death he made his will, of which there were two copies, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his freedmen, but both to the same purpose, and witnessed by persons of no rank or distinction. By that will he left coheirs, *Caius* his grandson by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius* by *Drusus*, both in equal portions, and substituting them successively ^p. This, in the opinion of a modern critic of no mean character ^q, did not so much regard the emperor's private estate, as the empire; for *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that the prince left the empire by his last will to young *Tiberius* too, that he took care to make this his last disposition well known, and even caused it to be read by *Macro* in the senate ^r. *Suetonius* likewise in his life of *Caligula* writes, that the senate and people unanimously declared *Caligula* sole emperor, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grandchildren, who was then under age, and still in his *prætexta* ^s. *Philo* likewise the Jew assures us, that young *Tiberius* was left coheir of *Caius*, and his colleague in the sovereignty; and adds, that *Tiberius*, if he had lived a little longer, would have cut off *Caius*, and left the empire to his grandson without either a partner or a rival ^t. *Agrippa*, who was afterwards king of *Judæa*, being come to wait on *Tiberius*, while he still resided in his island, the emperor recommended to him his grandson *Tiberius*, and

Various
opinions of
writers a-
bout his last
will.

According
to some *Caius*
and
young *Ti-*
berius left
partners in
the empire.

ⁿ TACIT. c. 46. ^o DIO. ibid. p. 636. ^p SUE. ibid. c. 76. ^q CASAUBON. p. 433. ^r DIO. l. lix. p. 640. ^s SUE. in Calig. c. 14. ^t PHIL. legat. p. 1002, 1004.

highly resented his paying more court to *Caius* than to him ; nay, he caused him six months after to be dragged to prison, though he had received him on his arrival with the greatest marks of friendship and affection, because, in a private conversation with *Caius*, he had wished young *Tiberius* might soon die, and surrender the empire to him ^u. *Caius*, therefore, doubting of the inclination of *Tiberius*, left no stone unturned to secure the empire by other means. He even debased himself so far as to court the favour of *Ennia Nævina*, the wife of *Macro*, with the promise of marriage, as soon as he attained the sovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his interest her husband, whose credit with the emperor was known to be great ^w. *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* tell us, that after the death of *Claudia*, who had been espoused to *Caligula*, *Macro* himself, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to sacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to secure the young prince by a promise of marriage ^x. But *Philo* says, that *Macro* was altogether a stranger to the infamy of his wife, and suspected nothing dishonourable in the affection she shewed for *Caius*. The same writer adds, that *Tiberius*, whom no prince ever surpassed in sagacity and penetration, looking upon *Caius* as incapable of the government of such a vast empire, and at the same time suspecting him an enemy in his heart to the whole race of the *Claudii*, that is, to all his relations on the father's side, and consequently to young *Tiberius*, would have cut him off, instead of naming him for his successor, had not *Macro* diverted him from this design, by excusing the faults of the young prince, by ascribing to modesty his seeming want of parts, and assuring the emperor, that he had a great respect and affection for his grandson *Tiberius* ^y. *Macro*'s partiality for *Caius* was not unknown to *Tiberius*, who upbraided his minister with it, telling him, that he neglected the setting sun, and courted the rising. On several other occasions he dropt certain words, which plainly shewed, that he foresaw what would happen after his death (E). As one day *Caius* ridicul-

Caius
saved by
Macro.

^u JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

^w Suet. in Calig. c. 12.

^x Tacit. c. 45. Dio. l. lviii. p. 639.

^y Philo. legat. c.

4. p. 997, 998.

(E) *Josephus* writes, that *Tiberius*, desirous to know by some prognostic to which of his grandchildren the gods reserved the empire, told *Evodus*, one of his freedmen, that he had a mind to see *Caius* and young *Tiberius* early next morning. As he was persuaded,

ed *Sylla* upon some occasional discourse, *Tiberius* told him, that he would have all the vices of *Sylla*, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate arising between the two young princes, the emperor embraced with many tears his little grandson; and, addressing himself to *Caius*, who, at this demonstration of kindness, betrayed great sternness in his countenance, *Thou*, said he, *wilt one day murder him, and another will murder thee*². This he foretold, not from ^{His death foretold by} skill in astrology, as *Dion* imagines², but from his sagacity, *Tiberius*. and thorough knowledge of mankind.

IN the mean time the emperor's strength failing him daily more and more, on the sixteenth of *March* so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have finished his course. Hereupon *Caius*, quitting in haste the palace to take possession ^{Is too haſty to take} of the empire, shewed himself abroad in the midst of a great throng of persons, of all ranks, paying him their congratulations upon his accession to the throne. ^{possession of the empire.} But, in the height of his joy, sudden notice was brought him, that *Tiberius* had

² *TACIT. c. 46. DIO. l. lviii. p. 636. 2 DIO. p. 636.*

suaded, no doubt from his skill in astrology, that he, who came first, should succeed him, he charged *Tiberius's* governor to bring his grandson to him next morning by break of day, ordering at the same time *Evodus* to introduce to him immediately the young prince, who should arrive first. Accordingly as soon as day appeared, the freedman, pursuant to his orders, went to wait at the door of the emperor's chamber the arrival of the princes, not doubting but *Tiberius*, upon the warning he had had, would get the start of *Caius*. But it happened quite otherwise; *Caius* was already there, and immediately introduced by *Evodus* to the emperor, who, in seeing him, burst into tears, but soon restrained them, to acquaint *Caius* that the gods reserved the empire for him, and to recommend to him his grandson, whom they debarred from that power and authority which was due to him by right of succession. *Caius* made many fine promises, though he meant nothing less than to perform them; and the emperor, having named him for his successor, died a few days after (69). According to this account, which, in our opinion, favours of the fable, *Tiberius* left the empire to *Caius* alone; according to *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*, to *Caius* and *Tiberius* jointly; and according to *Tacitus*, to neither, but to the decision of fate, that is, to the person for whom fate or destiny reserved it. The authority of *Tacitus* is of great weight with us, especially in what he relates here, since all authors agree in describing *Tiberius* as a fatalist, or one who was persuaded that all things were governed by fate.

(69) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3.*

The death
of Tiberius.
Year of
the flood,
3036.
Of Christ,
37.
Of Rome,
785.

recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some refreshment, to strengthen his fainting spirits. This unexpected news struck all with dread and horror; the croud about *Caligula* dispersed in a trice, every one resuming false sorrow, or pretending ignorance, and the young prince himself, trembling, speechless, and not able to stir from his place, expected there immediate death instead of the empire. *Macro* alone continued undisturbed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, caused the weak old man to be smothered with a weight of coverings, under colour of keeping him warm. *Seneca*, as quoted by *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Tiberius*, finding his end approached, pulled off his ring, and held it a considerable time in his hand, as if he designed to give it to some body; that he put it upon his finger again, and that, after having continued a long time motionless with his left hand shut close, all of a sudden he called one of his attendants, and no one answering, he rose up; but his strength failing him, he fell down by the bed-side, and died. Others write, that *Caius* not only gave him a slow-working poison, which consumed him by degrees, but that having commanded his ring to be taken off of his finger, and observing *Tiberius* to make some resistance, he immediately smothered him with a pillow; they add, that this action seemed so cruel to one of his freedmen, that he could not forbear crying out; which so provoked *Caius*, that he caused him to be immediately apprehended and crucified. This does not at all seem incredible, says *Suetonius*, since there are authors, who affirm, that he bragged of having attempted to dispatch the old emperor on another occasion, publicly owning that, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he went with a dagger in his hand into *Tiberius's* chamber while he was asleep; but, being touched with compassion, he threw away the weapon, and retired; that *Tiberius* saw him, but thought it adviseable to take no notice of what he had observed. This circumstance inclines us to believe the whole account fabulous, and invented either by *Caius* himself, or by those who relate it. He did not indeed want cruelty for such an attempt, but courage and resolution, if we may depend upon the character which *Tacitus*, and most writers, give him. *Tiberius* died, according to *Tacitus*^d and *Suetonius*^e, on the sixteenth, according to *Dion Cassius*^f, on the twenty sixth of *March*; so that he reigned, from the death of *Augustus*, twenty-two years, six months,

^b TACIT. c. 50. DIO. l. lviii. p. 639. ^c SUET. ibid. c. 73. ^d TACIT. c. 50. ^e SUET. c. 73. DIO. l. lviii. p. 639.

and twenty six days, or ten days more, as *Dion* will have it. He was at his death in the seventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at most nineteen, days before^g. Though he had the preceding year highly obliged the city by a generous bounty on occasion of a fire, yet the news of his death was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, the populace running up and down the streets in great crouds, and crying, *Throw the tyrant into the Tiber*, or beseeching their mother earth, and the infernal gods, to vouchsafe him no place but among the impious: some threatened to drag his vile carcase to the *Gemoniæ*, and there expose it to the rage and fury of the multitude, provoked not only by his past cruelties, but by a new piece of inhumanity, even after his death. For whereas, by the decree we have spoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatsoever should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, that term happening to expire with respect to several persons on the same day the news of *Tiberius's* death reached *Rome*, they earnestly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting but *Caius* would grant them their lives and liberty. But as he was absent, and no one else at *Rome*, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addressed, the keepers of the prison strangled them of their own accord, and exposed their bodies to public view; which cruel action increased the hatred of the people against *Tiberius*, as if his cruelty had outlived him^h. Several others, however, were saved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his successor, who set them at libertyⁱ. The body of the deceased emperor was by the soldiers, without doubt of the prætorian guards, carried from *Misenum* to *Rome*, where it was burnt with the usual solemnity, *Caius*, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he spoke little of *Tiberius*, but greatly extolled *Augustus* and *Germanicus*, without forgetting himself. He had written to the senate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his accession to the empire, and requiring them at the same time to decree those honours to *Tiberius*, which they had formerly bestowed on *Augustus*. But the senate, not yet acquainted with the humour of the new emperor, postponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he had written; but causing the body to be brought into the city in the night-time, exposed it the next

The joy of the Roman people at the news of his death.

His body conveyed to Rome, and there burnt.

^g TACIT. c. 51. DIO. *ibid.* p. 630.
DIO. l. lviii. p. 633.

^h SUT. *ibid.* c. 75.

His character
from Tacitus.

day, and then ordered it to be burnt without any extraordinary pomp or honours ^k. As for his character, every reader may draw it to himself, after the detail we have given of the most remarkable actions of his life. However, to what we have already said, we shall subjoin the words with which *Tacitus* closes the history of his reign. *Tiberius*, says he, was deservedly esteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under *Augustus* : with great cunning and address he feigned virtue, while *Germanicus* and *Drusus* lived : he bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother : he did not disguise his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdness, while he loved and feared *Sejanus* : at last he abandoned himself at once to all wickedness, being no longer restrained either by shame or fear, but following the bent of his own disposition and nature ^l (F). Many eminent

^k Idem, l. lix. p. 642.

^l TACIT. c. 51.

(F) We shall subjoin here some observations on *Tiberius*, which we have found in the antients ; but for brevity's sake avoided inserting in our text. He was, as *Suetonius* informs us, a great lover of the liberal arts ; he was an eloquent and ready speaker, and in his writings imitated *Messala Corvinus*, a famous orator ; but his too great niceness, or rather affectation, rendered his style perplexed and obscure ; whence he was esteemed a better speaker without, than upon, premeditation and study. He wrote a lyric poem, intitled, *A complaint on the death of Lucius Cæsar*, which was greatly esteemed ; and several Greek pieces, in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus* and *Parthenius*, poets whom he admired above the rest, and whose statues he caused to be dedicated in the public libraries amongst those of the most celebrated writers. He took great delight in the fables of the poets, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, and used to puzzle the grammarians with the following and such-like questions ; Who was *Hecuba's* mother ? What was the name of *Achilles* amongst the maids at the court of *Lycomedes* ? What songs the *Syrens* were said to sing, &c. The Greek tongue he spoke with great readiness and ease, but used it very seldom. In his speeches to the senate he took care to avoid Greek words ; insomuch, that the *Latin* tongue supplying him with no word to express *monopoly*, he begged leave to use a foreign one. Having read in a decree of the senate the word *emblema*, he desired the senators to alter it, and either put a *Latin* word in its room, or express the meaning of it by circumlocution (70). He betrayed even from his infancy manifest tokens of a cruel, savage, and untractable temper ; whence *Theodorus Gadareus*, who taught him the

(70) *Suet. ibid. c. 70.*

eminent writers flourished in his reign, of whom we shall give a succinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our history, in our notes (G), to which we refer our readers.

first rudiments of learning, used to call him, *A mass of clay tempered with blood* (71). Most of the antients, who speak of him, observe, that though he could brook no opposition, yet he abhorred flattery, as suiting only with the spirit of slaves, and was even ashamed of the mean and slavish submissions of the senate. He never forgave free speakers, never could endure men of a bold spirit, whom first or last he pursued to destruction; but at the same time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be so; whence it was dangerous, says *Tacitus*, to practise no flattery, and dangerous to practise too much, *adulatione, quæ perinde anceps si nulla, & ubi nimia est*: and elsewhere, *libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat*. As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, well supported the dignity of a senator, discharged with credit the first offices of state, and in all likelihood died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation. But being, unhappily for himself and his country, invested with an uncontrouled power, he let loose all his passions; so that he, who might have proved an excellent and useful member of a free state, became a prince altogether merciless, nay a destructive and insupportable tyrant. What is not to be apprehended from power without controul! and who is to be trusted with it, when a man of such great parts, and so long experience, as *Tiberius*, was so intirely mastered and intoxicated with it?

(G) These were, *Velleius Paterculus*, of whose history the far greater part is lost; what still remains of it comprehends the ancient history of the *Greeks* and that of the *Romans*, from the defeat of *Perfes* to the seventeenth year of *Tiberius's* reign. He is thought to have written with candour and impartiality till the times of the *Cæsars*, in whose favour he miserably perverts truth, or utterly suppresses it. What he writes of *Tiberius* ought rather to be styled a fulsome panegyric, than a history. *Semper magnæ fortunæ comes est adulatio*, says he; *Flattery is a constant attendant upon greatness*: and indeed he is himself a remarkable instance of the truth of this saying, as must evidently appear to every impartial reader in the perusal of the account he has left us of *Tiberius's* reign. He accuses *Germanicus* of cowardice, while he represents others as consummate heroes, who were no-ways to compare with that brave prince, either in courage or conduct. His chief hero, after *Tiberius*, was the favourite minister *Sejanus*, on whom he bestows the highest encomiums, not foreseeing the doom that hung over his head, and

(71) *Idem*, c. 57.

soon after overtook him. Some writers think, that *Velleius* himself fell with *Sejanus*, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he so undeservedly commended. He put the last hand to his work in the consulship of *M. Vinicius*, to whom he inscribed it; that is in the seventeenth year of *Tiberius's* reign, as he himself informs us (72), and twenty-seven after he had been adopted by *Augustus*. He was of an equestrian family, come originally from *Campania*, and descended by the mother from the celebrated *Decius Magius*, who, being condemned by the senate of *Capua* to be delivered up to *Hannibal*, for his steady adherence to the *Roman* interest, was sent away for *Carthage*, but driven by a storm to the dominions of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who took him under his protection. His paternal grandfather was likewise a native of *Campania*, but raised to great preferments, first by *Pompey the Great*, and afterwards by *Brutus*, under whom he served. He himself served nine years under *Tiberius*, first as military tribune in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horse in *Germany*. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quaestorship, the praetorship, and, as some writers conjecture, with the consulate; which is not improbable, since he was in great favour both with *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* (73).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and sayings of the antients, wrote about the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign, after the fall of *Sejanus*, as is manifest from his own words, and from those of the antients, who quote him. His style, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is supposed to have lived in, has prompted some to imagine, that his writings are of a much later date. These take it for granted, that all those who wrote in the golden age, wrote well, which others deny. *Vossius* takes the work, which passes under the name of *Valerius Maximus*, to be only an abridgment of what he wrote, done by one *Julius Paris*. In what age the supposed author of this epitome lived, we are no where told; but to him is generally ascribed the treatise of *Roman* names, which is subjoined to the nine books of *Valerius Maximus* (74).

Strabo, whose seventeen books of geography are so much and so deservedly admired by the learned, observes in his sixteenth book, that the kingdom of *Comagene* had been but very lately reduced to a *Roman* province. This happened, according to the opinion of the best chronologers, the eighteenth year of the christian æra, and the fifth of *Tiberius's* reign; so that we reasonably suppose *Strabo*, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of *Tiberius*. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionysius the geographer, who wrote a description of the earth in *Greek* verse, died, according to *Vossius*, in the reign of *Tiberius*.

(72) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 126.*
id. c. 24.

(74) *Idem, ibid. c. 24.*

(73) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l.*

For that writer takes this to be the *Dionysius* who was sent into the east by *Augustus*, as we read in *Pliny* (75), to survey those countries, and make an exact description of them for the use of *Caius Caesar*, who was to be sent thither. The *Dionysius* whom *Augustus* employed, was a native of *Corax*, called also *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and situated between the *Tigris* and *Eulæus*. He was the last, says *Pliny*, who wrote a description of the whole earth. *Scaliger* will not allow the description of the earth, which has reached us, to be the work of that *Dionysius*, but of another, who flourished under the emperor *Severus*. *Salmasius*, on the other hand, ascribes it to one of the same name, who wrote in the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and in his notes on the *Augustean* historians (76), promises to support this opinion with unanswerable arguments in a new edition, which he then designed, of *Dionysius*. This promise he made in 1620. But in his notes upon *Solinus*, published in 1629, speaking occasionally of *Dionysius* the geographer, he says, that he lived under the emperor *Severus*, without taking the least notice of his invincible arguments, or so much as deigning to acquaint us with the reasons which prompted him to change his opinion (77). He speaks of him in another place (78): but there endeavours only to prove, that he did not flourish in the reign of *Augustus*. *Suidas* mentions three geographers, all bearing the name of *Dionysius*; one a native of *Corinth*, another of *Miletus*, and the third either of *Rhodes* or *Samos* (79). In such variety of opinions, we will not take upon us to ascertain the time, in which flourished the author of the description of the earth that has reached us: all we can say is, that *Eustathius*, *Vossius*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* were certainly mistaken in supposing him to have lived in the time of *Augustus*, since he mentions some events, as *Salmasius* rightly observes (80), which happened in the reign of *Domitian*.

Phædrus, who translated into *Latin* verse the fables of *Æsop*, was, according to *Vossius* (81), a native of *Thrace*, and one of *Augustus*'s freedmen, and died in the reign of *Tiberius*.

Thrasyllus the astrologer, of whom we have spoken above, was well versed in several other sciences, especially in *Plato*'s philosophy. *Jonssius* takes him to be the author of a work, quoted by some of the antients, on the genealogy of *Plato* (82). To him are likewise ascribed some books of physic quoted by *Pliny*. The emperor *Julian* assures us, that *Thrasyllus* acquired more fame by the books he left behind him, than by his mighty credit with *Tiberius* (83). *Jonssius* tells us, that he was put to death by *Tiberius* in the sixteenth year of the christian æra, that is in the second year of *Tiberius*'s reign (84). But it is manifest from *Dion Cassius*, that

(75) *Plin. l. vi. c. 27.*
Salmas. in Solin p. 628.

(76) *Spart. p. 138.*

(77) *Sal-*

(78) *Ibid p. 411.*

(79) *Suid. p. 747.*

(80) *Salmas ubi supra.*

(81) *Voss poet. Latin. c. 2.*

(82)

Joann Jonss. de scriptor. historiæ philosophicæ, l. xviii. Genevæ, anno 1634.

(83) *Julian. August. ad Themist.*

Thrasyllu,

Thrasyllus died by the course of nature in the thirty-sixth year of the christian æra, that is, a year before *Tiberius* (85).

L. Fenestella, the poet and historian, died towards the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign. He seems to have been greatly esteemed by the antients (86); but some are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatise of the *Roman* magistrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally ascribed to *Andrea Domenico Flocco*, a native of *Florence*.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian and preceptor to *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, died in the reign of *Tiberius*, extremely old (87). He wrote, according to *Aulus Gellius* (88), several books of *memorable things*, and a book of the signification of words, which that writer sometimes quotes (89). We have still some fragments of several of his works, quoted sometimes by *Macrobius*, and frequently by *Pliny*. He wrote a book of *Fasti*, and a catalogue of all the *Roman* consuls to his time, which was engraved on marble, and set up in the forum of *Prænestæ* (90). Most writers take the fragments of the *Fasti*, which are still to be seen in the capitol at *Rome* to be the same that were set up at *Prænestæ*; but they can alledge nothing in proof of their opinion, except mere conjectures, since others, as well as *Verrius*, might have undertaken a work of the same nature. The *Fasti Capitolini*, besides the names of the consuls, mark the triumphs, several incidents relating to history, and also the years of *Rome*; but are always a year behind *Varro*, whom most authors follow. To these we might add many other writers, who flourished under *Tiberius*, according to *Vossius* and *Jouffius*; but as their works are long since lost, we shall not detain our readers with a detail, from which they can reap no profit.

As the reverend fathers, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, have not yet carried their *Roman* history beyond this period, the death of *Tiberius*, we think ourselves bound both in justice and gratitude to acknowledge in this place the assistance we have received from their labours. The copious materials, which they have collected with incredible pains from almost innumerable authors, have been, we must own, a great help to us, though we have never made use of them without consulting the originals, a caution, we are sorry to say it, which we have found too often necessary. But of their most material and remarkable mistakes notice has been occasionally taken in the course of the present history; and in this place we are only to return them thanks, which we do accordingly, for the assistance they have lent us. We might justly be taxed with ingratitude, if we did not at the same time discharge another obligation, and own ourselves greatly indebted to a writer of our own

(84) *Jouff. ibid.* l. iii. c. 3. (85) *Dio.* l. lviii. p. 638. (86) *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 11. *Hier. in Chron.* (87) *Suet. gramm.* c. 17. (88) *Aul. Gell.* l. iv. c. 5. (89) *Idem.* l. v. c. 17, 18. & l. xvi. c. 14. (90) *Suet. ibid.*

nation ; we mean the ingenious Mr. *Hooke*, whose excellent performance has proved more serviceable to us, than the numerous volumes of the *Jesuits*. As we are obliged both by the nature of our undertaking and our engagement with the public, to have immediate recourse to the antient writers, it is our constant custom to compare with them such of the moderns of any repute as have handled the same subjects with us. Upon this collation, we must do Mr. *Hooke* the justice to own, that he has with a scrupulous exactness adhered all along to his authors ; which is more than we can say of the *Jesuits*, of monsieur *Vertot*, or monsieur *Rollin*, who, like most writers of their nation, seem to take delight in embellishing their narrations with circumstances unknown to the antients, which, in other words, is adulterating truth with romance, and passing fables upon the readers for history ; since there are but few who have either the leisure or convenience of undeceiving themselves by recurring to the originals. Thus much we have thought ourselves obliged to say, in commendation of a writer, who deserves so well of the public, and of us in particular, tho' the favourable reception, which his undertaking has already met with, may seem to have rendered our testimony in some degree useless.

A N

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